



*Qualis erat vultu, sed lingua, mentis, manuz
 Qualis erat qui vult discere, scripta legat
 Consulat aut famam: qui lingua, mentis, manuum
 Vinceret hunc, famam iudicet, rarus erat.*

VOERST. FEC.



*Dapis erat vultu, sed lingua, mentis, manuz
 Qualis erat qui vult discere, scripta legat
 Consulat aut famam: qui lingua, mentis, manuum
 Vinceret hunc, famam iudicet, rarus erat.*

VOERST. FEC.



*His Scepter sweet, his sword was seldome share.
 Yet rebel Subjects, and invading foes,
 He quail'd, repelling these, reclaiming those.
 Such cure and set in tune the jarring Harp.
 To this last Act of his exploits & Glory.
 A Plaudite revived by this Story.*

XX

Made bright and glorious by Afflictions flame,
 Forth from a Prison to a Crowne she came,
 Attempting and effecting harder things,
 Then haue been reached by the greatest Kings.
 Of all her Causes, Religion was the prime,
 Which she reformed in a dangerous time,
 And, though her neighbouring Princes thereat stor-
 Did all her life defend what she reformed. (med,
 As watchfull in the State-Affaires was shee,
 And oft from civill broyles her Realmes did free;
 From Ireland shee the Spanis power expeld,
 And all the rude rebellious Irish queld.
 In Scotland shee did marre the Frenchmens hope,
 Shee fooled all the projects of the Pope;
 And though his Bulls did roare in ev'ry place,
 Turn'd all his thundrings to his owne disgrace.

Spaines furie without feare shee did oppose,
 And gaue their Forces famous overthrowes,
 Yea, shee the huge Armado over came,
 Which of Invincible usurp'd the name.
 And though shee had at home great works to do,
 Shee ayded France, and saved Belgia too.
 Her Coyne shee to just values did reduce;
 Her wholsome Lawes redressed much abuse;
 By Trades abroad shee Riches did encrease,
 By Providence at home establish'd Peace.
 Then having till the fortie fifth yeere rain'd,
 And to the seventieth of her age attain'd,
 Shee dyed, and left behind her such a Fame,
 As shall be lov'd while England hath a Name.

G. W.

Printed for Robert Milbourne. 1633.

PACATA HIBERNIA.

I R E L A N D APPEASED AND REDVCED.

OR,
AN HISTORIE OF THE LATE
VVarres of IRELAND, especially within the Province
of MÖVNSTER, vnder the Government of Sir George Carew,
Knight, then Lord President of that Province, and afterwards
Lord CAREVV of CLOPTON, and Earle
of TOTNES, &c.

Wherein the Siedge of *Kinsale*; the Defeat of the
Earle of TYRONE, and his Armie; The Expulsion and
sending home of *Don Iuan de Aguila*, the Spanish Generall,
with his Forces; and many other remarkeable passages
of that time are related.

Illustrated with Seventeene severall MAPPES, for the
better understanding of the Storie.

IUVENAL. SAT. IO.

*Bellorum Exuvie, truncis affixa trophæis
Lorica, & fractâ de Casside buccula pendens,
Humanis majora bonis creduntur: —*



LONDON,

Printed by AVG: MATHEVVES for ROBERT MILBOVRNE,
at the Signe of the Grey-hound in *Pauls*
Church-yard. 1 6 3 3.

THE
AMERICAN
AND
ENGLISH
DICTIONARY

OF THE
LANGUAGE
AND
SYNTAX
OF THE
ENGLISH
LANGUAGE





TO HIS MOST SACRED
M A I E S T I E.

S I R,

TH E great Actions of worthie and eminent Persons, haue ever been esteemed so powerfull for the instruction of succeeding times, that all Civill States haue made it their principall care, to preserve and transmit them to Posteritie, for their Example and Imitation. The Meanes by which this is done, is **HISTORY**, a powerfull suggester and Recorder of Gods providence in publike Blessings and Judgements, the Mother of Experience, the Nurse of Truth, the common bond and ligature, which unites present times with all ages past, and makes them one. To manifest this, if other Arguments fayle, the Examples of the greatest Emperors and Generalls were sufficient, who in the midst of their Conquests, thought their publike dutie not discharged, if they imployed not some time, to leaue the immortall memory of their owne actions by writing to Posteritie. The omission of this hath bin a great defect of some ages foregoing ours, being the Middle times betweene learned Antiquitie and this latter age, wherein Language, Arts and Elegancie haue revived and flourished; In those times though there haue been many, *Qui fecerunt scribenda*, yet there were few, *qui describerent facta*. I dare not say that this our Age and Nation are guiltie of the like error or negligence, in deciphering to the life the occurrences of our owne times and affayres by such as best knew, and faithfully

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

fully would relate them; A want of which many haue complained, but few haue laboured to supply. That which I now in all humilitie present, is your *Majesties* by many Titles; First, from the subject matter, being the *finall Dispersion* of that cloud of *Rebellion*, which hath so long hung over that *Kingdome of Ireland*, which by undoubted title, and lawfull succession is descended to your *Majestie*, and that performed by the prudent fortitude of the *English Nation*, which your *Majestie* now so happily governes. Next, from your *Majesties* late faithfull Servant, the Earle of *Totnes*, whose Actions are not the least part of the Argument of this *Historie*, hee being at that time chiefe Governour of the Province of *Mounster*, which was the Stage whereon the last and greatest Scene of that Tragedie was acted, and since advanced by your *Majesties* Royall Father and your selfe to many Honourable Titles and Imployments of State. And lastly, from the Publisher, through whose hands nothing can passe, which to your *Majestie* is not justly due, both by common All geance, and particular Service. Pardon (gracious Sovereigne) this presumption, in aspiring to so high a Patronage, and graciously accept this poore Tribute of Dutie and thankfulnessse from him who hath eternally bound himselfe

Your Sacred Majesties most
faithfully devoted Subject,
and Servant,

THO: STAFFORD.



TO THE READER.

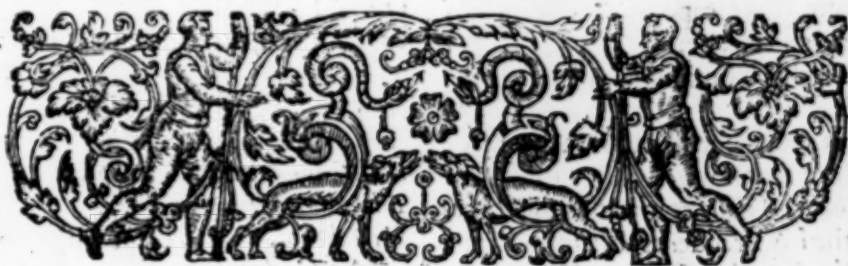
WIT of a necessitie imposed by powerfull Custome somewhat must bee sayd to you *Reader*, both to prevent mistakings touching the publishing of this VVorke, and to prepare you with some unprejudicate affection to the reading thereof. The large space of time (thirtie yeeres and upwards) betweene the matters Acted, Written, and now published, may beget some wonder, in what obscure corner this Worke hath lyen all this while, without notice given or taken; or if knowne, why so long kept from publike view. For answer heereeto, understand indifferent Reader, that it was composed while the Actions were fresh in the memories of men, by the Direction and appoyntment of the Right Honourable Earle of *Totnes* (late deceased) then Lord President of Mounster, so often mentioned in this Historie. The Collection made, was by him first reserved for his owne private Information; Secondly, preserved for the furtherance of a Generall Historie of that Kingdome of *Ireland*, when it should please God to raise up some industrious Writer to undertake a compleat Description of those Affayres; And lastly, out of his retyred Modestie, the rather by him held backe from the Stage of Publication, lest himselfe being a principall Actor in many of the particulars, might be perhaps thought, under the Narration of publike proceedings, to giue vent and utterance to his private merit and Services, howsoever justly memorable. He leaving the world, left it among his Papers, where it was found by the now Publisher thereof, to whom they were bequeathed, and by whom it hath beene offered to the view and censure of divers learned and judicious persons: By them it hath been esteemed worthy the view of the world, that those of present and future times, who desire not to be strangers to what hath passed, and been acted at home, may receiue true Information heereby. In confidence whereof, I presume that whether you bee English or Irish that shall readethis Historie, you shall finde much matter of contentment to advance the Honour of both Nations: If English, behold the most dangerous and overgrowne Rebellion that ever was since the Kings of this Land were Lords of that Isle, suppressed by the puissant valour of thy victorious

To the Reader.

Countrey men, and a powerfull Invasion of a braue and warlike Nation repulſed, and ſent home to their Natiue Land: Or if you bee of that other Nation, you may obſerue the loyall fidelitie of the greater part to their lawfull Prince, though animated to diſloyaltie by the ſtrongeſt perſwaſions of their ſupreme Spirituall Paſtor, with promiſes of heavenly reward. Heere alſo you may behold a fatall period given to the Rebellious Inſurrections, under whoſe burthen that Countrey hath groaned ſome hundreds of yeeres, and a firme and aſſured Peace eſtabliſhed to the comfort of them and their poſteritie. And whether Engliſh or Iriſh, forget not (next after the right hand of the moſt High bringing mightie things to paſſe) to acknowledge the Prudence, Courage, and Felicitie of that late Sovereigne, who in her deepe and declining age, did ſeale up the reſt of all her worthy Actes with this accompliſhment, as if ſhee had thought that her taſke would bee unfinished, and Tombe unfur- niſhed, if there could not be deſervedly engraven thereon, *PACATA HIBERNIA*; The lot whereof was caſt, and fell happily on our ſide, by the prosperous ſucceſſe of thoſe Preparations and Encounters which befell this ſhort time of about three yeeres, re- counted by way of Annalls and Iournalls in this preſent Narration; whereto thou muſt adde the like acknowledgement of the Wiſe- dome, care, and proviſion taken by our late Sovereigne of bleſſed memory King *James*, in the eſtabliſhment not onely of Peace, but alſo of good Lawes and Juſtice there flourishing, and continued by the Providence and Piety of our preſent Sovereigne King *Charles*, the true Inheritor of his renowned Fathers Vertues as well as King- domes. For the ſtorie it ſelfe, it was collected, not out of flying ru- mours, and popular tales, but (as the Title promiſeth) out of the care- full and diligent Obſervations of the principall Actors in the ſervi- ces there related; And for the truth of their Reports, I hope it ſhall receiue the Approbation of many Honourable and Worthy Perſons yet living, who may juſtly challenge a large portion of the honour atchieved in thoſe Warres. But I will detaine you no longer, (Iudi- cious Reader) but leave you to the uſe of what is heere preſented, commending it and my ſelfe to your favourable cenſure.

T. S.

A TABLE



A TABLE ALPHABETICALL.

A

L ord Audley.	Fol. 83
Lardart Castle taken.	78
Sir <i>Anthonie Cooke.</i>	31, 319
Articles betweene the Queene, and Sir <i>George Carie</i> Treasurer of Ireland.	54
<i>Allen Appesley,</i>	248
Advertisements of the Spanyards arri- vall.	195
Armie encamped before Kinsale.	205
Articles of Composition betweene <i>Don</i> <i>Iuan de Aguila</i> , and the Lord Deputy and Councell.	245
Ardea Castle rendred.	365
Archer the Iesuite flies into <i>Spaine.</i>	324
Army lodged before Donboy.	311
<i>Arthur, Iacobus.</i>	367
221	

B.

<i>Tege o Bryen</i> flaine.	126
Ballitrarnie Castle taken.	47
Balliragget.	27
Battell of Kinsale.	232, &c.
Berengary Castle taken.	383
Lord Barry joynes with Sir <i>Charles Wil-</i> <i>mot.</i>	363
Lord Barry commands the Rising out of the Countrey.	360
Captaine <i>John Barry.</i>	295
Captaine <i>Tho. Button</i> his service.	304
<i>Tege o Brien</i> makes an escape.	131
<i>John Burke</i> makes his submission.	47
Intends a journey to <i>Rome</i> , and Saint <i>James of Compostella.</i>	329
<i>Walter Burke</i> flaine.	126
Sir <i>Thomas Burke.</i>	365
<i>William Burke</i> flies out of the Pro- vince.	364
Ballihow Castle taken.	297
Sir <i>John Barkley</i> his services, 126, 127, &c.	199, 233

Sir <i>Francis Barkeley</i> sent into Con- naght.	Fol. 159
Brough burnt by <i>Piers Lacie.</i>	38
Beare and Bantry spoyled.	365
Sir <i>Samuel Bagnall</i> commaunded to stay with his Regiment in <i>Monaster.</i>	329
Blarnie Castle rendered to the custody of Captaine <i>Taffe.</i>	126
His service against <i>Tirrell</i> in Musker- ry.	355
Baltimore described.	325
Bearehaven described.	324

C.

<i>Carbrie o Conner.</i>	36
Cahir Castle rendred.	76
Carigfoyle taken by <i>John o Conner,</i>	225
rendred by him.	66
Castle ni Parke rendered by the Spani- ards.	216
Castles delivered by the Irish into the Spanyards hands.	224
Certificate of <i>Don Iuan de Aguila</i> into <i>Spaine</i> after his landing.	192
Commission to <i>Roger Hurvey</i> for the government of Carbry.	250
<i>Carris</i> of Carbry submit themselves.	367
<i>Clawwilliam</i> spoyled by the army.	46
<i>O Conner Kerry</i> flies out of the Pro- vince.	364
Cloghan Castle rendred.	358
Castle-haven described.	325
Cape Cleere castle taken.	324
Carrikness castle rendred.	365
Cape Cleere castle guarded by Captain <i>Harvey.</i>	267
Lord of <i>Cahir.</i>	377
<i>Carmock Maq Dermoid</i> serves against the Spanyards.	203
Accused of sundry Treasons,	331
Com-	

A Table Alphabeticall.

Committed to prison,	332	<i>Dillon</i> a Captaine.	82
Plotted his escape,	334	Dorries Island taken.	313
Makes an escape,	351	<i>Conner O Drischal</i> flies into Spaine.	324
Makes his submission,	353		
His service.	377	E.	
Campe entrenched, & approaches made before Donboy.	311	<i>Walter Ednie</i> goeth into Spaine	346
Sir <i>Charles Wilmot</i> commands the forces in the Lo. Presidents absence.	362	<i>Edward Gough</i> knighted.	279
Sir <i>Charles Wilmot</i> sent into Kerry.	323	Sir <i>Edward Wingfield</i> sent with 500 foot into Connaght.	383
<i>Clement VIII.</i> Pope his Bull for spirituall livings to <i>Owen mac Egan</i> .	371		
His Letter or Breve to <i>Tyrone</i> and the Irish Rebels.	369	F.	
His Indulgence to the Irish in Rebellion.	368	<i>Florence Mac Cartie</i> made by <i>Tyrone Mac Cartie More</i> .	20
D.		Fights with her Majesties forces.	29
<i>Dermond Moyle mac Garty</i> slaine.	300	Makes a submission to the Lord President.	35
<i>Dermond O Conner</i> murthered by <i>Theobald ne long Burke</i> .	103	His demands.	ibid.
Discourse betweene Capt. <i>Roger Harvy</i> , and <i>Pedro Lopez de Soto</i> .	274	Perswaded to goe into England.	114
Lord Deputie raised his siege, and came to Corke.	249	Makes another submission.	94
Sickned in his journey to Dublin.	280	His jugling.	93
Sends for the Lord President with men, &c.	382	<i>Francis Slingsby</i> .	82
Doctors of <i>Salamanca</i> allow the warre of Ireland to be lawfull.	284	False rumours of a Spanish Fleet.	328
Donghe Irish 'an Island.	304	False rumours of the state of Mounster.	376
Dingle Castle rendred.	99	Forces sent into Thomond.	56
Sir <i>Henry Dampiers</i> .	199, 233	Forts to be erected in Mounster	252
<i>Downings</i> , a Lieutenant at Dorries.	313	G.	
<i>Downings</i> .	363	<i>George Flower</i> , Captaine.	198
<i>Donogh Mac Cormock Cartie</i> slaine.	128	Sir <i>George Bourcheir</i> sent to Kilkenny.	27
Doneghed, and Donelong Castles rendred by the Spaniards.	267	Sir <i>George Bourchier</i> comes to Corke.	199
<i>Dodington</i> a Captaine shott at Donboy.	318	Sir <i>George Thornton</i> joynes with the Lord Barry.	360
Donboy taken from the Spaniards by <i>Osulevan Beare</i> .	268	<i>George Kingesmill</i> maymed at Donboy.	314
Donboy fortified by the Rebels.	289	<i>George Blunt</i> .	41
Viewed by the Lo. President.	310	Glancoyne castle surprized by Sir <i>Francis Barkley</i> .	84
Besieged,	315	Glin castle besieged and taken.	63, 64
Battered.	315	<i>Gregory</i> Castle taken.	297
<i>O Donnells</i> hastie march.	211	<i>Geoffrey Galway</i> Major of Limricke fined, imprisoned,	110
Joyned with the Spaniards.	224	And a new Major elected.	111
Shipped for Spaine with others.	237	H.	
His landing & reception in Spaine.	266	<i>Henrie Skipwith</i> Captaine.	15, 315
Dyed in Spaine.	354	<i>Henry Malbie</i> slaine.	365
<i>Donnegall</i> Castle in Carbury taken.	324	Sir <i>Henry Folliot</i> .	233
<i>Downings</i> castle in Carbury taken.	321	<i>Hussyes</i> Report of the Rebellion in Mounster.	146
<i>Donmanus</i> castle in Carbury taken.	303	<i>Hopton</i>	

A Table Alphabetical.

<i>Hopton</i> dyed of a hurt.	214	Kilcrey Castle and Abbey rendred.	334
Hostages delivered by <i>Don Iuan</i> , and their Names.	247	<i>Kirton</i> , a Lieutenant hurt at <i>Donboy</i> .	318
<i>Hugh Mostian</i> .	128	L.	
Sir <i>Henric Power</i> .	31, 253		
I.		<i>Loughguyrre</i> taken by the Rebels, and recovered againe from them.	45
		<i>Lisloell</i> Castle besieged and taken.	97
<i>James Fitts Thomas</i> apprehended by <i>Dermond O Conner</i> .	54	List of the Captaines of the Spanish armie.	191
<i>John Power</i> .	55	List of the Army in Mounster.	290, 382
<i>John Bostocke</i> .	30	<i>Lixnaw</i> castle taken by cōposition.	296
Instructions for the Lord President of Mounster.	6	<i>Leam con</i> castle taken.	321
<i>James Archer</i> , Iesuite.	26	<i>Letterlinesse</i> castle taken & burnt.	<i>ibid.</i>
Instructions to the Earle of <i>Thomond</i> .	287	<i>Lagblin O Dallie</i> .	360
Instructions for Capt. <i>George Blunt</i> .	256	Lord of <i>Lixnaw</i> defeated by Capitaine <i>Boys</i> .	383
<i>James fitts Thomas</i> the titularie Earle taken prisoner.	135	Letters Patents for Sir <i>George Carew</i> , to be Lord President of Mounster.	3
His Examination.	174	A Letter from the Lord President and the Earle of <i>Thomond</i> , to the Lords of the Councell.	24
His Relation to the Lord President.	139	A Letter from <i>James Galde Butler</i> to the Lord President.	42
<i>James fitts Thomas & Dermond Mac Gragh</i> make a narrow escape.	106	A Letter from <i>James fitts Thomas</i> to <i>Florence Mac Cartie</i> .	40
<i>Don Iuan de Aguila</i> , his Declaration at Kinsale.	200	A Letter from the Mounster Rebels to <i>O Donnell</i> .	58
His Request to the Lord Deputie for shipping.	252	A Letter from <i>James fitts Thomas</i> to <i>Florence Mac Cartie</i> .	62
Intelligence of the Spanish Invasion	188	A Letter from <i>James fitts Thomas</i> to <i>Florence Mac Cartie</i> .	70
Irish in Mounster revolted to the Spaniards.	324	A Letter from <i>James fitts Thomas</i> to <i>Florence Mac Cartie</i> .	48
Irish fled into <i>Spaine</i> , with their Names.	237	Two Letters from <i>William Burke</i> , and <i>Moroghe ni Moe O Flartie</i> to the Lord President.	60, 61
<i>James Gold</i> , second Iustice of Mounster.	6	A Letter from her Majestie to the Lord President.	86
<i>John fitts Thomas</i> his practice to deceive the Lord President.	328	A Letter from <i>Redmond Burke</i> to the Lord President.	96
<i>James fitts Thomas</i> the young Earle of <i>Desmond</i> commeth into <i>Ireland</i> .	85	A Letter from <i>James fitts Thomas</i> to <i>Florence Mac Cartie</i> .	80
Returneth into <i>England</i> .	122	Letters Patents for <i>James fitts Gerald</i> to be Earle of <i>Desmond</i> .	89
<i>James Grace</i> .	217	A Letter from <i>Cormock Mac Dermond</i> vnto <i>Tyrone</i> .	100
K.		A Letter from the Earle of <i>Clanrickard</i> to <i>Theobald ne long Burke</i> .	103
		A Letter from the Spanish Archbishop of <i>Dublin</i> , to <i>James fitts Thomas</i> .	111
Kinsale summoned, and <i>Don Iuans</i> Answer.	219	A Letter from her Majestie to the Lord Deputie.	116
Kinsale Burgesse desire their Charter.	252	A Letter from the Lord President to the	
Kinsale receiues their Ensignes of Magistracie.	359		
Kilcow castle taken by Capt. <i>Flower</i> .	383		
Knight of <i>Kerry</i> protected.	299		
Defeated by Sir <i>Charles Wilmot</i> .	361		
Makes his submission.	<i>ibidem.</i>		

A Table Alphabetically.

the Lord Deputie.	119	to the Earle of Carazena	272
A Letter from <i>Redmond Burke</i> to the L. President, with his Answers.	118	A Letter from <i>Donnell O Sulevan Beare</i> to <i>Don Pedro Zubiaur</i> .	272
A Letter from <i>Tyrone</i> to <i>Florence Mac Cartie</i> .	132	A Letter from the Lo. President to the Spanish Cannoniers in <i>Donboy</i> .	294
A Letter from the Lords of the Council to the Lord President.	132	A Letter from <i>Don Iuan de Aguila</i> , to Captaine <i>Iuan de Albornos Y Andrada</i> .	237
A Letter from the Lord President to her Majestie.	141	A Letter from her Majestie to the Lo. President.	209
Two Letters from <i>James fits Thomas</i> the titular Earle to the K. of <i>Spaine</i> .	154	A Letter from her Maiestie to the Lord President.	339
A Letter from her Majestie to the Lord President, touching base Monies.	147	A Letter from <i>Don Iuan de Aguila</i> to <i>Tyrone</i> and <i>O Donnell</i> .	227
A Letter from <i>Thomas Shelton</i> to <i>Florence Mac Cartie</i> .	169	A Letter from the Lord President to her Majestie.	253
A Letter from the Spanish Archbishop of <i>Dublin</i> to <i>Florence Mac Cartie</i> .	170	A Letter from the Lord President to <i>Don Iuan de Aguila</i> .	326
A Letter from <i>Tyrone</i> , <i>James fits Thomas</i> , <i>Florence Mac Cartie</i> , and <i>Mac Donogh</i> to the Pope.	175	A Letter from <i>Tege Mac Cormock Cartie</i> to the Lord President.	330
A Letter from Mr. Secretary <i>Cecill</i> to the Lord President, with Spanish Intelligence.	182	A Letter from the Lords of the Council in <i>England</i> , to the Lord President.	336
A Letter from the Lord Deputie to the Lord President.	185	A Letter from her Majestie to the Lord President.	339
A Letter from the Lord Deputie satisfactory to the Lord President.	186	A Letter from the Lord President to her Majestie.	ibid.
A Letter from <i>Donnell O Sulevan Beare</i> to the King of <i>Spaine</i> .	228	A Letter from Captaine <i>Roger Harvie</i> to <i>Pedro Lopez de Soto</i> .	340
A Letter from the Duke of <i>Lerma</i> to the Archbishop of <i>Dublin</i> .	260	A Letter from <i>Don Iuan de Aguila</i> to the Lord President.	344
A Letter from the Duke of <i>Lerma</i> to <i>Don Iuan de Aguila</i> .	260	A Letter from the Lord President to <i>Don Iuan de Aguila</i> .	345
A Letter from the Secretary <i>Ybarra</i> to <i>Don Iuan de Aguila</i> .	261	A Letter from <i>O Donnell</i> to <i>O Conner Kerry</i> .	343
A Letter from the Secretary <i>Franquesa</i> to <i>Don Iuan de Aguila</i> .	ibid.	A Letter from her Majestie to the Lord President concerning the Earle of <i>Clanrikard</i> .	378
A Letter from the Duke of <i>Lerma</i> to <i>Don Iuan de Aguila</i> .	262	A Letter from <i>Iohn Burke</i> to the Lord President.	379
A Letter from the King of <i>Spaine</i> to <i>Don Iuan de Aguila</i> .	263	A Letter from <i>Iohn Burke</i> to Sir <i>George Thornton</i> .	380
A Letter from the L. Deputy and Council, to the Lords in <i>England</i> .	264	A Letter from the Lord Deputie to the Lords in <i>England</i> .	384
A Letter from <i>O Sulevan Beare</i> to the King of <i>Spaine</i> .	269		
A Letter from <i>Owen Mac Eggan</i> to <i>Richard Mac Goghagan</i> .	307		
A Letter from <i>Iohn Anias</i> to the Lord of <i>Lixnaw</i> .	309		
A Letter from <i>Iohn Anias</i> to <i>Dominicke Collins</i> .	ibid.		
A Letter from <i>James Archer</i> to <i>Dominicke Collins</i> .	308		
A Letter from <i>Donnell O Sulevan Beare</i>			

M.

<i>Maurice Stack</i> sent into <i>Kerry</i> ,	67
Treacherously murdered.	79
<i>O Mulrians</i> Countrey spoyled.	47
<i>Mac Awley</i> spoyled by Sir <i>Francis Barkley</i> .	108
<i>Mocrumpe</i> Castle besieged.	334
Taken.	351
	<i>Muskrey</i>

A Table Alphabetically.

Muskrey-quirke, and *Arloghe* spoyled by the armie. 106
Mounster, in what state after the Siedge of *Kinsale*. 283
Malachias the Popish Bishop of *Kilmakow*. 380

N.

Names of the Councillors of *Mounster*. 19
Sir Nicholas Walsh. 199

Earle of Ormond taken prisoner. 24
O Sulevan repaires with *Tirrell* into *Muskrey*, 352
Remaines in *Beare*. 392
O Sulevan More sent by the Lord Deputie to the Lord President. 84
Prisoner by the practice of *Florence Mac Cartie*. 49
Olerie flaine. 95
Owen Mac Eggan, the Popes Viccar flaine. 366
His qualitie and condition. 367

P.

Lord Presidents Letters Patents. 3
His letter to *James fitt Thomas*. 51
Sent against *O Donnell*. 210
Surprised with a Feaver. 280
His opinion of a defensive Warre in *Ireland*. 348
Sends 1000. foot to the Lord Deputie. 377
Meets the Earle of *Ormond* at *Clonmell*. 105
Proclamation for publishing the new Money for *Ireland*. 149
Principall men in *Tyrones* and *O Donnells* armie. 212
Propositions made by *Don Iuan*. 241
Patrick fitt Morris L. of *Lixnaw* died. 71
Preyes taken from the enemy. 293

R.

Roger Harvey. 29
Sir Richard Masterfon. 29
Sir Robert Gardiner. 199
Sir Richard Levison his service at *Castlehaven*. 225
Sir Richard Greame. 232
Roger Harvey died of sorrow. 257
Richard Power. 43

Regiment sent by the L. President into *Connaght*. 159
Reply of *Don Iuan* to the propositions of the Lo. Deputie. 241
Reasons mooving the Lo. Deputie and Councell to a Composition. 244
Sir Richard Percie. 40
His Service. 111
Robert Tent. 30
Rincorran Castle battered by the Lord President. 206
Yecded, and the Spaniards received to mercie. 208
Lo. Roche comended for his loyalty. 377
Andrew Roche. 144
Richard Ailward knighted. 279
Rancoliskey Castle taken. 324
Rathmore Castle rendred. 68
Rahane taken. 297
Rasbo Abbey burnt by *Sir Charles Wilmot*. 101
Kedmond Burke defeated by *O Dwyre*. 33
Richard Owen comes to *Corke* with a Message from *Tyrone*. 254
Sir Richard Wingfield. 199

S.

Spanish Fleet discovered at sea by Capitaine *Lowe*. 189
Spaniards land at *Kinsale*. 190
Spaniards make severall fallies. 230
Spaniards make a great fally. 221
Spaniards beat out of their trêches. 219
Spaniards landed at *Castlehaven*. 223
Spaniards how many transported out of *Ireland*. 248
Spaniards imbarqued at *Kinsale*. 268
Spanish letters intercepted. 258
Spanish Hostages licensed to depart. 326
Spaniards make three fallies. 236
Spaniards defeated at *Kinsale* in the time of *Richard* the second. 359
Spanish ship arrived neere *Ardea*. 306
Spanish money distributed amongst the Rebels. *ibid.*
Shandon Castle. 333
Sessions held at *Limerick*, *Cashell*, and *Clonmell*. 105
Selby a Lieutenant. 363
Supplies of 1000 foot from *England*. 323

T.

Tirlogh Roe Mac Swiny. 318
Tyrone comes into *Mounster*. 20
Tyrone

A Table Alphabeticall.

<i>Tyrone</i> writes to the Lord <i>Barry</i> .	20	<i>Tho. Taylor</i> hangd in chaines at <i>Cork</i> .	320
Returnes into <i>Vlster</i> .	23	<i>Tho. Oge</i> makes his Submission.	361
Sir <i>Thomas Norris</i> .	2	<i>William Taffe</i> Captaine.	29
Townes of <i>Mounster</i> required to send		His Service against the Rebels in <i>Car-</i>	
Companies of foot to the campe.	200	<i>bergy</i> .	365
Earle of <i>Thomond</i> commands the Gari-		V.	
son at <i>Askeiton</i> .	75	Victuals delivered to <i>Don Iuan</i> .	248
Comes with supplies to the camp.	216	Victuals & money arrived at <i>Corke</i> .	118
Marches with an army into <i>Carbry</i> .	287	W.	
Returned to <i>Corke</i> .	289	Warrant for the L. Presidents Patent.	3
<i>Thomond</i> spoyled by <i>O Donnell</i> .	55	Sir <i>Warham Saint Leger</i> slaine by <i>Mac</i>	
Sir <i>George Thornton</i> left a Commissioner		<i>Gwyre</i> .	82
of <i>Mounster</i> .	383	<i>William Saxey</i> Chiefe Iustice of <i>Moun-</i>	
<i>Tirrell</i> desires a Parley with the Earle of		<i>ster</i> .	6
<i>Thomond</i> , and fayles.	307	<i>William Power</i> Captaine, his Service at	
His men executed at <i>Donboy</i> .	320	<i>Donboy</i> .	318
Flies out of the Province.	362		



A Catalogue of the severall MAP P E S contained in this HISTORIE.

In the first Booke.

- | | | |
|---|---|---------|
| 1 | A Map of <i>Mounster</i> . | Page 1. |
| 2 | A Map of the Earle of <i>Ormond</i> taken prisoner, between pa. 24. & 25. | |
| 3 | A Map of <i>Cahir</i> Castle, ————— betweene page 42. and 43. | |
| 4 | A Map of <i>Askeiton</i> Castle, ————— page 52, and 53. | |
| 5 | A Map of <i>Glin</i> Castle, ————— page 62, and 63. | |
| 6 | A Map of <i>Carigfoyle</i> Castle, ————— page 66, and 67. | |
| 7 | A Map of <i>Castle Mange</i> , ————— page 96, and 97. | |
| 8 | A Mapp of <i>Limerick</i> Castle, ————— pag 108, and 109. | |

In the second Booke.

- | | | |
|----|--|--|
| 9 | A Map of the Siege of <i>Kinsale</i> , ————— betweene page 188, and 189. | |
| 10 | A Map of the Fort of <i>Hallibolyn</i> , ————— pag. 252, and 253. | |

In the third Booke.

- | | | |
|-----|---|--|
| 11. | A Map of the Army in <i>Beare</i> , ————— betweene page 292, and 293. | |
| 12. | A Map of the Siege of <i>Dunboy</i> , ————— page 310, and 311. | |
| 13 | A Map of <i>Muskrey</i> , ————— page 330, and 331. | |
| 14 | A Map of <i>Castle-nigh-parke</i> , ————— page 352, and 353. | |
| 15 | A Map of <i>Limerick</i> , ————— page 362, and 363. | |
| 16 | A Map of <i>Tough-hall</i> , ————— page 376, and 377. | |
| 17 | A Map of <i>Corke</i> , ————— page 382, and 383. | |

PACATA



PACATA HIBERNIA.

THE FIRST BOOKE
OF THE WARRES IN
IRELAND.

CHAP. I.

The Lord Deputie, and the Lord Presidents landing in Ireland. The Warrant for passing the Lord Presidents Patent. The Patent. The Lord Deputie and Councells Instructions to the Lord President.

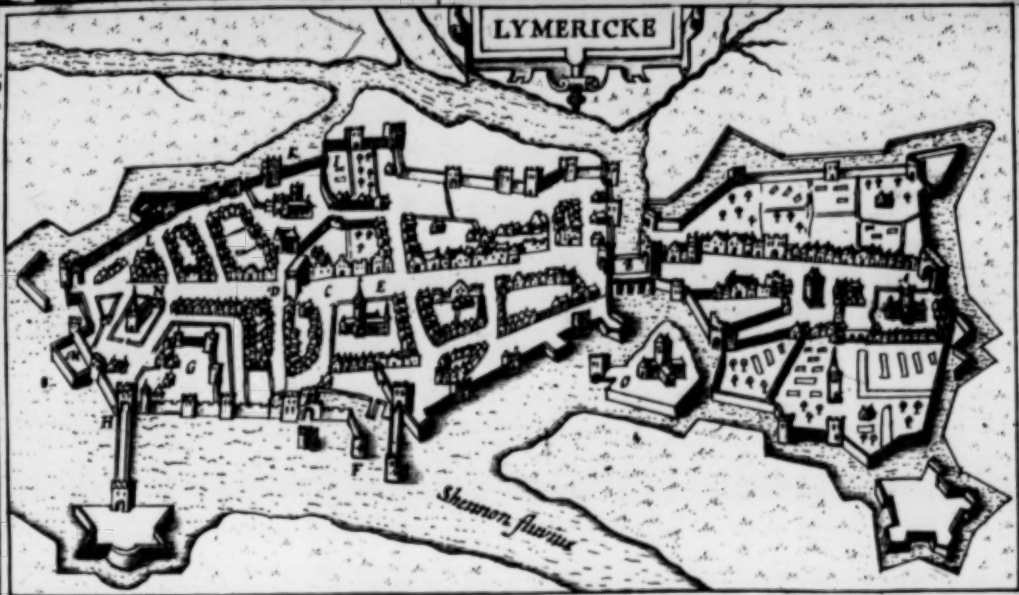


HE Warres of Ireland having received their originall & foundation in the North, proceeded like unto a strong poyson, which having infected one member, without speedie prevention, doth spread the contagion over the whole bodie; for the Irish perceiving the prosperous successe of those first Rebels, even beyond all expectation and hope (of those that were ill affected) and that her

Majesties Forces had sustained many disasters, which were never feared untill they happened, the neighbour Provinces of Connaght, and Leinster, following the current of the present time, begin to dismaske themselves of that cloake of subjection, which before they pretended, and to shew themselves partakers in that wicked action, and furtherers of the rebellion. And these being united in a strict Combination, did verily perswade themselves, that it would bee a matter very feasible, to enable them to shake off the English Government, and to make themselves absolute Commanders of all Ireland, if the chiefe Lords of Mounster, with their friends and followers would joyne with them, to banish the English out of that Province. They did account that Province to bee the key of the Kingdome, both by reason of the Cities and walled Townes (which are

A

more



- A St Johns Street and Gate
- B The thye Bridge
- C The Main Streets of the City
- D New gate
- E Our Ladies Church
- F The key
- G The Kinges castle
- H Thomond bridge
- I St Frances Abbey
- K St Peters
- L St Dominicks Abbey
- N The Bishops house
- M St Monsthus church
- O St Michaels church



THE SCALE OF IRISH MILES

Jodocus Hondius Caelavit

Cum Privilegio





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A

more

1599.

more then in all the Island besides) the fruitfulness of the Country, being reputed the garden of Ireland, and the commodious Harbors, lying open both to France and Spaine. They devised many plots, cast many projects, and used many perswasions, to animate the Provincials to begin to enterprize. But *currenti quid opus est calcaribus?* they were not so ready to yeeld reasons, as those were to heare; and their eares no more open to heare, then their hearts to consent; and their hands nothing backward in the execution thereof.

Devereux.

The Earle of Essex at his being in Ireland with his Army, made a journey into Mounster, in hope to compose the troubles thereof, all that he performed at that time, was the taking of *Cahir* Castle, and receiving the Lord of *Cahir*, and the Lord *Roche*, with some others into protection. Who after his departure did either openly partake, or secretly combine with the rebells againe.

Butler.
Roche.

Blunt.

Carew.

1599.
The landing
of the Lord
Deputie,
and Lord
President in
Ireland.
St. Lawrence.

Carew.

Her Majestie being resolved to send a new Lord Deputy into Ireland, made choise of a worthy and noble Gentleman endued with excellent parts, as well of body, as minde, Sir *Charles Blunt* Lord Mountioy. And at that time the Presidencie of Mounster being voyd, by the unfortunate death of Sir *Thomas Norris*, lately slaine by the rebells, shee made election of Sir *George Carew* Knight, who was by his former services experienced in the Irish warres, to be the Lord President of that Province. The 23 of Februarie these Lords embarked at Beaumarris, and upon the day following they landed at the head of Hothe, lodging that night at the Lord of *Hothes* house, and the next day they rode to Dublin, where by the relation of the Councill, they found a miserable torne state, utterly ruined by the Warre, and the rebells swollen with pride, by reason of their manifest victories, which almost in all encounters they had lately obtayned. The President, although hee much desired to employ himselfe in his government, yet he was enforced to make a long stay in Dublin, as well to assemble the Forces allotted unto him, by order out of England (to bee in list 3000 Foot, and 250 Horse, which were disperfed in sundry remote Garrisons) as to procure the dispatch of his Instructions from the State, which is usuall, and of sundry Commissions under the great Seale of Ireland, which of custome is graunted to every President, but especially the passing of his Office (by vertue of her Majesties Warrant) under the great Seale of that Realme; the Copies of which Warrant, Letters Pattents, and Instructions, I doe heere insert as ensueth.

Her

Her Maiesties Warrant

Right Trustie and Welbeloyed, wee greet you well. Our Province of Mounster, in that our Realme of Ireland, being without a principall Officer to governe it, ever since the death of Thomas Norris Knight, late President there; And the tumultuous State of that Province requiring the government of a person of Iudgement, and Experience, Wee haue made choise of our serrant Sir George Carew, Knight, Lieutenant of our Ordnance heere. To commit to him the charge of that part of our Realme, as one whom we know, besides his faithfull and diligent endeavours in former services, to bee well acquainted with the estate of that our Realme, (where he is a Councillor) and with the condition and nature of that Province. Wherefore we require you, immediatly upon the taking of our Sword, and chiefe charge of that our Realme of Ireland, as our Deputie, according to our Commission graunted to you, To cause a Commission to bee made out under our great Seale of that our Realme of Ireland, to the said Sir George Carew of the Office and Charge of President of our Province of Mounster, in such manner and forme as Iohn and Thomas Norris Knights, or any other our Presidents of that Province haue used to haue, or with any such other clauses, as you shall thinke, that the present State of our affaires there doth require. Giving him thereby power to rule and governe our people in that Province, with the advice of our Councill there, according to such Instructions and Directions as haue been given by us or our Councill heere, or our Deputies of that our Realme, or shall heereafter bee directed to him, for the government of that Province. The same his power to continue during our pleasure. And our further will and pleasure is, that he receiue towards his charges all such Allowances, Fees, Profits, and Entertainments of Horse and Foot, as Sir Thomas Norris, Knight, our late President at the time of his death had; The same to begin from the day of the date hereof, and to continue during our pleasure: And these shall be to you and to our Treasurer for the payment thereof sufficient warrant and discharge. Given under our Signet at our Mannour of Richmond, the seven and twentieth day of Ianuary, in the two and fortieth yeare of our raigne, &c.

The War-
rant for the
passing of
letters Pa-
rents to the
Lo. President
Norris.
Carew.

Blunt.

Carew.
Norris.
Norris.

Norris.

Cary.

The Letters Patents.

ELIZABETH by the grace of God, Queene of England, France and Ireland Defender of the Faith, &c. To all men to whom these Presents shall come, Greeting; Whereas our Province of Mounster, in that our Realme of Ireland, being without a principall Officer to governe it, ever sithence the death of Sir Thomas Norris, Knight, late President there; And the tumultuous State of that Province, requiring the government of a person of Iudgement and Expe-

The Lo. Pre-
sidents Let-
ters Patents.

Norris.

1599.
Carew.

Carew.

Blunt.

Carew.

Carew.

Norris.
Norris.

Carew.

Carew.

Norris.

rience. Wee haue made choice of our trustie and welbeloved Ser-
vant, Sir *George Carew*, Knight, Lieutenant of our Ordnance in our
Realme of England, and one of our Privie Councell of our sayd
Realme of Ireland, and to commit to him the charge and govern-
ment of that part of our realme, as one whom wee know, besides
his faithfull and diligent endeavours in former services, to bee well
acquainted with the State of that our realme, and with the condition
and nature of that Province. Know ye, that wee reposing our trust
in the Wisedome, Valour, Dexteritie, Fidelitie, and Circumspection of
the sayd Sir *George Carew*, Knight, of our especiall grace, certaine
knowledge, and meere motion, and according to the tenor and effect
of our Letters on that behalfe, directed to our right trustie, and right
welbeloved Councillor, *Charles Lord Mountjoy*, Knight of the most
noble Order of our Garter, and our Deputie generall of our realme
of Ireland, dated at *Richmond* the seven and twentieth day of *Ianua-*
rie, in the two and fourtieth yeere of our raigne, Haue given and
graunted, and by these presents doe giue and graunt to our said Ser-
vant *George Carew*, Knight, the Office of our Lord President of our
said province of Mounster. And the said *George Carew*, Knight, our
Lord President, and Governour of the said province by these pre-
sents, doe make, ordaine, and constitute, and to the said *George*, the
government of the said Province, and of our people there resident
doe commit. And further, wee doe giue and graunt by these pre-
sents to the said *George Carew*, Knight, in and for the exercise, and ex-
ecution of the said Office, all such Authorities, Iurisdicktions, Prehe-
minences, Dignities, Wages, Fees, Allowances, and profits whatsoe-
ver, which *Iohn Norris*, Knight, or the said *Thomas Norris*, Knight, or
any other President of that province haue used to haue, And with
such other clauses (or articles of Authoritie) as our said Deputie shall
thinke that the present state of our affaires there doth require, to bee
further graunted unto him the said *George Carew*, Knight. Giving
him heereby full power and authoritie to rule and governe our peo-
ple under that province, with the advice of our Councell there, ac-
cording to such Instructions and Directions as hath been given by
us, or our Councell heere, or our Deputies of that our realme, or
shall hereafter bee directed to him, for the government of that Pro-
vince; To haue, exercise and enjoy the said Office, to, and by the said
George Carew, Knight, with other the premises, and all Authorities,
prehemminences, wages, fees, entertainments, and profits to the sayd
Office belonging; and all such allowances, profits, entertainments
of Horse and Foot, as the said *Thomas Norris*, Knight, our late Presi-
dent of the sayd province, at the time of his death had or ought to
haue; The said allowances and entertainments, to begin from the
date

date of our said Letters; And the said Authoritie and Entertainment to continue during our pleasure. And where the said *George Carew*, Knight, in respect of our service in other places, may haue occasion to bee absent out of the said Province of Mounster, and that in such his absence, our pleasure is, that some meet person may bee substituted to governe that Province, as Vice-president; Wee doe therefore by these presents, by the assent of our Deputie aforesaid, and according to the intent of our sayd Letters, giue full power and authoritie, to the said *George Carew*, Knight, to appoynt, choose, and substitute in his absence, such a meet and sufficient person, for whom the said *George Carew* Knight will answer, to bee Vice-president of the said Province, and the said person, so appointed, chosen, or substituted, Wee doe by these presents authorize, to governe and rule the said Province, in the absence of the said *George Carew* Knight to all respects and purposes as if the said *George* were personally present, and might rule and governe, by the authority aforesaid. And if the said person so chosen, appointed, and substituted, shall chance to dye, or shall not governe himselfe to the liking of the said *George Carew* Knight: That then the said *George Carew* Knight shall from time to time, by vertue of these presents, during his authority and government aforesaid, choose, appoint, and substitute, a Vice-president as aforesaid, to governe and rule the said Province as aforesaid. And our further pleasure is, that the said *George Carew* Knight, shall from time to time certifie our said Deputie, or other Governour generall, of this our Realme, for the time being, the name and names, of such Vice-president, or Vice-presidents, as shall bee by him appoynted, named, or substituted as aforesaid: Willing, and straightly commaunding, all our Officers, as well ciuill as martiall, as all and all manner our loving Subjects to bee respectively aiding, assistant, and obedient in, and to the said *George Carew* Knight, or any authorized by, and under him as aforesaid, in the exercise and execution of the said Office, as they will answer to the contrary at their perills. Although no expresse mention of the true yearly value, or certaintie of the premises, or any part thereof, or of any other gifts, or graunts, made by us, or any our noble Progenitours, to the said *George Carew* Knight, before the date hereof, be not expressed in these presents. Any Statute, act, provision, restraint, proclamation, Law, vse, or custome, to the contrary hereof, heretofore made, ordayned, enacted, provided, used, or proclaimed, or any other cause, thing, or matter to the contrary hereof in any wise notwithstanding. In witnesse whereof wee have caused these our Letters to be made Patents. Witnes our Deputie generall at Dublin the sixth day of March in the two and fortieth yeare of our Raigne.

1599.

Carew

Carew

Carew

Carew

Carew

Carew

Carew

Carew

6 Martij

1599.

Blunt.
Carew.
The Lo: De-
putie and
Councels in-
structions to
the Lo. Pre-
sident.

7. Martij.

Carew.

Instructions given by vs the Lord Deputie, and Councell, to our right trustie and welbeloved, Sir George Carew, Knight, Lord President of her Maiesties Councell established in the Province of Mounster, to bee communicated by him to her Maiesties Councell of the same Province, and to be observed by them, and every of them, according as the same are particularly declared in these severall Articles following, dated at Dublin, 7. Martij 1599.

First, the said Lord President shall at all times, when he shall think fit, for the service of the Queenes Majestie, call together all such as bee, or that hereafter shall be appoynted to bee of that Councell: And shall with the advice of such of the Councell as shall bee by these Instructions appoynted to assyst him with Councell by Letters and Precepts, commaund all and every person of the said Councell, at all convenient times, to doe such things as shall be meet for the service of the Queenes Majestie in administration of Iustice, & maintenance of the same, amongst all her subjects residing or comming into the parts of the Iurisdiction of the said Commission. And in his commandements and directions, to the sayd Councell, he shall haue such regard to their Estates, Vocations, and other Conditions, as the credits and severall estimations of the same Councillours may be in their due actions and well-doings preserved and maintained, for the furtherance of her Majesties service.

Carew.

And on thother part, her Majestie willeth, chargeth and commandeth that all and euery of her Majesties said Councillors, shall exhibit and vse to the saide Lord President, all such Honour, reverence and obedience, as to their duties appertaineth, and to the person having the principall place in the Councell is due, and shall receiue, and execute, in such sort all the precepts and commandements, to them to bee addressed, in any Proceffe to be done, or served in her Majesties name, and shall giue at all times, such advice and counsell as appertaineth to the duties of trustie Servants and Councillors to her Majestie, and according to their corporall oath.

Carew.

Sax. y.

Gold.

And because it shall be convenient that some number shall be continually abiding with the said Lord President, or such as shall supply his place, with whom he may consult, in hearing such matters as may bee exhibited unto him, for the better expedition of the same: Wee the sayd Lord Deputie and Councell by these presents doe ordaine, That *William Saxey*, Esquire, Chiefe Iustice, and *James Golde*, second Iustice of the sayd province of Mounster, being of speciall trust appoynted to be of the sayd Councell, shall giue their continuall attendance at the sayd Councell, and shall not depart at any time without the

the speciall Licence of the sayd Lord President. Likewise Clarke of the Councell, shall make his like attendance upon the Lord President and Councell, &c.

And the said Lord President shall have in consideration of his continuall attendance, and great paines to be taken in that Office, the wages and entertainments of one hundred thirty three pounds six shillings eight pence sterling by the yeare, for himselfe: and for that the Countreys aforesaid being in such disorder, and the people in the same in such disobedience as partly they are, whereby it shall be needfull for him to have continually about him some competent number of Souldiers, whereby his decrees and orders justly taken and made, may the more effectually bee executed; It is considered and ordained, that the said Lord President shall have for his guard and retinue, thirtie horsemen and twentie footmen, and two shillings by the day for a petty Captaine, and for a Trumpeter and Gaydon, two shillings each of them: the entertainment and daily wages of all which Officers and Martiall men, shall runne in the course, and pay appointed for the Queenes Majesties ordinary Garisons, resident in this Realme. Provided always, that the said Lord President, shall at the first entrie, give in the names, of all and every the aforesaid Souldiers, to the Clarke of the Cheque, to bee entred in his booke, and from time to time shall certifie the deaths and alterations of the same to the Lord Deputy, and Clearke of the Checque, in convenient time, as the same may reasonably be done: having regard to the distance of the place, and as other Captaines of the army are bound to doe.

Item the said Iustice *Saxey* shall have for his stipend yearly one hundred pounds sterling; and the said *James Gold*, assisstant or second Iustice, one hundred marks sterling, and the said Clark of the Councel, twenty pounds sterling; all which stipends and wages shall be payed quarterly, by the hands of the Treasurer at warres, or Vice-treasurer here of this Realme of Ireland: And if the said Iustice, or assisstant, and secondary Iustice, shall depart out of the Limits of the Commission aforesaid, without the speciall licence of the said Lord President, or having leave, shall tarry longer out then the time granted, then (without reasonable cause of excuse) the said Lord President shall deduct, and defalke out of their said severall entertainments, so much as the said wages of so many dayes doth amount unto, to the use of her Majestie towards her other charges, to be extraordinarily sustained in the execution of their Commission, at the discretion of the said Lord President.

Item for further reputation and honour of the same Office, the said Lord President shall have continually attending upon him, a Serjeant at Armes, who shall beare the Mace of the Queenes Majesties Armes before

1599.
Carew.

Carew.

Carew.

Carew.

Saxey.
Gold.

Carew.

Carew.

Carew.

1599.

Carew.

Carew.

Carew.

Blunt.

Carew.

Carew.

before him, in such manner as the Serjeant at Armes doth beare the Mace before the President in Wales; which Serjeant may at all times be sent by the said Lord President and Councell, for th'apprehending and bringing in of any disobedient person, receiving of every such person, being of the degree of a Gentleman, so commonly knowen, and having yearely liuelihood by any meanes of tenne pounds, for his arrest ten shillings; and for the arrest of every particular person, six shillings eight pence, and six shillings eight pence for every dayes travell, and not aboue. Hee shall also haue his dyet in the Household of the said Lord President, and towards his maintenance the ordinary wages of one of the thirtie Horsemen. And forasmuch as there must bee of necessitie one Officer to whom all offenders and malefactors are to bee committed, during the time of their Imprisonment: it is thought meet that the said Lord President shall appoint one Porter, to haue charge of the Goale, who shall haue his dyet in the household of the said Lord President, and bee accounted as one of the twentie Footmen, and receiue the wages due for the same: and also such other profits upon every prisoner, as ensueth, *viz.* for the entry of every prisoner so to him committed, having liuelihood of tenne pounds by the yeare, three shillings foure pence, and twelue pence by the day for his dyet, during his abode in prison, and for every other person of inferiour condition, two shillings for his entry, and six pence by the day for his dyet.

Item, the said Lord President and Councell, (if oportunitie may serue) monethly, or once every two moneths at the least, advertise us the Lo. Deputie and Councell here of the State, of the Country within their Commission, or oftner if they shall see cause.

And where the said Lo: President and Councell shal haue by their Commission, sufficient authoritie to heare and determine, by their discretions, all manner of complaints, within any part of the province of Mounster, as well gildeable as franchise, yet they shall haue good regard, that except great necessitie, or other matters of conscience, conceived upon the complaint, shall moue him, they shall not hinder nor impeach the good course and usage of the common Lawes of the Realme, but shall to their power further the execution thereof, nor shall without evident cause, interrupt such Liberties, and Franchises, as haue lawfull commencement, and continuance by the warrants of the Law, other wayes then where any speciall complaint shall be made unto them, of any manifest wrong, or delay of Iustice, done, or used, by the owners, Officers, or Ministers of the said Franchises or Liberties: In which cases; the said Lord President and Councell shall examine the said defaults, so alledged, by way of complaint, to be counted in the Franchises, and shall send for the Officers, against

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against whom complaint shall be made: and finding the same to be true, they shall not only heare and determine the particular & principall causes of the parties complaints, but shall also reforme & punish, according to their discretions, the defaults of the said owners and Ministers of the said Liberties; and if the matter shall so serue, upon due information to be made to us, of the abuses of the said Franchises and Liberties, so as the same may be done by order according to the lawes tryed, and upon just causes the Liberties resumed into the Queenes Majesties hands.

Item, where the said Lo: President and Councell shall haue Commission, power, and authoritie, by Letters Patents under the Great Seale of this Realme of Ireland, and of Oyer, Determiner, and Goale deliverie, in as large and ample manner as any such Commission or Authoritie is graunted to any Commissioners for that purpose, within the Realmes of England, or Ireland: W^{ch} the said Lord Deputie and Councell, doe earnestly require and charge the said Lord President and Councell, that hee and they doe diligently and often, severely and justly sit, heare, and determine, by vertue of the same, such causes as shall bee brought before them, in such severall places as best may agree with the necessitie of the cause, and the commoditie of the people.

Item, where also the said Lord President hath full power and authoritie, by Letters patents under the great Seale of this realme, to execute the Martiall law, when necessitie shall require, in as large and ample manner as to any other it hath beene accustomed to bee graunted within this realme of Ireland: The said Lord President shall haue good regard thereunto, that no use be made of the Martiall lawe, but when meere necessitie shall require, for the exercise thereof is onely to bee allowed, where other ordinarie administration of Iustice cannot take place: foreseeing alwayes, that no person having five pound of Freehold, or goods to the value of tenne pound, shall not bee tried by the order of the Martiall Law, but by order of the common Law: And yet if necessitie for service, and terrour to others, shall at any time require the Martiall Lawe to be executed vpon any one person or moe being of greater value in lands or goods, then aboue is expressed, the President in such speciall causes may use his discretion, and thereof, and of the causes that mooved him, shall make us the Lord Deputie and Councell privie.

Item it is, and shall bee lawfull for the Lord President and Councell, or any two of them, whereof the Lord President to bee one, to prosecute and oppresse any rebell, or rebels, with sword and with fire, and for the doing of the same, to leaue in warlike manner and array, and with the same to march, such and so many of the Queenes

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Subjects, as to his discretion shall seeme convenient; And if that any Castle, Pile, or House, bee with force kept against them, it shall bee lawfull for the said Lord President and Councell, or two of them whereof the Lord President to be one, to bring before any such Castle, Pile, or House, so to bee kept against them, any of the Queenes Majesties Ordnance and great artillery, remaining within the limits of the Commission: And with the same, or by some other meanes or Ingine, any such Castle, Pile, or House, to batter, mine, or overthrow, as to their discretions shall seeme best. Streightly charging and commanding all Archbishops, Earles, Bishops, Vicounts, Barons, and Baronets, Knights, Majors, Sheriffs, Iustices, and Ministers of peace, and all other Gentlemen and Commons being her Majesties Subjects to helpe, aid and assise the said Lord President and Councell, in such sort, and at such time, as by the said Lord President and Councell, or two of them, whereof the Lord President to be one, they shall bee commanded, upon such paines, as for the nature and of the defaults shall bee thought meet, to the said Lo: President and Councell to limit and asseffe.

And it is ordered by us the said Lord Deputy and Councell, that if any person complaine to the said Lord President and Councell, and that they shall thinke their Complainants worth the hearing, that the persons so complained upon, shall be sent for by a Letter missive under the Queenes Signet, to appeare before the Lord President and Councell at a day and place by them to be appointed, there to answer to such things as shall bee laid to their charges, and further to be ordered, as shall stand with right, justice, equity, and conscience: and for lacke of apparance upon such Letters they shall send forth Letters of alleageance, Proclamations, or other Proceffe, to bee made, directed, and awarded by their discretions to the Sheriffe, Constable, or other Minister whereby the partie complained upon may bee called to come to his answer as appertaineth, and if by the obstinacy of the partie complained upon, the case so require, to sequester his or their lands or goods, or either of them by their discretions. And furthermore if in case any person or persons having habitation or dwelling or any lands or tenements by lease or otherwise, within the limits of the Commission aforesaid, shall by covin, fraud, or deceit, or otherwise absent himselfe, or goe out of the limits of the said Commission: That then Letters missive signed with the Queenes Signet, shall be delivered at his House, Lands, or Tenements, and the copies of the same shall bee left there, so that by most likelyhood the same may come to his knowledge being so sent for. And if within a certaine time after limited by their discretion, the person or persons so sent for, will make default of apparance: the said Lord President and

1599.

and Councell, or any two of them, whereof the Lord President to bee one, shall as well proceede to other Processe, as to the hearing and determining of the matter or cause in variance, according to the Lawes, Statutes, Ordinances made therein, or otherwise at their discretions.

And if in case any Letters missive, be sent and addressed from the Lord President and Councell, to any person or persons, of what estate, or degree soever they be, to appeare before them at a day appointed, the same Letters being delivered to him or them, or otherwise left at his or their house, as is above specified, the said Lord President and Councell, or any two of them, whereof the Lord President to bee one, shall cause him or them so contemning or disobeying, to be punished by imprisonment, and reasonable fine, or shall other wayes proceed according to their discretions. In which sayd causes, if any of the parties commit any resistance, or disobedience, either of their appearance, or contrary to the Commaundements, direction, decree or determination, made, or to be made, and decreed by the said Lord President and Councell; That then the said Lord President and Councell, or any two of them, whereof the Lord President to be one, shall or may command the Sherife, Major, Serjeant at Armes, Constable, Bailife, or other Officer or Minister, to whom it shall appertaine, to attach every person so offending, contemning, or disobeying, and to send him or them to the Lord Deputie in ward, together with Certificate of his contempt or disobedience, or else by their discretions to cause the parties so attached, to bee committed to ward, there to remaine in safe custodie, untill the time that the pleasure of us the Lord Deputie, and Councell be knownen in the premisses, or that the same person or persons, assent, fulfill, and agree to the determination of the said Lord President and Councell, or any two of them, whereof the Lo: President to be one.

And the said Lord President and Councell shall haue full power and authoritie, by these presents, diligently to heare and determine, and trie, all, and all manner of extortions, maintenance, imbracery and oppressions, Conspiracies, rescues, escapes, corruptions, falsehoods, and all manner evill doings, defaults, misdemeanours of all Sheriffes, Iustices of peace, Majors, Soveraignes, Portriffes, Bailiffes, Stewards, Liestenants, Excheators, Coroners, Goalers, Clarkes, and other Officers and Ministers of Iustice, and other Deputies, as well within all the Counties and Countries within the Province of Mounster, as within the supposed Liberties of Typperarij and Kerrij, and in all Cities & other townes corporate, within the limits of their said Commission, of what degree soever they be, and punish the same according to the quality and quantity of their said offences, by their

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discretions, leaving neverthelesse, to the Lord and owners of all lawfull Liberties, such profits, as they lawfully claime.

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And it shall be lawfull for the said Lord President, and Councell, or any three of them, whereof the Lord President to bee one, to conceave, make, and cause to be proclaimed, in her Highnesse name, any thing or matter tending to the better order of her Majesties Subjects, within the precincts of their Commission, and the repressing of malefactors and misorders, after such tenour and forme, as they shall thinke convenient, and to punish the Offenders then according to their discretions.

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And also wee the said Lord Deputie and Councell have thought meete, that the said Lord President and Councell, or any three of them, whereof the said Lord President to bee one, shall and may compound upon reasonable causes by their discretion, with any person, for all forfeitures, growing, or comming, or that shall grow, or come, as well by all and singular penall Statutes, as also of obligations and Recognizances, taken, made, or acknowledged, before the said L: President and Councell, or any of them, within the limits of their authorities and Commission for apparance, or for the peace, or good abearing, or by reason of any speciall Statute whatsoever, then made or to be made, And shall also have authority, to cesse reasonable fines for any offences, whereof any person shall happen to bee convicted, before the said Lord President and Councell and such Summes of mony, as shall grow or come, by reason of any such compositions or Fines, they shall cause it to bee entred into a booke, subscribed with the hands of the said Lord President and Councell; or two of them at the least, whereof the Lord President to bee one: To the end the Queenes Majestie may be answered of the same accordingly: And also upon such compositions made of Fine or Fines, set as aforesaid, shall have authority to cancell or make voyde all such Obligations and Bonds.

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And also the said Lord President shall cause, as much as in him lyeth, all Writts or Proccesses, sent or to bee sent, to any person or persons inhabiting, or being within the precinct of his Commission out of the Kings Bench, Chauncerie, or Exchequer, or any other Court of Record, diligently to bee observed, and effectually to bee obeyed, according to the tenor of the same. And if hee shall find negligence, slacknesse, or willfull omission, in any Officer or other Minister to whom the delivery or serving of such Proccesse doth appertaine: Hee shall punish the same severely according to the greatnesse and qualitie of the offence.

And it shall bee lawfull for the said Lord President and Councell, or any three of them, whereof the Lord President to bee one, after examination

examination in the causes necessary, upon vehement suspicion and presumption of any great offence in any partie committed against the Queenes Majestie, to put the said partie so suspected to tortures, as they thinke convenient, and as the cause shall require: and also to respitt Iudgement of death upon any person convicted or attainted before him and that Councell, for any treason, murder, or any other felony: Or after Iudgement given to stay execution untill such time as hee shall certifie us the Lord Deputie and Councell of his doings, and consideration of the same, and receiue answer from us thereof: Provided alwayes, that the same certificate bee made to us the Lo: Deputie and Councell within the space of 21 dayes after such thing is done.

Also if any Inquest within the precinct of their Commission, within Liberties or without, being sworn and charged upon triall of any felonie, murder, or any like offender, whatsoever hee bee, having good and pregnant evidence for sufficient prooffe of the matter, whereof the said offender shall bee accused, indicted or arraigned, doe utterly acquite such offender contrary to the said evidence, that then the said Lord President and Councell, or any two of them, whereof the Lord President to bee one, shall examine such perjuries as well by deposition of witnesses, as by all other kinde of prooffes by their discretions; and if the said Inquest bee convicted before the said Lord President and Councell, or three of them at the least, whereof the Lord President to be one, the said Lord President, and Councell may and shall proceed to the punishment of such offence by fine, imprisonment, or wearing of papers, or standing on the pillorie, as by their discretions shall seeme meet.

Also, wee the said Lord Deputie and Councell, doe earnestly require, and straightly charge the said Lord President and Councell, that they at all times, and in all places, where any great assembly shall bee made before them, doe perswade the people by all good meanes and wayes to them seeming good, and especially by their owne examples, in observing all Orders for Divine Service, and other things appertaining to Christian Religion, and to embrace, follow, and devoutly to observe the Order and Service of the Church, established in the Realme by Parliament, or otherwayes by lawfull authoritie, and earnestly to call upon and admonish all Bishops and Ordinaries, within the precinct of their Commission, diligently, fervently, and often to doe the same. And if the Lord President and Councell, shall finde them negligent and unwilling, or unable to doe the same, That then they shall advertise the Lord Deputie and Councell thereof, and they shall call earnestly upon the Bishops, severely to proceed according to the censuring of the church,

1599.

against all notorious Advowterers, and such as without lawfull divorce, doe leaue their Wiues, or whilest that their lawfull Wife li- veth doe marry with any other, and the Sentence pronounced by the Bishop or Ordinarie upon the offender: The said Lo: President and Councell shall endeavour themselves to the uttermost that they conveniently may, to cause the same Sentence, to bee put in execu- tion according to the Lawes; And if they shall finde the Ordinarie slacke or remisse in this duetie, and not doing according to his Of- fice, they shall punish, or cause to bee punished, the same Bishop or Ordinary, according to their discretions.

Also the Lord President and Councell shall examine the decay of all parish Churches, and through whose defaults the same be decay- ed, and to proceede to the procuring or informing of such as ought to repaire any Church or Churches, with all convenient speed, ac- cording to their discretions: And in cases where her Majestie shall bee (after due and advised inquisition) found by reason of her posses- sions bound to repaire the same Churches, In those cases advertise- ment shall bee given to us the Lord Deputie, &c. Or if they shall know of any that shall spoyle, rob, or deface any Church, they shall with all sincerity proceed to the punishment of the Offenders, accor- ding to the Lawes, Statutes, and Ordinances of this Realme, or ac- cording to their discretions: They shall assise and defend all Arch- Bishops, Bishops, and all other ecclesiastical Ministers in the ministry of their function, and in the quiet possessing of their Landes, rents, services, and hereditaments and shall punish the with-holders, intru- ders, and usurpers of the same, according to their discretions, and the quality of the offence. They shall also giue earnest charge for the observation of all Lawes, and Statutes, or Ordinances made, or to be made for the benefit of the Common-wealth, and punishment of malefactors, and especially the Statute for Hue and crie, for Night- warches, and for Weights and Measures, to be diligently considered, and severely put in execution.

Also the said Lord President shall haue and retaine, one Chap- lin or Minister, that shall and can preach, and reade the Homilies, who shall bee allowed his Dyet in the Household of the sayd Lord President, and shall receiue his entertainment to bee payed out of the Fines growing in that Province, to whom the Lo: President shall cause due reverence to be given, in respect of the Office that he shall haue for the Service of God.

Also the said Lo: Deputie and Councell will, that the sayd Lord President and Councell, or two of them at least, whereof the Lord President to bee one, shall endeavour themselves to execute as well all and all manner Statutes of this Realme, Proclamations, and

and to doe and execute all other Lawes and Statutes of this Realme, and other Ordinances, as to punish the transgressors of the same, according to the said Statutes, Ordinances, and Proclamations: And to leaue or cause to be leaued all and all manner of forfeitures contained in the same, according to the order limited by the sayd Lawes: And if cause so require, shall compound for reasonable causes for all and singular such forfeitures and paynes by their discretions; Having therein regarde not to diminish the fines specially limited by the Lawes, without great necessitie of the poverty of the parties to be ioynted with repentance and disposition of amendment in the partie, for otherwise it is perillous to giue example in weakening the iust terror of good Lawes.

Also the Lord President and Councell or two of them wherof the Lord President to be one, shall and may assesse and tax Costs and dammages, as well to the Plaintiff as to the Defendant, and shall awarde Executions for their doings, Decrees and Orders: And shall punish the Breakers of the same, being parties therevnto by their discretions.

And the said Lord President and Councell, shall immediately upon their repaire to some convenient place, where they meane to reside within the Limits of their Commission, appointing two sufficient men to bee Clerkes or Attornies to that Councell, for the making of Bills, Answers, and Procces for all manner of Subiects, and therein not multiply such Officers, lest also they be occasiō to multiply unnecessary suites, and some trusty wise persons to examine witnesses betweene partie and partie, which of necessitie would be chosen with good advise, foreseeing expresly and charitably, that no excessive fees be by any of them taken of the Subiects, but that their fees bee assessed by the Lord President and Councell, and the same faire written upon a Table, and fixed upon some publike place where the same may be seene, and understood of all Suitors, and that in the beginning the Fees may appeare, and be meane and reasonable; So as in no wise the prosecution of releefe by way of Iustice bee not so chargeable as the poore oppressed sort bee thereby discouraged to make their complaints.

And because it shall bee convenient, that a Register bee daily kept for all the doings, orders, decrees and proceedings, which from time to time shall passe by the said Lo. President and Councell: The Lord Deputie and Councells pleasure is, that the Clarke of the sayd Councell for the time being, having reasonable allowvance for the same of the parties having an interest thereby, shall diligently execute and performe this charge without any futher expences then shall bee specially directed unto him by the said Lord President to be sustained

1599.

sustained by her Majesties Subjects, for enteries of Actes and Orders, &c.

Also the said Lord Deputie and Councill haue thought it convenient, that there shall bee one honest and sufficient man appointed to bee Clarke and receiver of the Fines, at the nomination of the sayd Lord President, who shall diligently and orderly keepe a Booke of all such Fines as shall bee taxed upon any person; the fine to bee alwayes entred by the hand of the Lord President, and shall haue full power to send out Proceffe for any person, upon whom any such fine shalbe so sealed, and to receiue all such fines, and in every Michaelmas Terme, thereof to make a true and perfect account before the Barons and other Officers of the Queenes Majesties Exchequer for the time being, to the end we may be ascertained what fines haue bin acquired to the Queenes Majestie, and how the same haue been imployed. Provided alwayes, and it shall be lawfull for the said Lord President and Councill, to imploy of the said Fines, reasonable summes for reward of Messengers, and repairing the Queenes castles and houses, and in building and reedifying Goales within each Countie, in the precinct of their Commission, where by Lawes of the Realme no other persons are thereto bound and chargeable: and also for furnishing of necessary utensils for the household, as to the said L. President and Councill, or to any two of them, whereof the Lord President to bee one, shall seeme needfull and convenient. In all which the said Lord President shall haue regard to moderate those allowances, as of the Fines assessed and levied, the Queenes Maiestie may be answered some reasonable yeerely Sommes towards her great chardges in maintaining of this Councill, the same being to the Crowne of England a new chardge, and any warrantmet signed by the said Lord President, or any one of the Councill for any such Somme or Soms, shall be a sufficient discharge to the said Clarke our Receiver of the said Fines for the issuing of the said Sommes. And the said Clarke or Receiver shall haue full power for the sending out of Proceffe against any person upon whom any such Fine shall be cessed, and to haue his Proceffe gratis from the Clarke of the Signet, and hee to haue his diet in the house of the said Lord President, and to bee accounted one of the number of his Horsemen, and to receiue the wages, and entertainment due for the same.

Also the said Lord Deputie and Councill haue thought meete there shall be a continuall household kept within the precinct and limits of the Commission aforesaid in such place, as to the Lord President shall seeme most convenient; All servants necessary for which household shall be at the Nomination of the said Lord President; In which house, each Councillor bound to continuall attendance, and atten-

attending shall bee allowed their diets, and the clearke of the Councell, and every other Councillor, being either sent for, or comming for any needfull busines, for the Queene, or countrey shall be allowed during their abroad there their diet. And for the more honourable porte of the said Household, there shall be allowed unto the said Lord President and Councell after the rate of ten pounds sterling by the weeke, to bee imployed upon the Table chardges of the said Household, halfe yeerely to bee received at the hands of the Vice-treasurer, and generall Receiver of the Queenes Maiesties revenewes of this Realme, for payment of which there shall remaine in the hands of the said Vice-treasurer, (who is also Treasurer for the Warres) a Warrant dormant, whereby the said Vice-treasurer shall be authorized to pay to the said Lord President, one halfe yeeres allowance alwayes before hand towards the making his necessary provision, out of the revenew: Or if he shall not haue sufficient Treasure, then out of any other Treasure, the said Lord President shall nominate and appoint one discrete and sufficient man of his servants to bee Steward, or clearke of the same Household, who shall weekly write and summe the chardges thereof, and the same also shall hee weekly present to the Lord President and Councell, to be considered.

And because her Maiestie meaneth principally to benefit her Subjects, not onely with the fruites of Iustice, but with the delivery of them from all unnecessary burdens: The Lord President and Councell shall foresee, that no manner of extraordinary or excessiue charge bee put and layed upon any person against their Wils and Agreements, by finding or sustaining of any Horsman, or Footman, or Horse-boy, or Horse belonging to the said Lord President, or any of the said Councell, or any belonging to them. And in the like manner shall see that the Subjects bee not oppressed with the like by any other, contrary to the Lawes of the Realme for such causes provided.

Item, considering the Queenes Maiestie hath title and right to no small quantity of possessions, within *Mounster*, aswell of auncient revenew of the Crowne, and of other Seignories devolued to the Crowne; And also of the dissolved Monasteries and other Houses of religion, the which are not duely answered to her Maiestie as reason would; The said Lord President and Councell shall from time to time imploy their Labours by all their good discretions, to procure that her Maiesties Officers or Farmors appointed for that purpose, may peaceably and fully from time to time possesse and receiue the profits of the same.

The Oath to bee ministred by the Lord President to such as shall be admitted to bee of the Councell of Mounster, being not already

1599.

sworne of her Majesties Privie Councell in Ireland, as well the oath provided in the Statute for swearing of Officers, as also this heereunder written, *viz.*

You shall sweare to the uttermost of your power, will, and cunning, you shall be true and faithfull to the Queenes Majestie our Sovereigne Lady, and to her Heires and Successors.

You shall not know nor heare any thing that may in any wise be prejudiciall to her Highnes, or the Commonwealth, peace and quiet of this her Hignesse Realme, but you shall with all diligence reveale and disclose the same to her Highnesse, or to such other person or persons of her Majesties Privie Councell in Ireland, as you shall thinke may and will soonest convey and bring it to her Highnesse knowledge.

You shall serue her Maiestie truely and faithfully in the roome and place of her Maiesties Councell in *Mounster*.

You shall in all things that bee moved, treated, and debated in any Councell, faithfully and truely declare your mind and opinion according to your heart and conscience: In no wise forbearing so to doe for any respect of Favour, Meade, Dreade, Displeasure, or corruption.

Yee shall faithfully and uprightly to the best of your power, cause Iustice to bee duely and indifferently ministred to the Queenes Maiesties Subiects, that shall haue cause to sue for the same, according to equity and order of Lawes.

Finally, you shall bee vigilant, diligent, and circumspect in all your doings and proceedings, touching the Queenes Maiestie and her affaires.

All which points and Articles before expressed, with all other Articles signed with the hands of the Lord Deputie and Councell of this Realme, and delivered to mee the Lord President of her Highnesse Councell established in these parts: You shall faithfully obserue, keepe, and fulfill to the uttermost of your Power, Wit, Will, and cunning, so helpe you God, and the contents of this Booke.

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1599.

**THE NAMES OF THE COVN-
CELLORS TO BEE ASSISTANT
to the Lord President of Mounster,
as they are directed under the hand
of the Lord Deputie.**

<i>The Earle of Ormond.</i>	<i>Sir Francis Barkley.</i>
<i>The Earle of Kildare.</i>	<i>Sir George Thornton.</i>
<i>The Earle of Thomond.</i>	<i>Iustice Golde.</i>
<i>The Vice-Co: Barry.</i>	<i>The Queenes Sergeant.</i>
<i>The Lord Audley.</i>	<i>The Q. Attorney generall.</i>
<i>The Bishop of Corke.</i>	<i>The Q. Solicitor.</i>
<i>The Bishop of Limer.</i>	<i>Sir Charles Wilmot.</i>
<i>Sir Nicholas Welsh.</i>	<i>Garret Comerford, Esquire.</i>
<i>Iustice Saxey.</i>	<i>Hugh Cusse, Esquire.</i>

Adam Dublin.
Thom. Midenf.

George Cary.
Rich. Wingsfield.
Anth. S'leger.

George Bourcher.
Geof. Fenton.
Fra: Stafford.

1599.

CHAP. II.

The Earle of Tyrone in Mounster, and his Actions there. The White Knight Tyrone prisoner. Florence Mac Carti made Mac Carti More, and Donell Mac Carti displaced. The Lord Barry spoiled. Tyrone's Letter to the Lord Barry, with the Lord Barry's answer. Sir Warham Saintleger, and Mac Guyre slain. Tyrone's returne into Ulster.

The Earle of Tyrone in Mounster, & his actions there.

The White Knight Tyrone prisoner.

Florence Mac Carti made Mac Carti More, and Donell Mac Carti displaced.

The L. Barry preyed and spoiled.



Little before the landing of the Lord Deputie in Ireland (as is said) the Arch-traytor Tyrone, to unite the Rebels of Mounster, and especially to conferre with James fits Thomas, the titularie Earle of Desmond, and Florence Mac Cartie, at whose intreatie he made a journey into Mounster; Those whom hee found obstinate in rebellion, hee encouraged, from such as hee held doubtfull; hee tooke pledges, or detained prisoners: of which last sort was the White Knight, and his sonne in law, Donogh Mac Cormocke Cartie, whom in hand-lockes he carried away with him: And whereas Donell Mac Cartie, the Earle of Clancare's base sonne had been by the Mac Carties of Desmond advanced to the Stile, title and authoritie of Mac Cartie More: Him hee displaced, and in his roome Florence Mac Cartie was surrogated, being a man as hee conceived, of farre more use then Donell. Such as were, or reputed good Subjects, these hee prosecuted with sword and fire; Amongst others which felt his heaue hand, the Lord Barry was one, upon whom, when hee could not worke his desire to draw him into actual rebellion, by the perswasion of the Provinciaall rebels, him hee preyed, burned, and spoiled, to make it manifest, that hee was solicited to enter into Rebellion; both the Letters of Tyrone, and the Lord Barries Answer, are heere truly set downe, the tenors whereof doe ensue.

Tyrone's Letter to the Lord Barrie.

MY Lord Barry, your impietie to God, crueltie to your soule and body, tyrannie & ingratitude both to your followers and country are inexcusable & intolerable. You separated your selfe from the unitie of Christs mysticall Bodie, the Catholike Church. You know the Sword of Extirpation hangeth over your head, as well as ours, if things fall out other wayes then well; you are the cause, why all the Nobilitie of the South (from the East part to the West,) you being linked unto each one of them, either in affinitie, or consanguinitie, are not linked together to shake off the cruell yoke of Heresie and Tyrannie, with which our Soules and Bodies are oppressed; All those afore said depending of your resolution, and relying to

to your Iudgement in this common cause of our Religion and Countrey, you might forsooth with their helpe, (and the rest that are combyned in this holy Action) not onely defend your selfe from the incursion and invasion of the English, but also (by Gods assistance) who miraculously and above all expectation, gaue good successe to the cause principally undertaken for his glorie, exaltation of religion, next for the restauration of the ruines, and preservation of the Countrey, expell them, and deliver them and us from most miserable and cruell exaction and subjection, enjoy your religion, safetie of Wife and children, life, lands and goods, which all are in hazard through your folly, and want of due consideration: Enter I beseech you into the closet of your Conscience, and like a wise man weigh seriously the end of your actions, and take advise of those that can instruct you, and informe you better, then your owne private judgement can leade you unto. Consider, and reade with attention and settled minde, this Discourse I sende you, that it may please God to set open your eyes, and graunt you a better minde. From the Campe this instant Tuesday the fixt of March according to the new Computation. I pray you to send mee the Papers I sent you, as soone as your Honour shall reade the same.

in hoc loco loquitur ad Tyrone. O Neale.

The Lord Barvies Answer to Tyrone.

YOUR Letters I received, and if I had answered the same as rightfully they might be answered, you should haue as little like thereof as I should mislike or feare any thing by you threatned against me; (which manner of Answer, leaving to the construction and consideration of all those that are fully possessed with the knowledge of the Law of duetie to God and Man.) You may understand hereby briefly my mind to your objections, in this manner; How I am undoubtedly perswaded in my conscience, that by the Law of God and his true religion I am bound to hold with her Maiestie: Her Highnesse hath never restrained me for matters of religion, and as I felt her Maiesties indifferencie and clemencie therein, I haue not spared to releue poore Catholikes with duetifull succour, which well considered, may assure any well disposed mind, that if duety had not (as it doth) yet kindnesse and courtesie should bind me, to remember, and requite to my power, the benefits by me received at her Maiesties hands: You shal further understand, that I hold my Lordships and Lands, immediately under God, of her Maiestie and her most noble Progenitors, by corporall service, and of none other, by very ancient Tenour, which Service and Tenour, none may dispence

1599.

withall, but the true Possessor of the Crowne of England, being now our Sovereigne Lady Queene *Elizabeth*. And though yee by some over weening imaginations, haue declined from your dutifull allegiance unto her Highnesse; Yet I haue serled my selfe never to forsake Her: Let fortune never so much rage against me, thee being my anointed Prince, and would to God you had not so farre ran to such desperate and erronious wayes, offending God and her Maiestie: who hath so well deserved of you, and I would pray you, to enter into consideration thereof, and with penitent hearts, to reclaime your selues, hoping that her Highnesse of her accustomed clemency, would be gracious to you, wherein I leaue you to your owne compunction and consideration. And this much I must challenge you, for breach of your word in your Letter, by implication inserted that your forces haue spoiled part of my countrey, and preyed them to the number of foure thousand Kine, and three thousand Mares and Gerrans, and taken some of my followers Prisoners, within the time by you assigned unto mee to come unto you, by your said word, (if yee regarde it) I require restitution of my spoile, and Prisoners, and after (unlesse you bee better advised, for your Loyalty) use your discretions against mee and mine, and spare not if you please, for I doubt not with the helpe of God, and my Prince, to bee quit with some of you hereafter, though now not able to use resistance: And so wishing you to become true and faithfull Subiects to God and your Prince, I end, at *Barry Court* this twenty sixe of *February, 1599.*

*Sir Warham
St leger and
Mac Guire
slaine.*

While *Tyrone* was in *Mounster*, a disafterous action hapned, upon the day of *February*, *Tyrone* with his Hell-hounds being not farre from *Corke*, *Sir Warham St Ledger* and *Sir Henry Power* (who after the death of *Sir Thomas Norris*, Lord President of *Mounster* in the vacancie of a President had beene established Commissioners for the governement of the Province) riding out of the Citie for recreation to take the aire, accompanied with sundry Captaines and Gentlemen with a few Horse for their Guard, not dreaming of an enemy neere at hand, carelessly riding every one as he thought good, within a mile of the Towne, or little more, *Sir Warham St leger*, and one of his servants a little stragling from his companie, was in a narrow way, suddenly charged by *Mac Guire*, who with some Horse (likewise dispersed) had spread a good circuit of ground, in hope either to get some bootie, or to haue the killing of some Subiects, they charged each other. *Sir Warham* discharged his Pistoll, and shot the Traytor; and hee was stricken with the others Horsemans staffe in the head, of which wounds either of them dyed: but none else on either

either side was slaine. Tyrone having dispatched his busines in *Mounster* turned his face towards *Ulster*. The Earle of *Ormond*, the Lord Licutenant generall of Her Maiesties Forces with a competent Army was before him with a purpose to fight with him in his retreat; But by what accident hee missed of his intention I know not, being a hard matter to fight with an enemy that is not disposed to put any thing in hazard: He went through *Ormond* and stayed not untill he had passed through a part of *Westmeth* betweene *Mollingar* and *Athlone*. The Lord Deputie on the 5. of *March* had intelligence that hee meant to passe through *Westmeth*; Whereupon with all the force hee could presently assemble hee marched from *Dublin*, but his endeavour was fruitlesse, for *Tirone* was past before his comming.

1600.
*Tyrone's re-
turne into
Ulster.*

CHAP. III.

The Lord President left Dublin, The Earle of Ormond taken prisoner by O'wny Mac Rory Omare. A joynt Letter from the Lord President and the Earle of Thomond to the Lords of the Councell in England. The manner of the Earle of Ormonds taking prisoner. The narrow escape of the Lord President, and wounding of the Earle of Thomond. The order taken for the seating of the Countrey after the Earle of Ormonds disaster. The submission of Tho: Fitz James, and Tho: Power.

THE Lord President having attended long at *Dublin* about his dispatches afore mentioned, (wherein hee lost no time) upon the seventh of *Aprill* being accompanied with the Earle of *Thomond*, the Lo: *Audley*, Captaine *Roger Harvy*, Captaine *Thomas Browne*, Captaine *Garret Dillon* and some other Captaines and Gentlemen with seven hundred Foote and one hundred Horse; Hee tooke his leaue of the Lord Deputie, who with all the Councillors and Captaines then in the Citie, (to doe him honour) rode with him about two miles out of the Towne, and that night he lodged at the *Naas*, the next night at *Catherlogh*, and the day following hee came to *Kilkenny* to visit the Earle of *Ormond* being a noble man whom he much respected, as well for the honorable parts that were in him, as for the long and familiar acquaintance which had beene betweene them: After salutations and complements were past, the Earle told the President that the next day hee was to parlie with the Rebelle *O'wny Mac Rory Omare* at a place about eight miles from *Kilkenny*, and hee was desirous that the President would goe with him, whereunto he easily assented: the next morning being the tenth of *Aprill*, according to the appointment, the Earle parlied with the Traitor, and was there taken

*The President
left Dublin
7. April.*

10. Aprilis

1600.
The Earle of
Ormond ta-
ken prisoner
by Owny mac
Rory O more

taken Prisoner : To the end the Reader may truly understand the manner of that dayes misfortune, behold the Letter which the President and the Earle of Thomond sent to the Lords of the Councell in England, wherein the same is fully related.

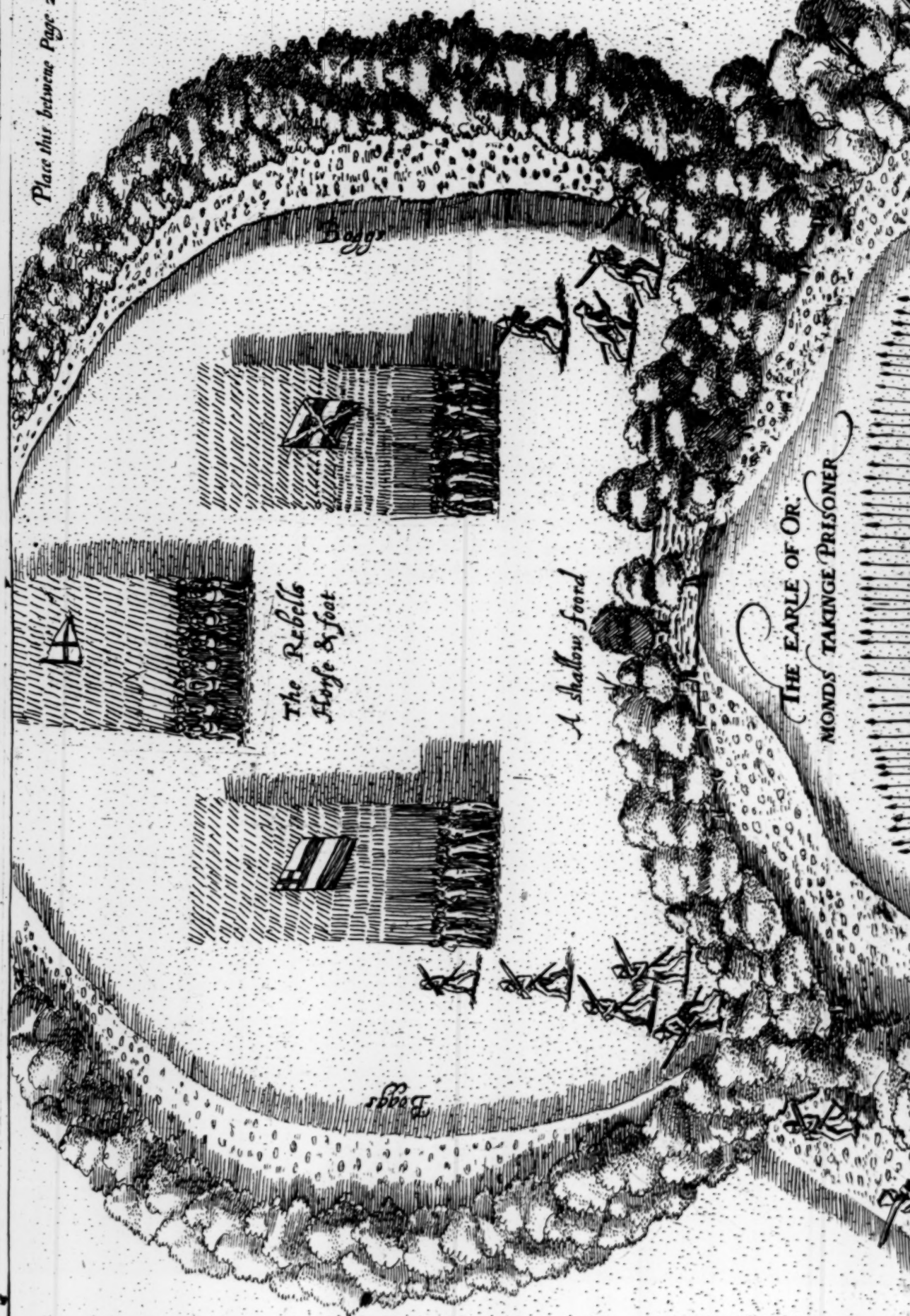
*A Ioint Letter from the Lord President and the Earle of
Thomond to the Lords of the Councell.*

IT may please your Lordships : Although I the President haue by my Letters advertised the Lord Deputie, the manner in what sort the Earle of Ormond was taken, which I thinke is by his Lordship sent unto you, yet, wee thinke it our duties to make relation thereof unto your Lordships, and to make knowne unto your Honours, how accidentally we were witnesses of his misfortune. On Munday the seventh of *Aprill*, wee departed from *Dublin*, and upon Wednesday at night wee came to *Kilkenny*, where wee found the Earle of Ormond : In our company we had one hundred Horse, dispersed in the Countrey ten or twelue miles distant from us, by the Earles Officers: as soone as we came unto him, he acquainted us, that he had appointed the next day to parlie vvith *Owny Mac Rory*, vvee told his Lordship, that vve vvould attend him : And I the President, desired his Lordship, that my one hundred Horse might be sent for to goe vvith us, for his Lordships better guard, vvich he refused, thanking me for my offer, saying that he had no need of them : The next day being the tenth of this present, after Dinner his Lordship not having in his company about the number of seventeene Horsemen (of his followers) armed, and not little about the like number of all sorts, whereof wee were part, and the rest Lavvyers, Merchants, and others upon Hacknies, with no other Weapons then our Swordes, roade out to the place of meeting, eight long Miles from *Kilkenny*, called *Corronneduffe*, upon the Borders of *Ydough* ; Leaving his Lordships owne Company of two hundred Footemen short (of the place of Parlie assigned) about two English Miles ; The place vvhere vvee met with the rebells, was upon a Heath ground, descending towards a narrow straight, having on either side of us a lowe shrubbie boggie wood, within three pikes-length (at the farthest) from the place where wee parlyed, and the like distance from the straight aforesaid, the choyce whereof wee much misliked. *Owny Mac Rory* when hee came unto us, brought with him a Troupe of choise Pikes, leaving in a little plaine beyond the straight, within halfe Culvering shot of us, in our sight, all his grosse, beeing in all to the number (as *Redmond Keting*, one of the rebells did sweare unto mee the President

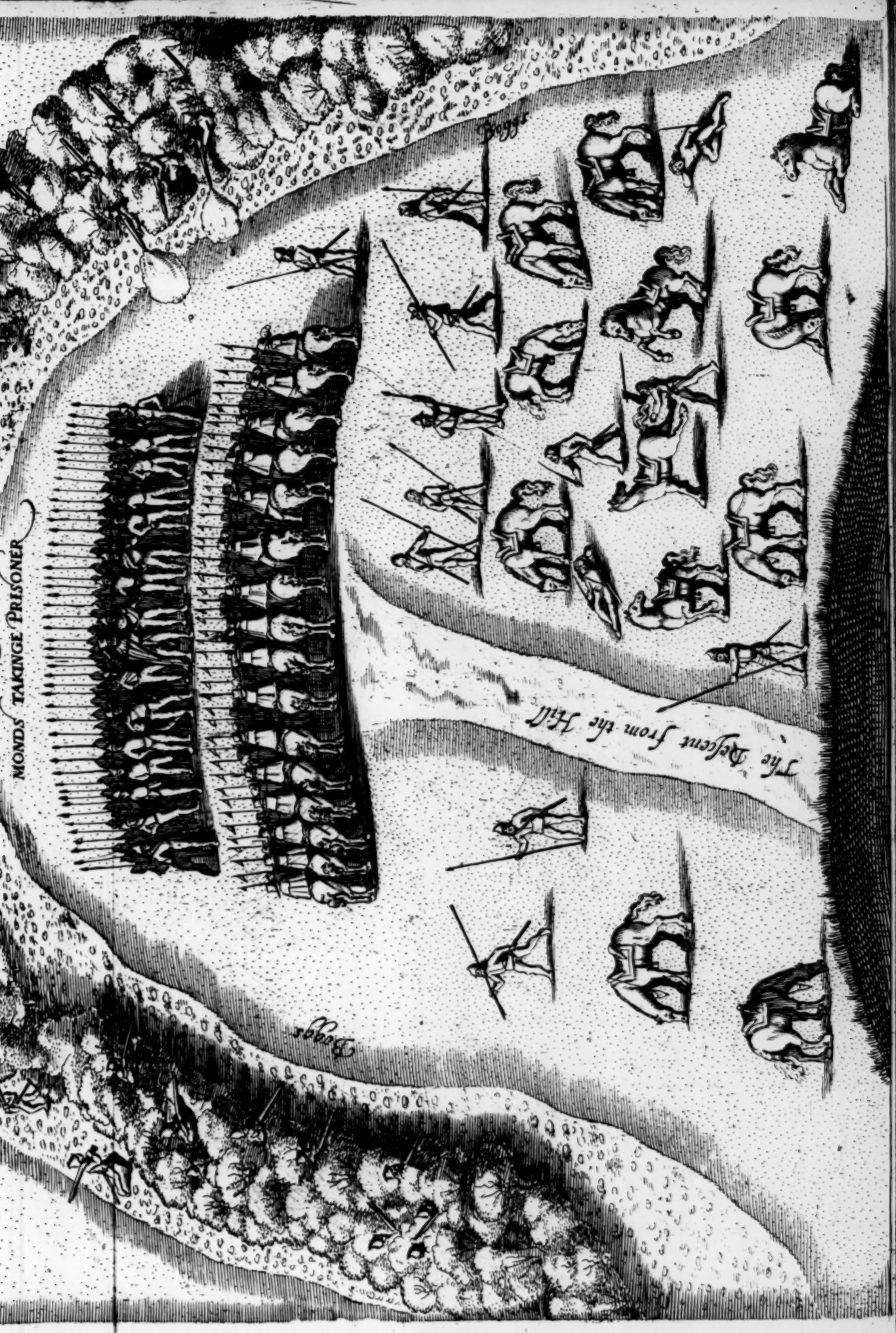
The manner
of the Earle
of Ormonds
taking.

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MONDS TAKING PRISONER



dent) five hundred Foot strong, and twentie Horse, whereof three hundred were *Bonoughes*, the best furnished men for the warre, and the best appoynted that wee haue seene in this Kingdome. At our first meeting, and so during the parley, (which was appoynted for some good causes best knowen to his Lordship) they stood (as they might) every one trayling his Pike, and holding the cheeke thereof in his hand, ready to push. The Earle himselfe was upon a little weake Hackney, unarmed (as all wee were that were about him) standing so neere with the side of his Hackney to the rebels, as they touched him. After an hower and more was idly spent, and nothing concluded, wee and others did pray his Lordship to depart: But hee desirous to see that infamous Iesuite *Archer*, did cause him to bee sent for; assoone as hee came, the Earle and hee fell into an Argument, wherein hee called *Archer* Traytor, and reprooved him, for sending, under pretext of Religion, her Majesties Subjects into rebellion. In this meane time the grosse of the rebels had left their standing in the plaine, and some crept into the shrubbes aforesayd, and others did so mingle themselves among us, that wee were environed, and stood as if wee had been in a Faire, whereof divers did advertise his Lordship. And at last I the Earle of *Thomond* willed *Owne* to put backe his men: And I the President desired his Lordship to bee gone, for that I did not like their mingling with us; wherewith as his Lordship was turning his Horse, at an instant they seised upon him, and us two: His Lordship was in a moment drawen from his Horse; we had more hanging upon us, then is credibly to bee beleevd: but our horses were strong, and by that meanes did breake through them, in tumbling downe (on all sides) those that were before and behinde us, and (thanks be to God) we escaped the push of their pikes, (which they freely bestowed) and the flinging of their Skeines, without any hurt, saving that I the Earle of *Thomond* received with a Pike a wound in the back. The Earles Horsemen (which were armed) were farre from us, for every one was disperfed, and talking with particular rebels, about the bordering businesse, so as wee doe protest unto your Lordships, in all wee were not aboue tenne unarmed men neere unto him, and assoone as the Allarme was raised, every man of his followers came away, without looking behind him: After wee had cleered our selues (within a Butt length at the most) wee made halt, and called for the Trumpet, and cried upon the Earles men for a Charge, but none stood by us, but Captaine *Harry*, Captaine *Browne*, Master *Comerford*, a Lawyer, and three of our Servants, which was all the company that we had then, and all of us, without Armour or other Weapon then our Swords, so as for want of more company, vvee

1600.

*The narrow
escape of the
Lord Presi-
dent.*

*The Earle of
Thomond
wounded.*

*The order
which was
taken for the
settling of the
countrie af-
ter the Earle
of Ormonds
disaster.*

were enforced by the Enemies shott, to leaue them the ground; But we doe assure your Lordships, the place wherein we parlied was of such advantage to the Enemy, that 500 Foote, would not haue cared for 500 Horse, and therefore (his Lordship having no Foote with him) it was impossible to doe the Enemy any harme with Horse: this treachery (for so wee must terme it in respect of his Lordships confidence in the valour of his owne men, and also in his opinion that the Enemy durst not shew him this foule measure) was contrived by that Villaine Archer, and none was made acquainted with it, but *Owny Mac Rory*, two Leinster men, and fower Bonnagh's, for if more had beene trusted, there is no doubt but his Lordship should haue had knowledge of it; *Owny Mac Rory* laid his hands on mee the President, as they report, and (next unto God) I must thanke the Earle of Thomond for my escape, who thrust his Horse upon him, and at my backe a Rebelle newly protected (at my suite) called *Brien Mac Donoghe Keranaghe* being a foote, did me good service, and wounded one of the Traitors, that laid hands on the Earle of Ormond, for the rest I must thanke my Horse, whose strength bare downe all about him. On our side there was but one man slaine, not aboue fise hurt, whereof *Pierce Butler* (a kinsman of the Earles) was one, who behaved himselfe valiantly; and about foure-teene taken Prisoners; and of the Enemy was one slaine, and a few hurt; the Prisoners were taken by their owne negligence, who were grazing their horses: The taking of this great Lord breeds unsetled humors in these parts, for all the Gentlemen of the countrey (whereof some of them were his true followers) for want of a Defender are wavering; others, which in their owne dispositions were naught, and contained themselues as Subiects but for feare of his power, are now at liberty, and we feare will shortly declare themselves: To keepe them from present uproares, I the President, did immediately send for sixe hundred Foote of the Mounster Companies, which were at Watterford, & the hundred Horse, which were in the countrey, to the Towne of Kilkenny, which hath wrought good effect, and staied the unsetled humors; besides, thereby it did assure the Lady of Ormond, and her daughter, which otherwise had beene subiect to many dangers, so sorrowfull a Lady in all our liues vvee haue not seene; and doe beleue, that if it had not pleased God, that we at that time, had beene there, she would hardly haue undergone those griefes that did oppresse her: For besides the losse of her husband (in being Prisoner with those rogues) she beheld the apparant ruine of her selfe and her daughter, and no lesse danger of both their liues; the Guard vvhich she committed unto us, not being assured of those that serue her, for there is diuers that pretend to bee the Earles

Earles Heires ; First Sir *Edmond Butler* his second Brother , which Sir *Walter Butler* the Earles Nephew, (vvhose blood is not attained) vvill not yeeld unto, because his Vncle Sir *Edmond* is not restored in blood; And the Vicount *Mountgarret* thinks, that he ought to be Earle of Ormond, for many reasons vvhich he pretends. This controversie could not but breed great danger to the Countesse, and her daughter, for that either of those vvould bee glad to possesse themselves in the Earles houses, and the doubt vvho is to succcede him, breeds unsettled humors in the Gentlemen of the countrey, that bee follovers to the Earle , every one addiecting himselfe to the partie they affect, vvhereby there is a generall distraction vvhich vvould haue brokent out into a dangerous Rebellion, if the Forces and vve had not beene heere to keepe them in awe: Besides we did not neglect to send for all the Lords and Gentlemen in the countrey (that are of the best quality) and haue temporized with them ; So as we hope, the dangers vvhich were like to ensue, will be for a time well appeased : Also understanding that *Balliragget* a house of the Lord *Mountgarrets*, in the vvhich there is a Warde for the Queene , kept as a Pledge for his loialty, that the same was attempted to be wonne by the Vicecounts sonnes, vvho are in rebellion ; And immediately upon the Earles taking, lay before it, in hope to starue the Souldiers, (for their last daies victuals was spent) I the President did take up in Kilkenny, upon my credit victuals , and vvith a strong convoy of Horse and Foote, haue revictualled it, for sixe weekes, vvhereof the Lord Deputy is advertised, praying him to be carefull, before that victuall be spent ; And because that all things might be continued in good order ; We thought good to remaine in Kilkenny , untill the Lord Deputy should determine of some course, so to hold it for her Maiesties benefit, the countries good , and the Countesse and her daughters safetie ; wherein we were enforced to make large disbursements, of our small stores, for dieting in that time of the horse and foote Troopes , vvhereof I the Earle, defrayed the charges of my owne Company of two hundred Foote, and I the President of all the rest, during our abode there , vvhich was eight dayes. In this meane time wee understanding that *Mountgarrets* sonnes , (vvhich are in rebellion) did come to spoile the countrey neere to Kilkenny ; We sent out some part of our Troopes, vvho lighted upon some of their men ; And amongst them vvhich they slew , there was one of the *Butlers*, a neere kinsman to *Mountgarret* and a Leader slaine , and the Traitors driven to their Woods, being enforced to leaue their enterprize.

The sixteenth of this present, Sir *George Bouchier*, and Sir *Christopher St Lawrence*, sent from the Lord Deputie, came to Kilkenny, Sir *George* for chiefe Commander of her Maiesties Forces there , and to take

1600.

take charge of the Countesse, her Daughter, and the Earles Houses, and Sir *Christopher* to bee directed by him. The Forces there left is two hundred Foote of the Earles, other two hundred Foote of Sir *Christophers*, thirtie Foot left in a ward in *Mountgarretts* house, called *Balliraggett*, eightie five Horse, (whereof fiftie of the Earles, five and twentie of *S. Lawrences*) and tenne of Sir *George Bourchiers*. Since the Earles taking, wee kept the Rebels from doing any hurt in the Countrey, neither as yet is there any in rebellion in the same, but *Mountgarrets* sonnes, whose force is not such, but in our opinions, (without they call strangers to assise them) her Majesties Forces there is much too strong for them. The seventeenth wee left *Kilkenny*, and came to this Cittie, leaving Sir *George Bourcheir* as aforesaid. This accident hath withheld mee the President from my peculiar charge, more then I purposed, but therein I hope your Lordships will hold mee excused, being other wayes so necessarily imployed in these causes of so great importance; whereof I humbly beseech your Lordships, in your wisdomes to haue due consideration. To morrow wee proceed in our Iourney towards *Corke*, from whence, (with the rest of the Councell there) wee will advertize your Lordships, in what estate wee finde the Province, not being able heere to certifie your Honours so particularly as then wee may. So wee humbly take our leaves: From *Waterford*, the eighteenth of *Aprill*, 1600. Strange it was to consider how much this misfortune distracted the minds of sundrie that before were inclined to subjection, and greatly animated the Traitors to persevere in their wicked enterprises, which might evidently be seene in *Pierce Lacy*, a wise and malicious Traytor, who being but few dayes before upon the Earles protection, promising great loyaltie and much service, did presently relapse, and became a more dangerous Rebelle then at any time before. But now leaving farther discourse of former occurrents, we will betake our selues wholly to prosecute the relation of such things as happened in *Mounster*, after the Lord President came to *Waterford*, which was the sixteenth of *Aprill*; For the prosecution of the Service in which Province, by order out of *England*, the List, as aforesayd for *Mounster*, was established to be three thousand Foot, and two hundred and fiftie Horse. After his repaire thither, Intelligence came unto him, that the Titularie Earle of *Desmond* with the greatest part of his Forces was remaining not farre from *Yoghall*, about *Drumfinin*, with intent to giue impediment unto him, and such Companies as hee had with him. *Thomas fits James*, Bastard sonne of Sir *James fits Gerrald*, late Lord of the *Decies*, and *Thomas Power*, the Lord *Powers* Cosen Ierman, the chiefe Rebels in the Countie of *Waterford*, receiving advertisement that the President

The submissions of *Tho. fits James*, & *Tho. Power*.

1600.

sident was in Waterford, fearing peradventure lest some draught might bee drawn upon them; and that themselves or followers might receive some great prejudice by meanes of the Presidents Forces, made great instance by the Lord Power, and Sir Nicholas Welsh, to be received into her Majesties protection, promising and protesting not onely that they would reclaim themselves, and their followers from committing any outrage against her Majesties Subjects; but further, that they would endeavour to recompense and requite their former defaults by some acceptable service. The Lord President considering, that the receiving of them and their Dependants into protection, would bee a meanes both to weaken the Traitour Desmond of some part of his strength, and to secure and open the passage betwixt Waterford and Yoghall, which before was so kept, especially by them, that there was no way to send but by Sea: Vpon the best assurance that could bee gotten for their future loyalties, accepted their submissions, and graunted protection both to themselves and their followers, since which time they haue been good and loyall Subjects.

CHAP. IV.

The encounter of her Majesties Forces with Florence Mac Carty. The prey of the Brough taken. The state of the Province of Mounster, when the Lord President came into it. The Lord Barry preyed. Redmond Burke defeated by Odwyre. Odwyres Country harassed by Redmond Burke.



HE twentieth of Aprill the Lord President accompanied with the Earle of Thomond, the Lord Audley, the Lo: Power, the Lord of the Decies, Sir Nicholas Welsh, Sir Anthonie Cooke, Sir Richard Masterfon, Captaine Roger Harvie, Captaine William Taffe, Captaine Richard Greame, Captaine Fleming, Captaine Gifford, Captaine Dillon, Captaine Oreilly, and divers other private Gentlemen, with eight hundred Foot, and one hundred Horse, came that night to Dongarvan, where hee found Sir George Cary the Treasurer his Company, which the next morning hee tooke along with him to Yoghall. The two and twentieth hee received advertisement of an incounter betweene Captaine Flower, Serjeant Major of that Province, and Florence Mac Carty, the performance whereof was as followeth.

Florence Mac Carty notwithstanding the infinite favours and bounties which hee had received from her Maiestie, being wholly Spaniolized, had possessed the minds of those in Carbry & Desmond

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with

20. April.

22. April.

The encounter of her Majesties forces with Flor. Mac Cartie.

1600.

with a strange opinion of his worthinesse, and having combined with *Tyrone* and the other Rebels at his late being in Mounster did shew himselfe in open action against her Maiestie: Whereupon the Commissioners *Sir Warham Saint Leger*, and *Sir Henry Power* sent Captaine *Flower* and Captaine *Bostocke* into Carbery with twelue hundred foote and one hundred horse (which *Flower* commanded in chiefe) to make prosecution against the Rebels of those parts, in their way towards Rosse, they burned and spoiled the Countre as they passed, they got the heads of thirty seven notorious rebels, besides others of lesse note: *Florence* gathered together of the Provincials and Bownoghs (for so they call their waged men) to the number of two thousand or thereabouts, *Dermond Oconner*, as Generall, (for so they termed him) of the Bownoghs; These being gathered to a head, attended their opportunity to giue some blow to our Forces, yet never did encounter them, untill they were in their returne within five Miles of Corke. In the mid way betwixt that Citie and Kinsale, there is a foord & a bridge, over the river called Awneboy. Here the rebels lay close in an ambush on the North side of the river, in a glynn between two hils, and also on the South side, in a scrubbie Wood neere the river: The Companies comming on, not thinking there to expect an Enemy, marched scarce orderly, and but a few marches burning, Captaine *John Bostocke*, riding a good pretty distance before them, and past the bridge, espied the Morians of some of the suncke ambush in the Glinn, presently retiring backe gaue notice of the Enemy, and willed them to prepare themselves. The rebels finding that they were discovered, presently rose, and charged our men before they were well ordered; Captaine *Flower* the Commander finding himselfe opprest with numbers, drew to the wals of an old ruinous Castle to the Eastward, neere halfe a mile distant for his safety, in which retrait, they being upon the point of routing, were charged home both with Horse and Foote. *Flower* to prevent the danger, directed Lieutenent *Lane*, officer to *Sir John Barkley*, to lie in ambush under an old ditch, with a squadron of Muskietiers; *Carbry Oconner* brother to *Dermond* aforesaid, came on with his Company, following the execution of some of our men, untill hee fell into the ambush, where hearing a volley of shot delivered upon them, *Carbry* with other Gentlemen were slaine; At which accident the rebels being amazed, the Horse tooke the opportunity, and charged them with such resolution, as instantly they rowted, and our men fell upon the execution of them: In which Charge I cannot but particularly commend *Robert Tent*, *Sir Anthony Cooks Cornet*, who did behaue himselfe with extraordinary valour: besides *Carbry Oconner*, ninetie eight were slaine in the place, and
neere

1600.

neere that number hurt, whereof divers afterwards died: On our part, none of note hurt, but *Greame*, brother to Captaine *Richard Greame*, and eight Souldiers: Captaine *Flower*, (who did that day admirably well) had two Horses slaine under him, and received sundrie wounds, both with sword and pike, and it was his fortune to encounter with *Dermond O Conner*, at whom hee discharged his Pistoll, which lighted upon his Targett, whereby he received no hurt. That night they marched into *Kinelmekagh*, and encamped beyond the Bridge of *Balline Course*, where they staid with their hurt men two nights; the third day in the evening they dispersed their Companies to those Countries where they had Bonaught.

The same day Captaine *Francis Slingsby*, Commaunder of the Lord Presidents Foot Companie, and garrison at *Kilmallock*, where there was the Lord Presidents two hundred Foot, Captaine *Clare* one hundred and fiftie, twentie five of Sir *Anthony Cooke* his Troope, and twelue of Sir *George Thorntons* Horse, drew forth in the night, part of that garrison, to take the prey of the Brough, a Castle of *Pierce Lacies*, but three miles from *Kilmallocke*, to expect the coming forth of the prey to grase, which accordingly, about an hower after day light came forth, and they tooke it: Then presently the crie being raised, three hundred Foot, and fiftie Horse led by *Pierce Lacie*, skirmished with them for the space of sixe howers; but seeing they could not prevaile, they gaue over the pursuite: There was slaine of our men, but one Horseman of Sir *George Thorntons* Troope, and foure or five of the Lord Presidents Foote hurt; their losses were more, whereof *Con Oneale*, *Tyrone*s base sonne was hurt.

*The prey of
the Brough
taken.*

The three and twentieth at night the Lord President lodged at *Barriscourt*, the Lord *Barries* house, and the foure and twentieth he came to *Corke*, upon the way being mett by Sir *Henry Power*, the Commissioner of the Province, and the Captaines that there were garrisoned. The first thing that the President intended (after hee was come to *Corke*) was throughly to understand the state of the Province, as then it stood; the greatest part whereof, although it was knowen to him before, yet hee calling the Councell of that Province together, desired to bee certified by them in the particulars thereof, to the intent that hee might addresse his actions accordingly, Sir *Henrie Power* being sole Commissioner (since the death of Sir *Warham St Leger*) reported the same much after this manner.

23. April.

I know not how more fitly to describe unto your Honour the estate of this Province, then by comparing the same to a man that is diseased of a languishing, and almost incurable sicknesse, the Head so sore, and the Heart so sicke, that every member refuseth his naturall

*The state of
the Province
of Mounster,
when the Lo.
President
came into it.*

1600.

naturall Office, in so much that I dare boldly affirme, that since the Conquest of Ireland, this Province of Mounster was never more distempered then now it is, for all the inhabitants of the countrey, are in open and actuall rebellion, except some few of the better sort; who though themselves in their owne persons attend the state, yet all their Tenants, Friends, and Followers, yea and for the most part, either their Sonnes or Brothers, publickly professed in the devilish action; as for example, the Lord of Cahir, *Cormocke Mac Dermond* Lord of Muskry, *Gerald Fits James* Lord of the Decies, *Mac Carly Keugh*; The computation and number of the rebels, how many they are, especially of the Province, by reason that they are dispersed in so many severall countries, and commanded by so many heads, we can giue no certaine iudgement, but for strangers (meaning Connaght men that receiue bonnaght amongst them) we are certainly advertised from divers, that are well acquainted with their affaires, that they are in List five thousand men, which strength added to the Rebels of the Province, doeth make them absolutely Masters of the field, and her Majesties Forces heere garrisoned in Cities and walled Townes for their safetie, (by reason of their weaknesse before your comming) were in condition little better then besieged. Furthermore, all this might seeme more tollerable, if the Cities and walled Townes were (in these times of extremitie) a safe and well assured retreat for them: but all of them are so besotted and bewitched with the Popish Priestes, Iesuites, and Seminaries, that for feare of their Cursings and Excommunications, they are ready upon everie small occasion, to rise in Armes against them, and minister all underhand, ayde and succour unto the Rebels: so that considering the generalitie of the Inhabitants that are in open rebellion, the infidelitie of those that pretend subjection, the multitude of Connaght men that defend the Action, and the little confidence that may be reposed in Cities, (by reason of their contrary religion) wee may very well conclude, that the estate of this Province is like a man sicke of a most dangerous and desperate disease.

The Lord President having heard by his former advertisements concerning the same matter, thus confirmed; He told the Councell that hee much doubted of any good successe that could suddenly bee expected, and the rather because his Forces were farre inferior to the rebels, being in list but three thousand Foote and two hundred and fiftie Horse: Yet remembring the old Proverbe, that *Ardua virtutis est via*, and relying upon the iustnesse of the Warre, more then upon the number of his Forces, resolved to try the uttermost of his witt and cunning, without committing the matter to the hazard of fortune, to quench the fire that now raged with such extreeme fury.

The

The same day *John Fits Thomas* accompanied with one hundred Kerne, or thereabouts, came into the Lord *Barry* his countrie, neere Castell Lyons, and there tooke from him and his Tenants a prey of three hundred Cowes and ten Horses.

The morrow following being the twentieth, intelligence was brought from *Cormocke Oge Carty* called by the English *Charles Carty*, Sonne to Sir *Cormocke Mac Teg*, that the Arch-traitor *Tyrone* had sent Letters to *Florence Mac Carty*, to encourage both him and his adherents to persist in the action: Assuring them that within one moneth, namely in *May* next, hee would bee with them againe in Mounster, and for that Iourney, his Munition, Victuals, &c. were already prepared.

The twentieth seventh (as *Dermond Odwire* informed the President by his Letters) *Redmond Burke* with six hundred men entred into his countrie to burne and prey the same, which to effect, he divided his Forces into three sundry parts: *Odwire* having assembled as many men as that short warning would permit, fell upon one of the Divisions afore mentioned, which consisted of two hundred Foot, of them he slew one hundred and twenty, and many hurt: In revenge whereof *Redmond Burke* upon the sixth of *May* following, having gotten as many men as hee could assemble, entred the second time into the aforesaid countrie, where he slew Man, Woman, and Child, burnt all the houses, (Castles excepted) and droue away all the Cattle of the countrie.

1600.
The Lord
Barry preyed

26. April.

*Redmond
Burke* defeated by *Odwire*.

Odwire's country harassed by *Redmond Burke*.

CHAP. V.

Loghguire preyed. The submission of *Barrett* and *Condon*. The submission of *Florence Mac Cartie*. *Florence Mac Cartie's* demands. The submission of *Nugent*. The Broughe burnt by *Pierce Lacie*. *Redmond Burke* departed out of *Cownologhe*. Tenne of the *Bonoughs* slaine by Sir *Richard Percy*. A Letter from *James Fits Thomas* to *Florence Mac Cartie*. The Army set out from *Corke* toward *Limericke*. The submission of the white Knights.

THE twentieth ninth, Captaine *Francis Slingsby* drew forth one hundred and fiftie Foot, and twenty Horse, of the Garrison of *Kilmallocke* (in the night) to take the prey of *Loghguire*, five miles distant from his Garrison, a place which much annoyed the passage betweene *Kilmallocke* and *Limericke*; in the morning when the Cattle were put forth to grase, hee tooke it: the Warde to recover it sallied, but after a short skirmish, being hopelesse to doe any good, with some losse returned.

29. April.

Loghguire preyed.

1600.

About this time also the Lord president began to giue forth speeches of a Iourney, that he speedily intended towards Limricke, with a purpose to burne and spoile all the Rebels Houses and Corne, and to take the prey of the countrie neere adioyning, through which his Armie should passe, whether it were the bruite of this Iournie, or the hard measure that hee had lately received at the hands of the Arch-traitors, *Tyrone* and *Desmond*, the white Knight (whose countrie lay neere to the way as the Armie should march) sought by the meanes of *Sir George Thornton*, to bee received into protection, promising to repaire and recover the credit hee had lost, by his lewd and disloyall courses, which afterwards he performed accordingly as shall be shewed in its due place.

The submission of Barrett and Condon.

About this time also *William Barrett* of Ballencolly, and *Mac Mawghe Condon*, both chiefe of small Countreyes, submitted themselves to her Majesties mercie. But the principall marke which the Lord President aymed at, before his entrance into the Field with his Armie, was to reclaime (if possible it might be) *Florence Mac Cartie* (before spoken of) from further pursuing those hatefull and ingratefull courses, which unadvisedly he had entred into. This hee desired for divers reasons: First and especially for the service, which he foresaw might receive some good countenance by his subjection. Secondly, because (if hee continued in action) of necessitie hee must bee constrained to imploy a great part of his Forces (which hee thought both inconvenient and dangerous to bee divided) to follow the prosecution of him and his Complices; And lastly, a good opinion which some his honourable friends in England, and himselfe also had conceived of him: For these causes, was the President moved earnestly to desire, that this *Florence* might bee stayed from further persisting in those exorbitant courses, and the rather, because the said *Florence* had written Letters unto him, which upon his way into Mounster hee received, that assoone as hee should come to Corke, hee would present himselfe personally to him, and doe all his endeavours to advance the Service. All which being made knownen by the Lord President to the Earle of *Thomond*, he intreated the said Earle, and *Sir Nicholas Walsby*, to joyne with *John fits Edmunds*, *Florence* his Godfather, (a man very famous in those parts, for his learning and liberall hospitalitie in entertaining of strangers) to send a Messenger, to signifie to *Florence Mac Cartie*, that they were very desirous to conferre with him, about certaine particularities concerning his owne good. By his Letter remised in answer of this message, hee appoynted both a time and place for their meeting, which was accordingly performed. After more then two houres spent, and many Oathes passed, as well by the Earle as *Sir Nicholas Walsby*, that

1600.

3. May.
The submission
of Flor.
Mac Carty.

that the President had promised his safe returne; with fearefull guiltinesse hee came to Corke, and from thence to Shandon Castle, upon the third of May, 1600, where the Lord President remained at that time, before whom when hee had presented himselfe, hee made his submission upon his knees, with many protestations of the sinceritie of his Heart, and the true loyaltie, which hee alwayes bare towards her Majestie, desiring that hee might bee received into her Majesties favour, and hee would serve her as faithfully and unfainedly, as any man in Mounster. The Lord President reprooved him very sharply, for his trayterous behaviours, laying before him the odiousnesse and foulnesse of his faults, and the monitrous ingratitude towards her Majestie, from whom hee had received many great benefits, and gracious favours: These speeches finished, the President bade him to stand up; when as both hee, and the Earle of Thomond, Sir Nicholas Welsh, and John fits Edmund, did every of them very feelingly preach Obedience unto him: His answer being very generall, carried great shew of loyaltie and obedience at that time. Upon the next morrow hee was called before the President and Councell, who was againe urged (by them all in generall) not onely to desist from proceeding in evill, but with alacritie of minde to doe some such service, as might merit reward; for assurance and performance whereof, the President demaunded his eldest sonne in pledge: for the avoydance whereof hee used many colourable reasons, viz. That it would cause the Bonnoghs to forsake him, yea, and to driue him out of his Countrey, erecting his wiues base Brother in his place; That he had of long time tasted of miseries and wants; That hee had lately recovered his Countrey of Desmond with great travell and charges, and therefore like the burnt child, hee feared to run into any such inconvenience, as might cause his friends to relapse from him. Adding moreover, that it was needlesse in them to exact any such thing at his hands, who was in his soule wholly addicted & devoted to her Majesties service. The weaknesse of these reasons were both wisely discovered, and effectually answered: but all that could bee said, was no more pleasing to him, then is delightfull musicke to deafe eares; which being discerned, the President betooke himselfe to a new devise: for now hee vehemently threatned, (that leaving for a time all other services) a sharpe prosecution of Hostilitie, with fire and sword against himselfe, his tenants and followers, should speedily overtake him, upon his returne into Desmond. Much was hee amazed with this denunciation, and therefore having made a short pause, answered thus: Since my needlesse pledge is so earnestly desired, I am content to leaue my eldest sonne in Corke upon these conditions: That her Majestie would passe unto mee the

Flor. Mac
Carties de-
mands.

1600.

Countrey of Desmond, in as large and ample manner, as before it was conveyed unto my Father in law the Earle of *Clancare*. Secondly, that shee would giue unto mee the Name and Title of *Mac Car-tie More*, or Earle of *Clancare*. Thirdly, that shee would giue unto mee three hundred men in pay, for assuring my Countrey from all that would offend it. These hyperbolically demands, were no sooner propounded, but absolutely rejected: Therefore he desired that Licence might bee graunted unto him, to write to his honourable friends in England, to worke for him the afore recited Conditions, which without any great difficultie was permitted. Lastly, the President questioned with him what hee intended to doe, if these his desires were not satisfied; thereupon hee sware upon a Booke, that hee would never beare Armes against her Majesties Forces, (except hee were assaulted in Desmond) and that his followers should likewise abstaine from actuall rebellion; and further, that he would send him intelligence from time to time, of the Rebells proceedings, and doe him the best underhand-service that possibly hee could. Now had the President effected a great part of his desires, namely, that by *Florence*, his remaining in Neutralitie, his Forces might be wholly imployed against *James fits Thomas*, who being once slaine or banished, it would bee an easie matter to teach him to speake in a more submissiue language, and forget to capitulate either for Lands, Title, or Charge. *Florence* is now departed towards his Countrey of Desmond, where leaving him in suspence, betwixt doubt and feare, wee will proceed in the accidents of Corke.

Now the President discerning this Warre in Mounster to be like a Monster with many Heads, or a Servant that must obey divers Masters, did thinke thus; that if the Heads themselues might bee set at variance, they would proue the most fit Instruments to ruine one another: The two chiefe Heads were the Sugean Earle (for so they called *Desmond*) Commander of the Provincials, and *Dermond O Conner* Generall of the Bownoghs before mentioned. This *Dermond O Conner* was a poore man in the beginning of his fortune, and not Owner of two Plough Lands, in Connaght his native Countrey; his reputation grew partly by his wife, who was daughter to the old Earle of Desmond, and partly by his valour, being reputed one of the most valiant Leaders, and best Commanders amongst the Irish rebels. By meanes whereof he had now the command of foure-teene hundred men in his owne Bonaght, and besides that, might strike a great stroke with the other, being by *Tyrone* at his departure out of Mounster, ordained chiefe Commander of them all. This man did the President make choise to deale withall, for these reasons: First because hee knew that the said *Dermond* being a meere Merce-

Mercenary, and serving in Mounster onely for pay, might be induced by large Summes of monie, to serue the Queene aswell as the rebels: Secondly, hee had a very fit Instrument, whereby the more easily to worke him to his will, namely his Wife, who being brought up some part of her time amongst the English, had not only learned the language, but stood reasonably well affected to the English government, and likely it was that shee would use all her industry, to aduance the service, in hope that if it succeeded well, it would proue a good step or Ladder, to procure the liberty of her Brother *James Fits Gerald*, Sonne and Heire to *Gerald Earle of Desmond* slaine (now Prisoner in the Tower) and to raise his fortunes. Lastly it was publicly knowen that the *Sugan Earle*, would never doe service upon the *Boynnogs*, except he might haue both the title and possessions of the Earle of *Desmond* confirmed unto him, which her Maiestie would never condescend unto. Vpon these grounds in very secret manner, hee provided and sent a fit agent, to sound the inclination of the Lady *Margaret*, for so was *Dermonds* Wife named; and finding her fit to bee wrought upon, the Conditions should be propounded, *viz.* That if her husband would take *Desmond* Prisoner, and deliver him into the hands of the President, he should incontinently receiue one thousand pound sterling; and that he should haue a Company of men in pay from the Queene, and other conditions of satisfaction, to her selfe and her Brother: The Messenger was no sooner sent about these important affaires, but that another occasion offered it selfe unto the President, of no lesse moment then the former, to aduance the service: for immediately hereupon, one *John Nugent* sometimes servant to Sir *Thomas Norris*, late President of Mounster, pretending some wrongs and iniuries to be offered unto him by the State, ioyned with the Rebels, and became (to his power) the most malicious and bloody Traitor in all these parts. At last having as it should seeme spit his poyson, and spent his Venome, sought to Sir *Warham Saint Leger*, and Sir *Henry Power*, the Commissioners, to be received into protection; who more for feare of the hurt that hee might doe, then hope of the good that hee would doe, granted the same, untill the Lord Presidents pleasure (who was now ready to depart from Dublin towards Mounster) were further knowen. At this time therefore *Nugent* came to make his submission to the President, and to desire pardon for his faults committed: Answer was made, that for so much as his crimes and offences had beene extraordinary, hee could not hope to bee reconciled unto the State, except hee would deserue it by extraordinary service, which saith the President, if you shall performe, you may deserue not onely Pardon for your faults committed heretofore, but also some store of Crownes

The submission of Nugent.

1600.

to releue your wants hereafter ; Hee presently promised , not to bee wanting in any thing that lay in the power of one man to accomplish, and in private made offer to the President, that if he might bee well recompenced , hee would ruine within a short space, either the Sugean Earle, or *John Fits Thomas* his Brother. And indeed very likely hee was both to attempt and performe as much as he spake. To attempt because hee was so valiant and daring, as that he did not feare any thing; and to execute, because by reason of his many outrages before committed, the chiefe Rebels did repose great confidence in him. The President having contrived a plot for *James Fits Thomas* (as is before shewed) gaue him in charge to undertake *John* his Brother : But because the matter might be caried without any suspition, upon the next morrow, the Councell being set, and a great concourse of people assembled, *Nugent* renueth his suite for the continuance of his protection. But the President rehearsing in publike audience, a Catalogue of his mischievous outrages lately committed, told the Councell, that having farther enquired, and better considered of Man and Matter, for his part hee thought it an action of very ill example to receiue unto mercy such a notorious Malefactor: the Councell were all of the same opinion, who reviling him with many biting and bitter speeches, and assuring him, that if it were not for a religious regard, that was holden of the Queenes word, hee should pay a deare price for his former misdemeanor, and so with publike disgrace, was he dismissed their presence. The promised submission of the white Knight, the jealousy which the rebels conceived of *Florence Mac Carty* by his comming to the President, and the Presidents Iourney being now blazed through the Province, it caused *Pierce Lacy*, who all the time of the Warres (untill now) had kept a ward in the Castle of the Brough three miles from Kilmallocke, despayring to hold the same against her Majesties Forces ; And knowing it was a convenient place for a Garrison, pluckt downe some part of the Castle, burnt the rest, and by the light thereof, ran into the Woods : *Redmond Burke* also with five hundred Bonoghs about this time, which was in the beginning of *May*, withdrew out of Connillogh, and kept himselfe for a little time about the borders of Ownhy, where being pressed with want of Victuals, he intended to leaue the Province. The Sugean Earle, *Pierce Lacy* and some other hearing of this sudden departure, dispatched Messengers unto him, with earnest entreaties, and large promises, for increasing his Bonnought, if hee would returne, but to no purpose. The cause of this his unexpected departure was a trafficke betweene him and the President, who did uphold him in certaine faint hopes, about the obtaining of the Barronie of Lettrim, which he claimed as his inheritance : For this

*The Brough
burnt by
Pierce Lacy.*

*Redmond
Burke de-
parted out
of Conno-
loghe.*

this is most true, that not long before this time, one *Richard Burke* Uncle to the said *Redmond*, wrote unto the President, that his Nephew would be very glad of his Lordships favour, & that he would withdraw both himselfe and his Bownoghs out of Mounster, so that hee would not send any Forces to molest him in Connaght. Whereunto was answered, that it became not a Governour, no not a private Subject to make any such agreement with a man in his condition: And farther that hee might assure himselfe, that by strong hand he could never invest himselfe in the Barrony of Letterim, nor be in secure possession of his Fathers Lands: But if he would reclaime himselfe and doe service to her Majestie, the President would use the best friends that hee had, either in England or Ireland, that his cause might bee respected with all favour according to the equity thereof.

Not long after the receipt of this Letter, hee left the Countie of Limericke, severed himselfe from the Mounster Rebels, and settled in Ormond, and *Tirrell* stayed not long behinde, inwardly doubting some practise upon himselfe, but publikely pretending the cause of his departure, for a mislike betweene him and *Dermond O Conner*. The President had given foorth, ever since his first comming to Corke, that his Armie should bee on foot in the way to Limerick, by the sixth of May; his intention not being to rise untill the twentieth: the bruit thereof caused the Rebels greatest strength to assemble together, who by the day assigned, had united their Forces in the great Wood called Kilmore, betweene Moyallo, and Kilmallock, neere the place of Ballihawre, through the which the Armie was to march. There they continued the space of tenne dayes, attending continually, and hearkening daily for the Presidents comming: but finding that hee stirred not in all this time, (imagining that he durst not take the field at all) they dispersed their Companies, and departed every one into his owne Countrey. Heereupon some thought, that the President had altered his determination for going to Limerick, and intended to begin the prosecution in some other place: others supposed, that hee would not venture out of Corke, untill hee had received new Supplies, which were daily expected out of England: But both the one and other were besides the marke; for by this stay, (which from the beginning he determined) hee saw divers commodious opportunities might accrue unto him, as that heereby hee should receive certaine advertisement of the strength of the enemy that was to confront him, and also that it was impossible for them (any long time) to hold together, for divers wants which of necessitie must accompany such an undisciplined and disordered multitude, by meanes whereof they would bee constrained to breake with their owne weight; wherein he nothing failed

1600.

May. 16.
Tenne of the
Bownoghs
slaine by Sir
Richard
Percy.

led of his expectation; for within a few dayes following, they were all divided into so many places, and those so farre distant, that they could not speedily be reassembled.

Vpon the sixteenth of May, the President was advertised by Sir Richard Percie, who was Governour at Kinsale, that by his Horsemen in Kinalmekagh, whom he had sent to forrage that Country, ten of the Bownoghs were slaine, and a farre greater slaughter had beene made of them, if Florence Mac Cartie had not had some intelligence out of Kinsale of his intention, who gaue the Bownoghs warning of their comming, whereupon they fled, and dispersed themselves.

May. 17.

Vpon the seventeenth of May, James fits Thomas, the usurping Earle of Desmond, wrote a Letter to Florence Mac Cartie, praying the ayde of his Forces, the Copie whereof is here inserted.

*A Letter from James fits Thomas to Florence
Mac Cartie.*

After my very heartie Commendations, Having received Intelligence of your happie escape out of Corke, it was very joyfull to mee, and many other your Cosen and adherents heere; the fruit of your conference with the President, and the rest, I hope shall purchase ripe experience, and harvest of further knowledge, to cut off the cruell yoke of bloody enemies, who daily studie to worke our perpetuall destruction and exile: I am given to understand that they pretend a journey towards the Countie of Limerick, I am gathering the best force and rising out of these parts, to resist their wicked desires: Redmond Burke is bordering on the Confines of Ormond, expecting to heare from me, if occasion of important service should require, I haue the other day received his Letters signifying his constant service to be ready whensoever I shall send to him, what news you haue with your best advice in all causes tending to our generall Service, I expect to heare, and if the President doe rise out (as it is thought) I pray you good Cosen slacke not time, with your best Force & Provision of victuals to prosecute him freshly in the Reareward, as you respect me, the exaltation of the Catholike faith, and the ease of our countrey: I looke no excuse at your hands, which I pray to lay apart, wherein you shall further the service, and bind me with all my Forces to second you at your need. I haue retained Dermond Oconner in Kerry two hundred Souldiers this quarter, besides the Clanshihies and other Bonoghs with the rising out of my countrey, so as I think I shall make up sixteen or seventene hundred strong, well appointed, together with the Force of Redmond Burke: Thus for
lacke

1600.

lacke of farther Novelties, I commit you to the blessed guiding of God. From Crome the seventeenth of May 1600.

I am credibly informed that five Spanish ships are landed in the North with Treasure, Munition, and great Ordinance, with a competent number of three thousand Souldiers Pioners, and religious persons; I expect every day advertisement in writing, and the coming up of Captaine Terrell with the Munition sent me by Oneyle. I appointed your Cosen Maurice Oge Fits Maurice Gerald to have the charge of Kierrycorrie, I pray you afford him your lawfull favour.

Your most assured Cosen

James Desmond.

The same day Captaine Gaven Harvy, who then had in her Majesties pay a man of Warre, wherein for the payment of the Armie there was three thousand pound in monie, Munition, Victuals, and Souldiers apparrell, set saile with direction for the River of Shenan, to meete the Lord President at Limericke.

The President the twentie one of May left Corke, and with his Armie incamped that night within three miles of Moyallo.

The twentie two they lodged within five miles of Kilmallocke, the twentie three the Armie came within a mile of Kilmallocke, where the white Knight according to his former promises made his humble submission unto the President, whereby the Faggot began to unloose which combined the Rebellion in Mounster, but let us a little looke backward.

21. Maij.
The Armie
set out from
Corke to-
wards Lim-
ricke.
22. Maij.
The submis-
sion of the
White
Knight.

CHAP. VI.

Cahir Castle surprized by James Galdie Butler. A letter from James Galdie Butler to the Lord President. The rendering of the Castle of Loghguirre. Nugents attempt upon Iohn fits Thomas. Glanwilliam spoiled and burnt by the Armie.

THe President being at Yoghall in his journey to Corke, sent Sir Iohn Dowdall (an ancient Captaine in Ireland) to Cahir Castle, as well to see the same provided of a sufficient Ward out of Captaine George Blunts Companie, as to take order for the furnishing of them with Victuall, Munition, and other warlike Provision, there hee left the eighth or ninth of May a Sergeant with nine and twenty Souldiers and all necessary Provision for two moneths, who notwithstanding, upon the three and twentieth of the same were surprized by James

*Cahir
Castle sur-
prised by
James Gal-
die Butler.*

1600.

Galdie alias *Butler*, brother to the Lord of Cahir, and as it was suspected by many pregnant presumptions, not without the consent and working of the Lord himselfe, which in after times proved to be true. The carelesse securitie of the Warders, together with the treachery of an Irish-man, who was placed sentinell upon the top of the Castle, were the causes of this Surprize.

James Galdie had no more in his Companie then sixty men, and comming to the Wall of the Bawne of the Castle undiscovered by the helpe of Ladders, and some Masons that brake holes in some part of the Wall where it was weake, got in and entered the Hall, before they were perceived, the Sergeant named *Thomas Quayle*, which had the charge of the Castle, made some little resistance, and was wounded: Three of the Warde were slaine, the rest upon promise of their liues rendered their Armes, and were sent to Clonmell. Of this Surprize the Lord President had notice when he was at Kilmallocke, whereupon hee sent direction for their imprisonment in Clonmell, untill hee might haue leasure to try the delinquents by a Marshalls Court. Vpon the fourth day following *James Butler* who tooke the Castle wrote a large Letter to the President, to excuse himselfe of his traitorly Act, wherein there was not so many lines as lyes, and written by the underhand working of the Lord of Cahir his Brother, they conceiving it to bee the next way to haue the Castle restored to the Baron: The copie of which Letter here ensueth.

*A Letter from James Galdie Butler to the
Lord President.*

Right Honourable, hither came unto me yesterday my Lord my Brother, accompanied with Mr. *Patrick White*, and *Nicholas White* of Clonmell Gent. and Mr. *George Lea* of Waterford, who treated with me (as they said) by your Honors Commission, what might be the causes why I should attempt the surprizing of the castle of Cahir, being kept as a garrison for her Majestie. And albeit my good Lo: I may not, nor will not justifie what hath been done therein; yet will I signifie the truth, (the which graciously being tempered with mercie) I doubt not to excuse whatsoever hath been committed. And therefore my Lord, first your Lordship shall understand, that where heretofore by youthfull instigation, and as I must confesse, altogether without the privitie of my Lord my Brother aforesaid, I kept the said Castle, untill the same was besieged by her Majesties Forces, and battery layd thereunto, the which I made choise rather to forsake, then stand to the defence thereof; which action my good Lord, was so much raised to my contempt, with the mouthes of her High-

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*Cahir Castle taken by the
Earle of Essex in anno
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Highnesse enemies, (whom I then of force obeyed) as they imagined nothing else would raise credit, but the gaining thereof againe. The next that mooved mee to enterprise the same, was, that publike report was made in the name of the Archbishop of Cassell, (who is well knowen to bee a professed enemy of my House) to haue the keeping of the said Castle. Thirdly, that it was also reported, that the Souldiers of late left in garrison therein, purposed for want to sell the same for a piece of money, unto *John of Desmond*, whom the Countrey knoweth not to bee my friend, for the late killing of many of his men, for which service, my Lord of *Dunboyne* had only the thanks, being no more assistant thereunto then your Lordship: and last my good Lord, when I considered the apparant wrongs (as I thought) proffered unto both my Brethren, that your Honour and the State would countenance their knowen and vowed Enemies against them, and to make their griefes the more corrosiue to bestow upon them, the chiefe and dwelling Castle, of the one of them being *Cnocknamma* to my Lo: of *Dunboyne*, which makes my poore brother to goe in a manner a begging, and my Eldest Brothers Castle of *Dorenlar* upon *Richard Power*. These being the principall causes that moveth this my desperate attempt, I pray may be construed, as if your Lordship or any other Gentleman were in my case, and doe also request, that your Honour, and all others, doe suspend to condemne me, of my Disloyaltie in mind, howsoever my youthfull actions doe deserue; And that by example the same may the better appeare, consider that having wonne the Castle aforesaid, that unlesse it be such as by mischance were slaine, I suffered not the blood of any other, nor any part of their apparell to bee spilt, or taken, but send them conducted to the next incorporate Towne; And for her Majesties Ordinance, that here hath beene left, I could wish your Lordship had them, only that I know, they must be removed by the force of many men, the which I dare not adventure to trust (as now I stand;) But let your Honor be well assured, they shall be as safely kept as formerly they were, for her Majestie; Vnlesse your Honour or the State doe driue me to doe that I shall be unwilling. Forasmuch therefore my good Lord, as not only these, but many else the causes of the rebellion of this Province, haue hitherto and are well knowen, to bee for want of considerate Iustice, and clemencie of your Predecessors, Governors, sheweth liberally the benefit of her Majesties Proclamations, and gracious authoritie given you; And let the first example thereof be, to withdraw the Castles of *Darenlar* and *Cnocknamma* aforesaid, from the possession of such, as the world doe know, of pretended malice, to haue sought them, and to be bestowed, where-soever your Lordship doe thinke fit in Iustice they shall bee given:

1600.

And this much my very good Lord in excuse, and as the simple truth of the Premises, I am bold to signifie; and now it resteth, I must complaine against my Lord and Brother, who as I suppose ought to maintaine both me and the rest, whose wrongs hitherto proffered, I will not forgiue, nor forget, having so sufficient a distresse as now I haue in possession, the which I purpose to keepe, untill our controverisie be decided by friends, or your Lordship, or the State doe determine betweene us; Holding the same with most assured safetie to her Majesties use, and no hurt unto my countrey, and to your Honours good liking, and not otherwise: all the premises concluded and considered, it resteth now onely how I shall be maintained, which my good Lord is to be supplied, by that gracious entertainment, that her Majestie hath, and doeth bestovv, upon lesse faithfull, more unable to doe her service, and not so vvilling as my selfe; The vvhich in company vvith the rest, I leaue to your favourable consideration: Yet all these shall not satisfie me, but that it may please your Lordship, to forgiue and forget, if in ignorance I haue either spoken or vvritten any thing that might giue you cause to be offended. And so vvith my humble Duetie, I take leaue, Caher the tvventie seventh of May, 1600.

Your Lordships very assured to command,
James Butler.

24. May.

The foure and twentieth, the Armie encamped at the Brough, where the President left a Ward, partly to offend the Rebels of Loghguire, three miles distant from thence; and partly to open the way betwixt Kilmallocke and Limerick, which for two yeares space had been impassible for any subject.

25. May.

The five and twentieth, the army passing neere Loghguire, which was as yet held by the Rebels, the President attended with a Troope of Horse, rode to take a particular view of the strength and scituation thereof, as also by what way hee might most conveniently bring the Cannon to annoy the same. Hee found it to bee a place of exceeding strength, by reason that it was an Iland, encompassed with a deepe Lough, the breadth thereof being in the narrowest place, a Calievers shot over, upon one side thereof standeth a verie strong Castle, which at this time was manned with a good Garrison, for there was within the Iland *John fits Thomas*, with two hundred men at the least, which shewed themselves prepared to defend the place. The President being approached within shot, to discover the ground, they discharged some tventie Muskets at him and his company, but without any hurt done: and having effected as much

as

1600.

as hee intended at that time, they casting foorth some reviling speeches, he left the place. That night the President came to Limerick, the Armie incamped within little more then a mile thereof. The three dayes next following, wee bestowed in providing things necessary for the mounting and drawing of the Cannon, the Citie being altogether destitute of necessaries thereunto, which at last with many difficulties was effected: Wherein the President shewed himselfe to bee a Master in that facultie; for Canonier or other Artificer (skilfull in the mountures of Ordnance) he had none, the Smiths and Carpenters were onely directed by him, according to the proportion hee gaue, they wrought, and in the end a demie-Cannon vvas mounted, and drawen towards the gate of the Cittie, that leadeth to the Iland of Loghguire before named. The Rebels within the Castle receiving intelligence thereof, one *Owen Grome*, a stranger of the North, (to whose charge *John fits Thomas* had committed the custodie of the Castle) sent vword, That for his pardon, and a competent summe of money, hee vvould deliver it up unto her Majesties use. The President considering, that many impediments vvould arise, if hee should attempt the taking of it by force, and that it must needs bee chargeable to the Queene, cost the liues of many his men, and a great delay for the prosecution of other services, which he intended, accorded to his demaunds, and received the Castle, the monie (which was threescore pounds) being paid by the Presidents order, by one *Rowhe*, who lost the same to the Rebels: Whilest these things were in handling, *Nugent* (whose Promises to the President before we recited) intending no longer to deferre the Enterprize, attempted the execution in this sort. The President being past Loghguire, *John Fits Thomas* riding forth of the Iland towards the fastnes of Arloghe, where most of his men remained, with one other called *John Copping*, whom hee had acquainted with the Enterprize, and as hee thought made sure unto him, attended this great Captaine, and being now passed a certaine distance from all Companie, permitted *John Fits Thomas* to ride a little before him, minding (his backe being turned) to shoote him through with his Pistoll; Which for the purpose was well charged with two bullets; the opportunitie offered, the Pistoll bent, both heart and hand, ready to doe the deed, when *Copping* at the instant snatched the Pistoll from him, crying, Treason: wherewith *John fits Thomas* turning himselfe about, perceived his intent. *Nugent* thinking to escape by the goodnesse of his Horse, spurred hard; the horse stumbled, and hee taken; and the next day after examination, and confession of his intent, hanged. This plot, a'though it attained not fully the desired successe, yet it proved to bee of great consequence: For now was *John fits Thomas* possessed

*The rendering
of the Castle
of Loghguire*

*Nugent's at-
tempt upon
John fits
Thomas.*

1600.

with such a jealous suspition of every one, that he durst not remaine long at Loghguire, for feare of some other like attempt that might be wrought against him; and therefore leaving the Castle in the custodie of the said *Owen Grome*, (who as before, kept it a very short time after) departed suddenly unto his Brothers Campe. *Nugent* in his Examination freely confessed his whole intent, which was (as hee then said) to haue dispatched *Iohn fits Thomas*, and immediately to haue poasted unto the Sogan Earle, to carry the first newes thereof, intending to call him aside, in secret manner to relate the particulars of his Brothers murther, and then to execute as much upon him also; Adding moreover, that although they take away his life, (which he would not intreat them to spare) yet was their owne safetie never the more assured: for there were many others, which himselfe perfectly knew, to haue sollemnly sworne unto the President to effect as much as hee intended. This confession being sealed with his death, did strike such a fearefull terrour into the two Brethren, that *James Fits Thomas* himselfe afterwards, unto the President acknowledged, they never durst lodge together in one place, or ever serue in the Heads of their Troopes, for feare to be shot by some of their owne men.

*Clanwilliam
spoiled and
burnt by the
Armie.*

Loghguire being now possessed for the Queene, and the Armie well refreshed, the President marched into *Clan-William* a countrie of the Burks; Whereupon one of the principall Freeholders then in rebellion called *Iohn Burke*, halfe Brother to *Pierce Lacy*, desired to come unto the President, but no eare would be given to his request, untill he had first testified his humble submission, whereof hee made scruple, alleaging that his conscience would not suffer him so to doe, having before beene taught by his Instructors that it was sinfull and damnable, personally to submit himselfe unto her Majestie; His answer was much disdained, and he plainly told, that he should never hope to be accepted for a Subject, and receive the benefit thereof, except hee would absolutely disclaime that rebellious opinion; which hee absolutely refusing, was sent away with this Proviso: That although himselfe did fly into the Woods; yet his Castles, Townes, and Corne, which hee could not carry with him, should be the next morrow destroyed, which was not vainely meant, but truely performed, for by the Noone of the next day, being the twentie ninth of May, the Armie came upon his Lands, many of his Houses, some of his Corne, and one of his Castles fired. When a second Messenger, came to intreate that he might bee admitted to make his submission, whether it were that some Popish Priest, had granted him a Dispensation, or that he would undertake himselfe to dispence with his conscience, rather then see himselfe ruin'd, is to me uncertaine; But sure I am,

29. Maij.

am; that this alteration was now wrought in him. Very unwilling was the President to accept him to mercy, which the day before hee so unadvisedly refused; Yet being much importuned by his Mother and others, who with weeping eyes intreated for him, and the rather that he had married one of Sir George Thorntons Daughters, was inclined to admit him to his presence.

CHAP. VII.

The submission of John Burke. The Castle of Ballistrasny. O Mulrians Country burnt and spoiled by the Armie. A Letter from James Fitz Thomas to Florence Mac Cartie. O Sulevan More detained Prisoner by the practice of Flo Mac Cartie. The plot contrived by the Lord President, for the apprehension of James Fitz Thomas. The Lo. Presidents Letter to James Fitz Thomas. Five hundred men sent to lie in Garrison at Askaton. Supplies of Money, Munition, Victuals, &c. The apprehension of James Fitz Thomas by Detinond O Connor.

THE President now on Horse-backe, in the midst of his Armie, tooke occasion of speech with some of his Commanders; when John Burke bringing his Brother Theobald Burke with him, alighted from their Horses, and kneeling upon the ground, desired that their submission might be accepted: The President seeing, would not see them, and hearkning to the other, would not attend them, untill (they creeping upon their knees by the Horse side) it was told unto him that two of the Burks were there; he staying his Horse, spent some time in reproving them for their rebellious obstinacie, and then (upon foure sufficient Sureties for their future Loyaltie) granted them protection. The next day the Armie marched to a Castle called Ballistrasny, belonging to Mourough Keogh one of the Brians, which stood neere a great Fastnesse, being very commodious, both to open the passage from Limerick, to Cashell, and to hinder the Rebels for comming out of Kilquinge into Conniloghe: The Rebels of the Ward, as soone as they saw the Armie draw towards them, quitted the castle, which was not to bee wonne but by the Cannon; and therein was found great plenty of Grain; whereof some was largely bestowed amongst the Troopes of Horse; some sent to Limerick by the Soldiers, and yet enough left to suffice the ward for one whole yeere. The day following, five hundred Foote were sent into Ownhy, inhabited by the O Mulryans, a strong and fast Countrey; all the Inhabitants thereof being notorious Traitors: This being burnt and spoiled by them, and divers Traitors put to the sword, whereby the disorders in those parts were well corrected; the Armie without any losse at all, returned againe to Limerick, and within short time after,

The submission of John Burke.

The castle of Ballistrasny taken.

O Mulrians Country burnt and spoiled by the Army.

1600.

viz. at Likadowne, bordering upon Connilogh, Kilmallock, Limerick, and Askeiton, were bestowed in severall Garrisons, which are not so farre distant, but that upon every occasion, they might bee united againe. At this time *Florence Mac Cartie* received a Letter written unto him from *James Fits Thomas*; the Copie whereof here ensueth.

*A Letter from James fits Thomas to Florence
Mac Cartie.*

Cousen, your Letters of the fifth of this present, I received the eighth of the same, wherein you write of your sicknesse, and the impediments that caused your Souldiers to bee slow in prosecuting our generall Action. In your former Letters you write and vow, that there hath been neither peace, truce, nor cessation confirmed betweene you and the President. I am informed by my particular friends, and also by a Letter (intercepted) from the President to you, that some mitigation of time is limited betwixt you and them, whereupon they depend, your assistance to be restrained from us. If this be thus, it is farre contrary to that I hoped, and much beyond the confidence reposed by *Oweale*, and my selfe in your vowed fidelitie and service to God and our Action. I perceiue *Donell Mac Cartie* is raising head in disquieting your Countrey, the redresse whereof consisted in your constant assistance to bee bestowed; the President being not able to performe any service by Land, hath appointed to come by Sea to Askeiton, and some force out of Thomond towards the Glinne; all which by the diuine providence of God shall be prevented. The causes of urgent affaires are very many, which required your presence and helping assistance, that without your sound advice, can hardly bee accomplished. And therefore in regard of your fidelitie, let mee intreat you (if your sicknesse bee not apparantly knownen to bee so extreame) to lay all excuses apart, and to dray towards this Countrey, with so few or so many as you may possibly afford; else you giue us cause to thinke of some inward meaning in you, contrary to our generall action. At your entreatie, and Letters, I haue discharged *Dermond Mac Tirlogh*, his Sonne I will keepe till that you and I doe conferre further of that cause. For *Manus Mac Shihs* dealings, I will see redresse if my abuse bee offered. I understand you haue apprehended *Owen Mac Shihs*, I desire you to see him released, and restitution made of what hee had taken from him; and if you can charge him for any offence to you, I will upon these my Letters see him to bee forth comming, to answer his Contempt, I pray you delay not his release, for I haue present occasion to employ

employ him in service. And thus expecting your present repaire or speedy answer, I commit you to God. *Iune vt Supra.*

1600.

Your very loving Cousen,
James Desmond.

Whilest the President was at Limerick, hee had certaine notice brought him, that *Florence Mac Cartie* had a meeting in Connilogh, with *James fits Thomas*, and *Dermond O Conner*, and there in a parlie, because *O Sulevan More* did refuse to contribute towards the bearing of his Bownoghs in Desmond, hee contrived with *Dermond O Conner*, that hee should lay hands upon him, but it must bee done as it were by force, that it might appeare to the world, that it was against his will: for *O Sulevan* was his Brother in law, having married his Sister. Thus was *O Sulevan* betrayed by his deare Brother, and detained prisoner by *Dermond*: And also there was at that time, by *Florence* his directions, the two Brothers of *O Sulevan More*, the two *Odonoghs*, *Mac Finires* sonne, and others to the number of eightene, delivered as pledges into the hands of *Dermond*, for *Bonnoght* due unto him, which *Florence* should haue payed; all which prisoners were sent by him unto *Castlelishin*.

*O Sulevan
More detain-
ed prisoner
by the pra-
ctise of Flor:
Mac Cartie.*

Before the President departed from Limerick, the Earle of Thomond, invited him to his Castle of Bonrattie; the same night that hee was there, in the Evening, Captaine *Gawen Harrie*, (who from Corke was imbarqued the very day that the President marched from thence with his Armie as aforesayd) came into the River of Shenan, to an anchor, at the mouth of the Creeke, where the Castle is seated: Hee brought with him, to the comfort of the whole Armie, Money, Munition, Victuall, and Apparell for the Souldiers, which if it had not come in due time, it might haue prooved a hazard for the overthrow of that Summer Service. The next morning Captaine *Harrie* was directed to goe to the Key at Limricke, where after his charge was landed, the President willed him to fall downe with his Ship, and to ride before the Castle of the Glinne, there to remaine at an anchor, untill hee with the Armie should present himselfe before it, and sent with him a Demie Cannon, for the guard whereof, certaine Souldiers were appointed under his charge.

Much did it amuse the minds both of the Councell of the Province, and of all the Commanders in the Armie, to see the Forces suddenly disperfed, at such a time, as for divers reasons they thought very unreasonable: The Armie for the numbers was strong, having received no disauster since their comming into the field, the time of the yeare, (being now about the beginning of Iune) was most con-

*The plot con-
trived by the
Lo. President
for the appri-
hension of Ja-
fits Thomas.*

Iune.

1600.

venient to lie in Campe; whereas if the Service should bee deferred untill Winter, the Companies would bee weakened both by death and sicknesse, and more difficulties should they find in the fowlnesse of the weather, and deepnesse of the way, then in the sword of the Enemy, whom now they did ardently desire to encounter withall: yea, many there were, that ceased not confidently to utter, that they did now plainly perceiue, that though her Majesties charges was greatly inhaunsed by increasing the List in Mounster, yet her Service was likely to be no better followed then in the yeare last past.

But that the true ground of this action may bee discovered, wee must haue recourse to the prosecution of the stratagem, that all this while had beene in working with *Dermond O Conner*; for after his Wife the Lady *Margaret* had acquainted him, both with the Enterprize and Conditions (which was not untill the Armie was at *Kilmallock* aforesaid) hee shewed a good inclination to effect it, were it not for three difficulties that seemed to interpose themselves: First, the President being altogether unknowen to him, he demanded sufficient Pledges to be put into his hands, there to remaine untill the conditions promised should be performed. Secondly, he wanted some shew of reason or colourable cause, to satisfie his Copartners in excuse of his action: And lastly hee alleaged that no opportunitie could bee found for the execution of the Designe, so long as *James Fits Thomas* remained with all the force hee could possible make sixe miles from the Campe, to confront the Presidents Armie in his passage to *Askeiton*: For assurance of the conditions, the President was content to deliver into his hands foure Pledges, which yet notwithstanding must bee in such sort delivered by the one, and received by the other, as no suspition might arise: The Hostages agreed upon, were *Redmond* and *Brian*, Sonnes of *Milerius Mac Craghe* Archbishop of *Cashell*; who himselve had before beene a Principall Actor in the busines, and *Captaine William Power*, and *John Power* his elder Brother, who likewise had beene imployed in the Action. These were made choice of; because they might be free from the violence of *Dermond O Conners* men; The *Powers* being foster brethren to the Lady *Margaret*, and the Archbishop himselve borne in *Ulster*, a naturall Follower unto the Arch-Traitor *Tyrone*. Therefore that these fower should make a Iournie from *Kilmallocke* towards *Kinsale*, where *Captaine Poore* his Companie were then in Garrison; and the time of their going being made knowen to *Dermond O Conner*, he should lye with some of his Forces, in the pace of *Ballihowie* to intercept Passengers, where these foure should (as it were) by chance fall into his Ambush, and so they did, where *Dermond O Conner*, although for the reasons

reasons before mentioned, saved their lives, yet he could not restrain the furie of his men, that knew nothing of his purpose, but that they were stripped of their clothes, and left almost naked.

These being in this manner taken the eleventh day of *Iune*, they were presently caried to Castle Lyshin, seated in the great Wood called Kilmore, seven miles from Kilmallock (where the Lady *Margaret* his Wife then remained;) and there straightly kept in Irons, untill the Ransome were discharged, which was given forth to be no lesse then two thousand pound sterling.

Assoone as they were taken, *James Fits Thomas* repaired to Castle-lishin, and instantly requested *Dermond*, that he might haue the two Powers executed; for unto them hee was an ancient Enemy, which *Dermond* would not assent unto, as well in respect of the great ransoms, which hee pretended to expect from them, as for giving of offence unto his Wife, unto whose Brother (then in the Tower of London) they were foster Brothers; then the which in Ireland, there is no greater Obligations of loue.

The first Impediment being thus removed, care was taken to devise some shew of reason to excuse this action to the Bonoghs (if they should be discontented) after the execution thereof; which was disguised by a Letter as written by the Sугan Earle from the President; which forasmuch as the Contents thereof doe manifest the invention: I haue thought not unfit to bee inserted in this present relation.

*The Lord Presidents Letter to James
Fits Thomas.*

SIr, your last Letters I haue received, and am exceeding glad to see your constant resolution of returne to subjection, and to leaue the rebellious courses wherein you haue long persevered; You may rest assured that promises shall bee kept; and you shall no sooner bring *Dermond O Conner* to me, aliue or dead, and banish his Bonoghs out of the Countrie, but that you shall haue your demand satisfied, which I thanke God, I am both able and willing to performe: Beleeue me, you haue no better way to recover your desperate estate, then by this good service, which you haue proffered; and therefore I cannot but commend your Iudgement, in choosing the same to redeeme your former faults: And I doe the rather beleeue the performance of it, by your late action touching *Loghguire*, wherein your Brother and your selfe haue well merited; and as I promised, you shall finde mee so just, as no Creature living shall ever know, that either of you did assent to the surrender of it; all your Letters I haue

1600.

received, as also the joynt Letter, from your Brother and your selfe; I pray loose no time; for delays in great Actions are subject to many dangers. Now that the Queens Armie is in the field, you may worke your determination with most securitie, being ready to releue you upon a dayes warning: So praying God to assist you in this meritorious Enterprize, I doe leave you to his protection this twentieth ninth of May 1600.

This Letter was sent to *Dermond O'Conner*, which when time should serue, hee might shew as intercepted by him; and therefore what he did, was imposed upon him by necessitie, except hee would suffer himselfe, wittingly and willingly to be betraied.

500 men sent
to lye in gar-
rison at As-
keiton.

These things thus contrived, there remained nothing but to separate the reputed Earle from his strength, that no resistance might be made by the Provincials, when hee should bee apprehended. This was not likely to bee effected, unlesse the President would divide his Forces, and bestow them in severall Garrisons, as though they should leave the field for that Summer, whereupon was judged that the Rebels would likewise disperse themselves; and even so it came to passe: for they understanding that the English Armie was now garrison'd, (nothing suspecting that he would adventure to send a Garrison to Askeiton, without the countenance of an Armie) separated themselves into divers Companies. The President had no sooner advertisement hereof, but hee sent forthwith under the conduct of Sir *Francis Barkley*, five hundred Foot from Limricke by water, to goe to Askeiton, which they might easily effect in a fewe howers, too short a time for them to assemble their Forces to impeach their landing: By these meanes were they settled in Garrison, without any other difficultie then a light Skirmish, the number of the Rebels to giue them resistance, not exceeding two or three hundred at the most, which otherwise could not have beene effected without much blood.

E. of Ormond
wrote for
Jaco.

The seventh of this moneth of Iune, the President received Intelligence from *John Butler*, a Gentleman of the Countie of Tipperary, that the Earle of *Ormond*, for the ransome of three thousand pound sterling, to be paid upon certaine daies agreed upon, was to be enlarged, and set at libertie by *Ownbie Mac Rory Owre*, with whom hee had been prisoner ever since the tenth day of Aprill: for the true payment of the same, twelve Hostages, who were the eldest sonnes of the principall Gentlemen in the Countrey, were delivered into the hands of the said *Ownbye*: It appeared that hee was detained somewhat longer then was expected, for the assurance of his delivery came not unto the Presidents knowledge untill the seventeenth ensuing,

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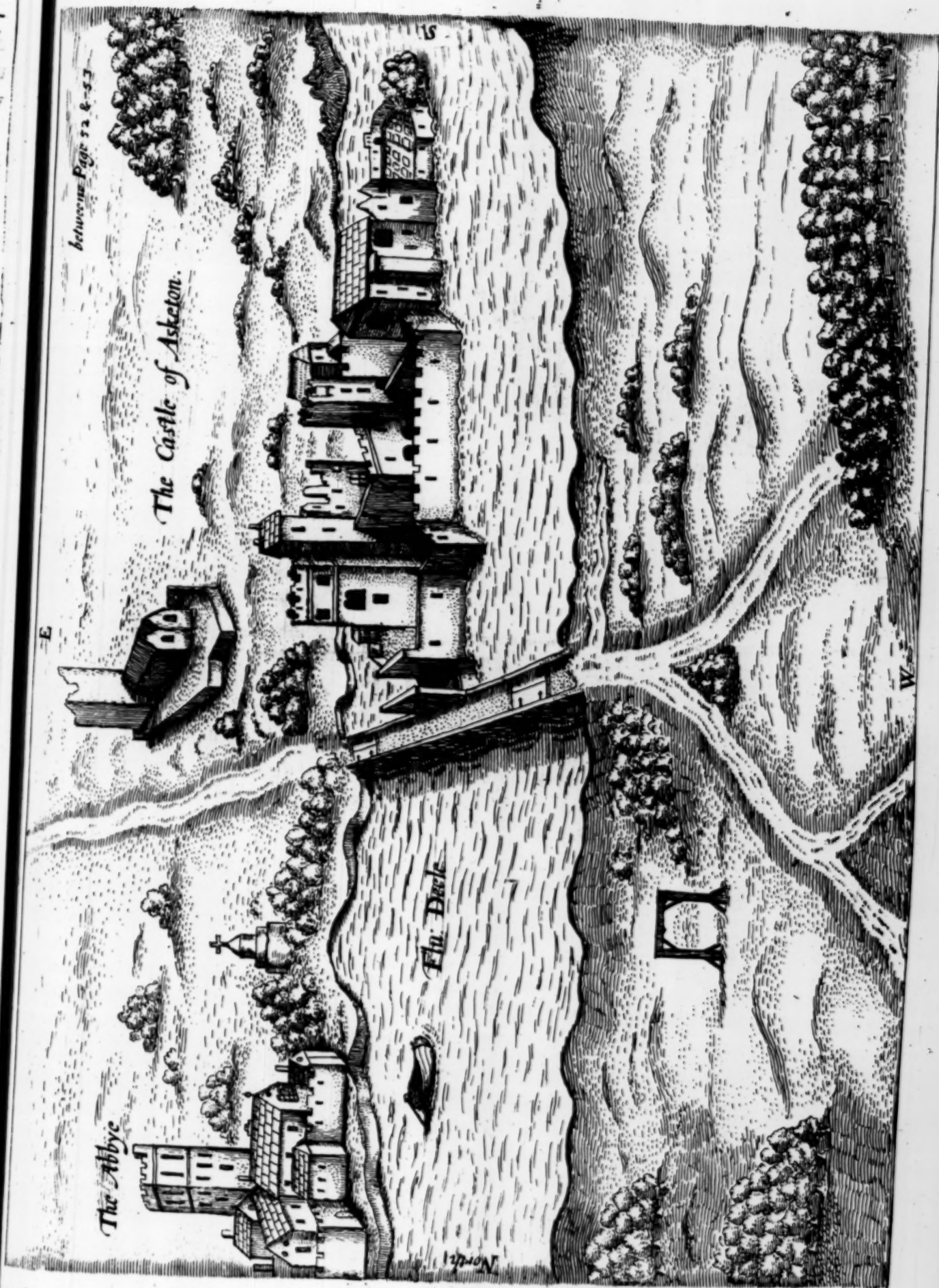
between Page 52 & 53

The Castle of Askeaton.

The Abbey

The Dock

North



ensuing, at which time the Earle himselfe by his Letters advertised him thereof.

I must here craue a little leaue to looke backe to time past, as well to relate by what meanes the Armie in Mounster was from time to time enabled to subsist in this prosecution, as to shew the actes and the progresse in the same. No man is ignorant, that Armies of mens bodies cannot subsist, unlesse they bee continually supplied with Money, Munition, and Victualls, and especially in such a Kingdome as Ireland is, which was exhausted of all meanes of those natures, by the continuance of the Rebellion, and particularly in Mounster, before the President came thither: so as unlesse hee had beene carefully supplied of them out of England, no service could haue beene performed; and heerein I cannot but commend his care in demanding, as the Lords of the Councells readinesse to effect the same. At his departure from the Court of England, hee humbly prayed, that against his comming into the Province, (for as you haue heard hee went by the way of Dublin) some proportions of Money, Munition, and Victualls might bee sent thither, whereof their Lordships were not unmindfull, as by their Letters dated the eight and twentieth of March last past may appeare, wherein they certified the President, that they had sent for the Province of Mounster, nine thousand pound in money, three moneths victualls for three thousand Foot, and two hundred and fiftie Horse (which was the List of his Armie) and as hee desired, the one halfe of it was sent to Corke, and the other moitie to Limricke: Also fve Lasts of Powder, with Lead, and Match proportionably, with two hundred sixtie nine Quarters of Oates; All which arrived in May following, the Oates excepted, which came to Corke in Aprill: Moreover, in the same moneth the Souldiers Summer Suites arrived at Corke: Further, as by their Lordships Letters to the President, dated the seventeenth of Iune, they had sent for the supply of the Province, fve Lasts more of Powder, with Match and Lead; And that shortly afterward, there should bee sent unto him tenne thousand pound in Money, and two moneths victualls for the Armie, the one moitie to land at Corke, the other at Limricke, as hee had demanded; And for that they had heere certified, that the Souldiers, (having had by her Majesties favour their Powder given unto them without any defalcation upon their entertainments) made unnecessary use of the same, and sometimes sold it to the Irish Merchants, and others, they required the President to let them know, and to take order accordingly, that they should not be allowed any expence of Powder, but in dayes of trayning or service onely.

But to returne to *Dermond O Conner*, who now perceiving that it

1800.

*Supplies of
money, muni-
tion victu-
als, &c.*

1600.

The apprehension of
James Fits Thomas
by Dermond
O Conner.

was a fit time for his Designe, sent a Messenger to the Earle of Desmond, for so he called *James Fits Thomas*, desiring him to meete him at a place of parlie upon the eighteenth of June, to conferre about certaine matters concerning the Warres. *James Fits Thomas* (as hee since confessed to the President) had received some secret intelligence of *Dermond* his intent; which although he did not absolutely credit; yet did it worke some jealousie in him; and therefore brought with him to the Parlie some two hundred of his Foote: *Dermond O Conner* brought one hundred and fiftie Bownoghs: After some speech passed, among the chiefe, at last, a Controversie did arise betweene *Moroghe Mac Shihy*, Marshall to *James Fits Thomas*, and the Marshall of *Dermond*, about such Hides, as were or should bee killed in the Armie; the one deriving his authoritie from *Tyrone*, the other from the Earle of Desmond; in contention they grew warme, and *Dermond* so blew the Coale, that the kerne of the one, and the Bonoghs of the other, were ready to passe from words to blowes; much did the Sagan Earle labour to quiet this Mutiny, which could not bee thoroughly appeased, untill the Companies on either part were severed and disperfed: *James Fits Thomas* willing to giue all satisfaction to *Dermond* and the Bownoghs, made offer to dismishe his owne men, which was willingly accepted of the other, and so sent them into the Countrie neere adjoyning: They being departed, and the Principals settled againe to parlie, about the deciding of this controversie; the Bownoghs by *Dermonds* appointment drew neere unto them: Then *Dermond O Conner* layed hold upon *James Fits Thomas*, and said, My Lord you are in hand; in hand (answered he) for whom, or for what cause? I haue taken you for *Oneale*, saith he, and I purpose to detaine you, untill I bee certified of his pleasure, for your selfe haue combined with the English, and promised to the President to deliver me, either aliue or dead into his hands; and for Prooofe thereof, behold (saith he) Letters which were intercepted, and brought to mee (under the Presidents hand) to confirme the same, and therewithall produced them.

This colourable Pretence, gaue a good satisfaction to the Companies for the present; and yet for the better content, hee gaue *Thomas Oge* of Kerry, and two of the *Clansbybies* Brethren, whom he tooke also at the same time, unto the chiefe of his Captaines, to be reserved for their Ransomes.

Now *James Fits Thomas*, and the other Prisoners being mounted upon poore Garrans, are conueied through the Fastnesse in Connigh to Castle Lyshin, where they were no sooner bestowed, but *Dermond O Conner* went presently to another Castle called Balliallinan, belonging to *Rory Mac Shihy*, Father to the two brethren of the

Mac

1600.

Mac Shibies before mentioned, which he also tooke, and therein settled himselfe, and sent with all speed to Castle Lishin for his Wife and the English Pledges, which were there in Handlocks; Leaving some sixteene Warders to guard the Prisoners; these hee removed from thence, either because they might more conveniently, send some one of them, with the relation of his doings to the Lord President, or for feare lest the Friends and Followers of the Arch-Traitor, *Desmond*, reuniting themselves, and his owne Bonoghs, of whom hee was very uncertaine, taking part with them, they might joyne their Forces, and at one push, both rescue the Prisoners that he had taken, and also take himselfe Prisoner, and the fower English Pledges: To the intent therefore, that he might not adventure all his substance in one Shippe, he divided them as before you have heard.

These busineses thus contrived, *Dermond O Conner*, upon the nineteenth of *June*, sent *Iohn Power* (one of the Pledges before spoken of) in all hast to the President at Limerick, with a Message tending to this purpose: That if the Lord President, would instantly gather all the Forces he could make, and draw to Kilmallock, where the Lady *Margaret* should meete him, for the receiving of one thousand pound, which was promised him, upon the delivery of the Prisoner; praying withall, that the President would not moue out of Kilmallock, untill she were come unto him; in the meane time hee would keepe him in safetie, and accomodate all things for the more assurance in the effecting of the busines.

To Kilmallock he came the next Morrow, the twentieth of *June*, with one thousand Foote, and two Troopes of Horse; for a good part of his Armie was at that time gone into *Thomond*, to secure the same from *Odonnell*, who was come farre up into the Countrey, and had taken many preyes there.

19. Iunij.

20. Iunij.

CHAP. VIII.

The Countrey of Thomond, harassed and spoyled by O Donnell. Forces sent into Thomond. James fits Thomas set at Liberty. Dermond O Conners Letter to the Lord President. A Letter from the Monaster Rebels to O Donnell. Dermond O Conner, and the Rebels agreed, and reconciled. The Castle of Crome taken by the Armie. A Joynt Letter from William Burke, and Morroghe ny Moe O Flagharly to the Lord President. A Letter from Morroghe ny Moe O Flagharly to the Lord President. A Letter from James fits Thomas to Florence Mac Carty.



HIS suddaine comming of *Odonnell* for *Thomond*, was so secretly caried, as the Earle of *Thomond* had no notice of it, untill he was come to the Borders thereof; hee then being at Limerick with the President, prayed him to lend him part of his Armie, to make Head against the Rebels: Whereupon his Lordship commanded the Sergeant Major

The Countrey of Thomond harassed and spoyled by O Donnell.

1600.
Forces sent
into Thomond.

James fits
Thomas set
at liberty.

Major, Captaine *Flower*, and with eight hundred Foote, and sixtie Horſe to attend the Earle. *Odonnell* entred the Countrey, and Harraſſed all Thomond, even as farre as Loophead, and tooke all the Preyes of the Countrey. Nevertheleſſe he went not away ſcot free; For the Noble Earle fought often with his Forces, ſlew many of them, and never left them, untill he had recovered a great part of the Cattle, which *Odonnell* had taken; And upon Mid-ſomer day, chaſed him out of Thomond. This ſuddaine and unexpected comming of *Odonnell* with ſuch great Forces, as attended him, could never haue beene undiscovered, if the next Neighbours to Thomond, the Inhabitants of *Clanrickard* had done their dueties, through which Countrey *Odonnell* paſſed, and returned, without doing of any hurt that ever I heard of: And ſo leaving with this Digreſſion, it is time to ſpeake of the Succeſſe of the vſurping Earles apprehenſion. By this time it was ſuſpected, and publiſely noiſed abroad, that the Sugar Earle ſhould bee delivered to the Preſident; which Rumour began firſt to bee bruited in *Limerick*, and *Kilmallock*; and (as it alwayes hapneth in that Kingdome, from the Townes, the rumour is ſpeedily conveyed into the Countrey; which being no ſooner heard, then beleevd by the Rebels, as well Provincials as others; they all combined themſelves; *John fits Thomas*, *Pierce Lacy*, and *William Burke*, being the *Trium-viri* of this League, to ſet the Priſoner at Libertie: With this determination they had gathered together of *Dermonds* Bonoghs and Provincials, ſome foure thouſand men, nee re *Caſtle Leſhin*, in the great Faſtneſſe of *Conniloe*; for there was this Caſtle ſeated, with intent both to blocke up the way, that the Preſident ſhould take in comming thither, and to conſtraine the Ward to deliver the Earle.

26. Junij.

The Preſident being at *Kilmallock* as aforeſaid, hourelly expecting the comming of the Lady *Margaret*, ſtayed there from the twentieth to the twentieth ſixth day, and in all that time he never heard from her, or her Huſband: Vpon the twentieth ſixth the Lady *Margaret* came to him, ſhee related that *Caſtleliſhin* was beſieged by the Rebels; her cauſe of ſtay was, the danger of the way. Immediately the Preſident (notwithſtanding, the reſt of his Forces were not returned out of Thomond) purpoſed to raiſe the Siedge; and the Armie being drawen forth before they had marched an Engliſh mile upon the way, they met a Meſſenger, who delivered unto them for certaine, that *James fits Thomas* was reſcued that morning, and himſelfe did ſee him out of the Caſtle.

In *Caſtleliſhin*, where *James fits Thomas* was priſoner, *Dermond O Conner* (with the Ward) had left a Prieff, whoſe perſwaſions prevailed ſo much with *O Conners* men, as they delivered the reputed Earle

1600.

Earle as aforeſaid, but upon Caution, as may appeare by *Dermond O Conners* Letters to the Preſident, as followeth.

Dermond O Conners Letter to the Lo. Preſident.

MY good Lord, it is ſo, that contrary to my directions, and without my privitie, my Ward at Caſtleliſhin was hardly ſet unto by the Enemy, after the breach of the Caſtle, were conſtrained to yeeld to the ſurrender of the Earle of *Deſmond* upon Compoſition, viz. to receive as pledges from the ſaid Earle, his ſonne, and his Receiver, one *Gerald ſits Nicholas*, and the chiefe of the Walles or Faltaghs of *Downmoylin*, and *Iohn ſits Thomas* Brothers of the ſaid Earle, to bee delivered into the hands of *Mac Cartie More*, or ſome other indifferent man his hands, as the ſaid Earle and I ſhall agree: heereof I thought good to certifie your Honour, (aſſuring the ſame upon my credit, that this Compoſition was made without my privitie, as your Honour ſhall underſtand manifeſtly heereafter) to the end your Honour might bee adviſed not to ſend the Armie, for feare of any miſchance, in reſpect of the greatneſſe of the Enemies forces, and faſtneſſe of their ſtrengths, the Earle being enlarged; all which I hope to bring to a worſe caſe then they were in, and that in a ſhort time, if I be well furthered by your Lordſhip: the manner whereof I am ready to declare to your Honour, as occaſion ſhall ſerve: for ſpeedy effecting whereof, I pray your Lordſhip to ſend me your beſt advice by Captaine *Power*, the which expecting forthwith, I humbly take my leave: Balliallinan this 26. of June, 1600.

Your Honours to command,
Dermond O Conner.

The reaſon which I conceive mooved *Dermond* that hee did not preſently render him to the Preſident, was partly his feare, that his money would bee detained from him, when the priſoner was once delivered, and therefore hee could bee ſure of the ſame; partly his overmuch confidence in his men, whom hee thought that they would not for a world have betrayed him as they did; but eſpecially I conceive, that the danger of the way was the occaſion of the protraction; for undoubtedly the man did mean to performe his promiſe ſincerely, and if the Lady could have come ſooner to *Kilmallocke*, the ſaid Earle had been brought from *Caſtleliſhin* without any difficulty.

Upon the ſeven and twentieth, *Dermond O Conner* wrote to the

H

Preſi-

1600.

President, praying to bee excused, that hee did not come unto him, for the wayes were too dangerous for him to passe, untill his Brother, who was in Desmond with foure hundred men, did come unto him, or that the Enemy did scatter, or the President with his Armie should draw into those parts; and in the meane while he would remaine in the Castle where hee was; and besought the President to send him a safeguard for himselfe, his followers, and goods, protesting his loyaltie to her Majestie, and promising to bee directed by the President in whatsoever it should please him to commaund. Within a few dayes after the delivery of the Sugan Earle (as aforesaid) the Earle of Thomond having intercepted a Letter sent by the Rebells of Mounster, to O Donnell and his Associates, did send the same unto the President; whereby it may appeare, how much the taking of *James fits Thomas* did grieve them at the heart, which is the reason I doe in this place insert the same.

A Letter from the Mounster Rebells to O Donnell.

ALL heartie Commendations from *Mac Arturice*, and the rest undernamed, to O Donnell, and the rest of the Lords and Gentlemen that are with him, Letting you to understand, that *Dermond O Conner* hath played a lewd part among us heere; Hee hath taken the Earle of Desmond, *Thomas Oge*, and the two sonnes of *Rory Mac Shihy*, together with their Townes and Castles; claiming in right of his wife the Earldome of Desmond. The Earle is as yet upon his hands, and the Countrey is all preyed and destroyed, and *Rory Mac Shihy*, who is olde and blinde, is banished out of his Towne, leaving him bare without anything, and his sonnes bound very safe and sure: which Act being considered by *Con Oneale*, and others the Gentlemen of Connaght, who were in the said *Dermonds* company, to proceed of treachery and falsehood by the said *Dermond*; whereupon the said *Con Oneale*, and the rest of those Connaght men came unto us, bringing with them the said *Rory* his sonnes, for which wee rest very thankfull to them; and therefore we desire you to shew them thanks likewise; and that you should write unto the said *Dermond*, touching the enlargment of the Earle, and that hee should take good pledges of the Earle, to be put upon the hands of the Clergie, or some indifferent temporall persons; and he to see in the like, and your Order, and the Order of the Clergie to passe betwene them; and we desire your present helpe. To that purpose *Dermond* is drawing the English Armies to fetch the Earle with them, we and the Gentlemen of Connaght heere are besieging the Castle where the Earle lyeth: and seeing that the River of Shannon is passable,

1600.

passable, if it had been your pleasure to come to helpe us, we would bee very glad thereof; and yet if wee can rescue the Earle, and it to be your pleasure, we will draw towards you; hereupon send us present word. Castlelishine the 24. of June, 1600.

Your trustie Friends,

<i>John Gerald.</i>	<i>Patrick Lixname.</i>
<i>Thomas fits Maurice.</i>	<i>William fits Gerald.</i>
<i>Edmond Valley.</i>	<i>Dierby Mac Cartie.</i>
<i>M. fits Thomas.</i>	<i>Pierce Eacie.</i>
<i>Mac Shiby.</i>	

The President being out of hope, to get this Haggard into his hands by these Limetwigs, intending the prosecution, which was to take in the Castles of the Glynne and Carrigfoile; the one belonging to the Knight of the Valley, the other to *Iohn O Conner* (commonly called *O Conner Kerry*) both being seated upon the River of Limerick, and so to passe the Mountaine into Kerry.

The President having taken order for all such necessities as should be requisit in his Iournie; on the twentie eighth marched to Limericke, the twentie ninth (upon a Letter which hee received from *Dermond O Conner*) into the Hart of Conniloe, and incamped at a Towne called Ballingery foureteene miles from Limerick, being by him requested (who was now besieged by the Enemy in the Castle of Balliallinan) to relecue him with her Majesties Forces.

The President being advanced within three miles of the Castle, where *Dermond O Conner* was besieged, the Rebels understanding thereof, and fearing to bee assailed by him, and loath that *Dermond O Conner* should fall into his hands, to be imployed in service against them, whose credit with the Bownoghs was such, as that hee could perswade them to what he listed; they resolved to treat with *Dermond*, and upon his oath of future faith, to take him againe into their societie, and to restore him to his former Command. *Dermond* (as it should seeme, fearing that Reliefe would not come unto him in convenient time) accepted the offer, and rendered the Castle and himselfe into their hands: But yet I could never heare that *Dermond* afterwards was had in any great estimation amongst them: This bu-
sines being thus compoled, they presently dislodged, with intent to giue impediment to the Armie, in their passage towards the Glynne; His Lordship being advertised of the reconcilement, directed his March to the Glynne; and understanding that the Castle of Crome, the Earle of Kildares inheritance, which was not much out of his

28. Iunij.

29. Iunij.

Dermond O Conner and the Rebels agreed, and reconciled.

The Castle of Crome taken by the Armie.

1600.

30. Iunij.

4. Iuly.

way, and held by a Ward left therein by *Pierce Lacy*: which gave great Annoiance to the Subjects thereabouts, and comfort to the Rebels, being seated at the entrance into Conniloe, tooke it in his way; upon the light of the Armie, the Warders quitted the Castle, and the President possessed himselfe thereof, together with some store of Corne, and other Provision, that was found therein. The last of *June*, the Armie marched through Kerry, a safe Countrey, unto Askeiton, where it remained foure dayes, in expectation of Victuals, that should come thither from Limerick by Water: The fourth of *July*, the Armie rose from thence, and marched to Ballintare, upon the Mountaine of Sleughlogher, twelve miles from Askeiton; the Enemy to the number of three thousand, marching all that day in our view.

Now did the President assure himselfe, that this Armie of the Rebels did onely attend the opportunitie for some place of advantage, where they might conveniently attempt our Forces; and no doubt so they would haue done, if the fore conceived lealoufie, and distrust betweene the Provincials and Bonoghs, confirmed in them by the bones of Dissention (that the President had cast forth amongst them) had not wrought in either of them, a desire of nothing more, then to be freed from the danger (reciprocally apprehended) each of the other, as might well appeare, by two Letters, (which this night were brought to the President) from the Principall of the Connaght men; the true Copies whereof, I haue thought not unfit to be inserted in this present Relation.

A Ioynt Letter from William Burke, and Moroghe ny Moe O Flaghertie to the Lord President.

Commendations to your Honour: For as much as we thinke your Honour willing, to further and augment your credit, in doing your Princesse service; we thought to make you acquainted, that wee are here in Campe two thousand and five hundred Connaght men: Yet we let your Honour to understand, that we will not set upon you in any way, nor molest you in your Iourney, so that your Honour consider us with a peece of money, and giue us your Passe and safe Conduct, to depart this Countrey; not that wee feare you or any other, but that wee meane to doe you no harme, so your Honour shew us the like favour; You may well accept of this our proffer: for it is a thing that others of your Calling sought for, and could not obtaine, although very desirous for the obtayning of it. Thus troubling your Honour no further, onely expecting
your

your speedy resolution, we commit you to God. From the Abbey
of Feile the third of July 1600.

Your Friends to use during
your Friendship,

William Burke.

Moroghe ni Moe O Flarty.

*A Letter from Morogh ni Moe O Flaghertie
to the Lord President.*

MY dutie remembred, I commend mee unto your Lordship:
Whereas about May last, I came hither in my Galley out of
Connaght, to draw home my people, souldiers and followers
into my native soyle, there to live quiet, and under her Majesties sub-
jection, whereupon I have had her Highnesse protection and Passe-
port for my selfe and them, and all other out of Connaght, that shall
accompany me; Whereby ever since my selfe and souldiers have
been so crossed, and troubled by this Countrey people, as they did
not suffer me to depart from the Earle of Desmond; I have thought
good therefore, in respect it is a thing belonging to the advance-
ment of her Majesties service, to bring the number of one thousand
persons, souldiers and tenants to peace, to pray and desire your
Lordship to graunt mee, and all such as I shall bring with mee, your
Passeport and Safe-conduct through all your Garrisons, and her Ma-
jesties Subjects, as well in this Countrey, as in Thomond. And in
so doing wee shall pray, &c. And so I humbly take leave. Clanmo-
rishkerry this third of July 1600.

Her Majesties true Subject, if
your Lordship please.

Moroghe ni Moe O Flartie.

Vnto these Letters the President deferred to returne any present
Answer, as well because they should know, that they who had at-
tempted, and performed so many outrages, and rebellious practises
against her Majestie and her Subjects, should not so presently and so
easily receiue favour from the State; as also they might have imagi-
ned, (if hee had instantly condiscended unto these their demands)
that he stood in feare of them, which might haue made them more
bold in attempting some enterprise upon his Armie. And lastly, he
conceived a hope, that to effect their longing desire of returning

1600.

into Connaght, they would at the last be glad to doe service one upon another; remising therefore onely this Answer, that he despised their Forces, and he knew they durst not interrupt his passage: Neverthelesse at further leasure, hee would consider of their demands: At this time *James fits Thomas* wrote a Letter to *Florence Mac Cartie*, which in this place I thinke good to insert.

A Letter from James fits Thomas to Florence Mac Cartie.

MY very good Lord, I was driven through the treacherous dealings of *Dermond O Conner*, to let the President and the English Armie passe into Glenne, without any resistance; and yet they are but thirteene hundred Foote, and one hundred fiftie Horse: *Dermond O Conner* did undertake that the Connaght men should not medle with them, nor take our parts, being the only encouragement of the English, to venter this Enterprize: But now God be prayd, I am joyning my Forces with them; and doe pray you to assise mee with your Forces, for now is the time to shew our selues upon the Enemy, for they are but very few in number, and destitute of all reliefe, either by Sea or Land: If your Lordship bee not well at ease your selfe, let your Brother *Dermond*, and the Chiefe Gentlemen of your Forces, come without any delay; assuring your Lordship, that I will, and am ready, to shew you the like against your need: Beseeching your Lordship once againe, not to faile, as you tender the overthrow of our Action: Even so committing your Lordship to the tuition of God Almighty, I end. Porterinad the fift of Iuly, 1600.

Your Honours most assured Friend and Cosen,
James Desmond.

CHAP. IX.

The Armie sate downe before Glyn-Castle. The Knight of the Valley upon safe Conduct, spake with the Earle of Thomond. The Constable of Glyn-Castle, his Advise to the Earle of Thomond for his safetie. A Breach made and assaulted. A Sally made by the Rebels. The Constable &c. slaine, The Castle of the Glyn wonne, and the Rebels put to the Sword.

5. Iulij.
*The Armie
sate downe
before Glyn-
Castle.*



HE next morning, being the fift of Iuly, the Armie came unto the Castle of the Glynne, distant from Ballintare but five miles; the Rebels still marching within lesse then two English miles of us; but never offering any skirmish, where we found Captaine *Gawen Harvey* (according to his direction) at Anchor before the Castle, where hee atten-

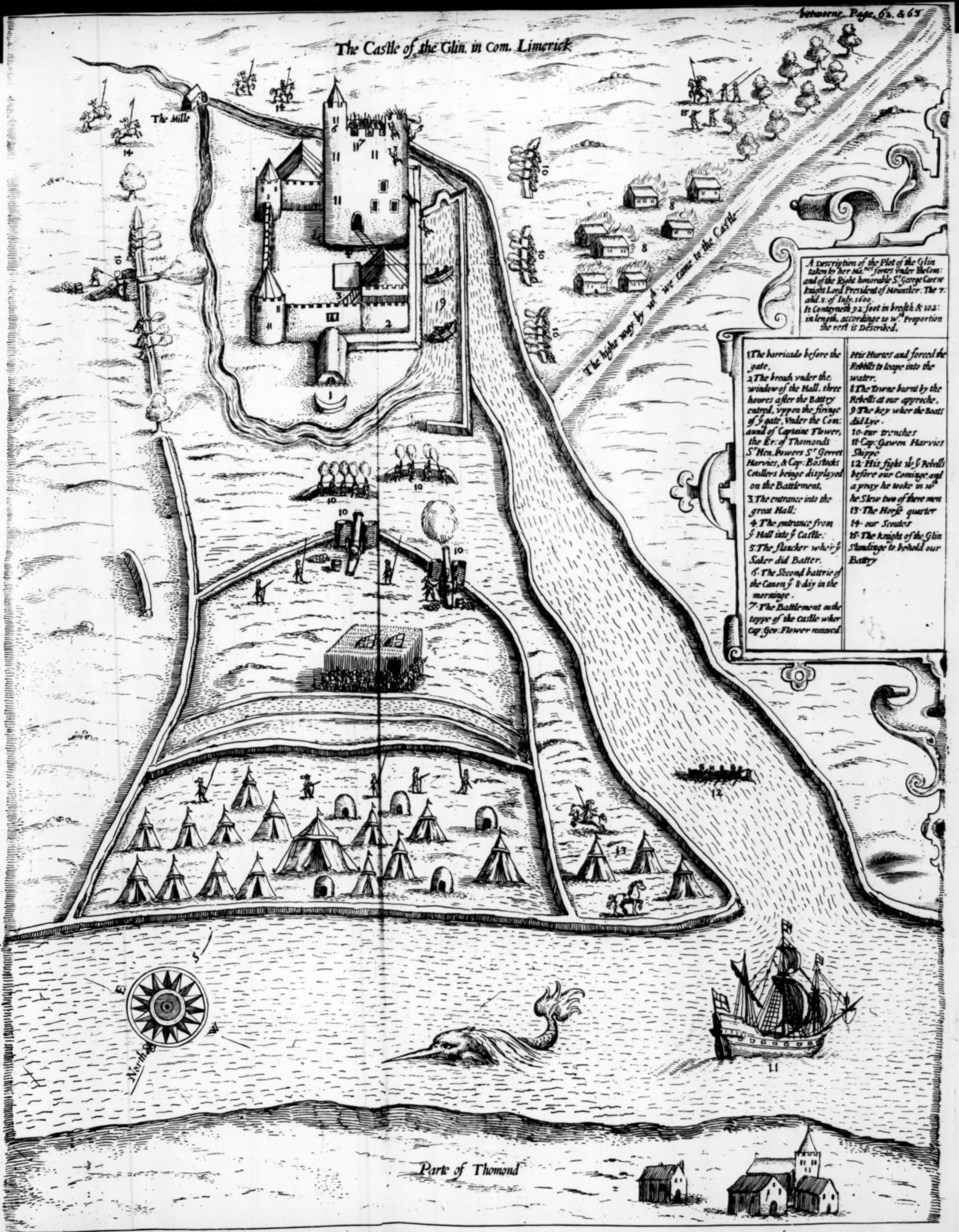
1. The entrance from
Hall into Castle.

14. The entrance from
Hall into Castle.
The slacker wher
later did Batter.
15. The Second batterie of
the Canon of 8 day in the
morning.
16. The Battlement on the
toppe of the Castle wher
Geo. Flower manned

17. Our Scouts
18. The knight of the Glin
standing to behold our
Batterry



The Castle of the Glin, in Com. Limerick



A Description of the Plot of the Glin taken by her Ma^{ty} forces under the Com^d and of the Right honorable S^t George Carew knight Lord President of Munster: The 7th and 8th of July 1600. It containeth 92 foot in breadth & 102: in length, according to w^{ch} Proportion the rest is Described.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 The barriado before the gate. | His Hurtes and forced the Rebels to keepe into the water. |
| 2 The breach under the window of the Hall, three hours after the Battery entered, vpon the firing of y ^e gate. Under the Com ^d of Captaine Flower, the Er ^{le} of Thomonds S ^t Men. Powers S ^t Gerret Harvier, & Cap ^t Bostocks Colliers being displayed on the Battlement. | 3 The Towne burnt by the Rebels at our approche. |
| 3 The entrance into the great Hall. | 4 The key when the Boats did Lye. |
| 4 The entrance from y ^e Hall into y ^e Castle. | 10 our trenches |
| 5 The slaunder wher y ^e Saker did Batter. | 11 Cap ^t Garwen Harvier Shuppe |
| 6 The Second batterie of the Canon y ^e 8 day in the morning. | 12 His fight w th y ^e Rebels before our coming, and a pray he took in w ^{ch} he slew two of there men |
| 7 The Battlement on the toppe of the Castle wher Cap ^t Geo ^{rg} Flower remained | 13 The Horse quarter |
| | 14 our Scouts |
| | 15 The knights of the Glin standinge to behold our Battery |

attended our coming about foureteene dayes. The Armie was no sooner incamped, but order was presently taken for unshipping the Cannon, brought by water in a Boat of the Earle of Thomonds from Limerick; and that night intrenched our selues, before the Castle betweene it, and the River: The day following, the Ordnance (which was one Demy Cannon, and one Sacre) was planted before the Castle; without any resistance, or the losse of any one man, by reason of a Parlie that was purposely to that end entertained, during the which, the worke was performed.

The seventh, the Knight of the Valley, by a Messenger from him to the Earle of Thomond, prayed a safe conduct to the Campe, which was granted: He told the Earle, that he desired to conferre with the President, which he refused, without absolute submission to her Majesties mercy, whereunto he would not yeeld, but stood upon conditions, whereupon hee was commanded to depart: He saw the Cannon already planted, and his Sonne then a child in the Presidents hands; ready at his will to bee executed, being by himselfe formerly put in pledge for his Loyaltie; then hee desired to speake with the Earle of Thomond againe, which was granted: But the Earle found his obstinacie to be such, as he disdained to haue any long conference with him: And so being safely conveyed out of the Campe, he returned to his fellow Traitors, who were on the top of an Hill, not farre off, where they might see the successe of the Castle.

When he was gone, the same day towards the Evening, the Constable of the Castle (who was a Thomond man borne) sent a Messenger to the Earle of Thomond, praying his Lordship to get a safe conduct from the President, that he might come to speake with him, which being granted, in his discourse to the Earle; my Lord (said he) in the loue I beare you, being your naturall Follower, I desired to speake with you, to the end that you may avoid the perill that you are in; for the Earle of Desmond, and the Connaght men, lodge not two miles from this place, they are three thousand strong at least, and the Lord President may bee assured, that they will giue upon his campe, for so they are resolved; and in all likelihood, you will bee there put to the Sword, or driven into the River of Shenan. The Earle deriding these threats, advised him to render up the Castle to the President, whereby his life and his fellowes might be secured, which he with vaine glorious obstinacie refused, and returned to the Castle; for a Farewell, the President sent him word, that since he had refused the Earle of Thomonds favourable offer, that he was in hope before two dayes were spent, to haue his Head set upon a Stake, which proved true (as you shall heare) before the Castle was taken.

The next day, when wee looked that the cannon should be-

1606.

7. Julij.
The Knight
of the Valley
up f
conduct
spake with
the Earle of
Thomond.

The Constable
of Glyn
Castle, his
advice to the
Earle of
Thomond
for his safe-
tie.

8. Julij.

gin

1600.

gin to play, the Cannoniere found the Peece to be cloyed, all the art and skill which either the Smith, or himfelfe could or did use, prevailed nothing. The President (who is a man that knowes well to manage great Artillery) commanded that the peece upon her carryage (as she was) should be abased at the rayle, and elevated at the musle, as high as it might bee: then hee willed the Gunner to giue her a full charge of powder, roule a shott after it, and to giue fire at the mouth, whereby the touch-hole was presently cleared, to the great rejoycing of the Armie, which of necessitie in attempting the Castle, (without the favour of the Cannon) must haue endured great losse. This particular I thought good not to omitt, because it may bee an Instruction to others, whensoever the like accident should happen. The Peece being thus cleared, the President having the Knight of the Valleyes eldest sonne, (a childe of sixe yeares olde) in his hands, to terrifie the Warders, hee caused the child to be set upon the topp of one of the Gabions, sending them word, That they should haue a faire marke to bestow their small shott upon: The Constable returned answere, That the feare of his life should not make them to forbear to direct their Volleyes of shott to the batterie: for said he (in undecent termes not fit for me to write) the place is open where he was borne, and the Knight may haue more sonnes. The President not intending (as hee seemed) caused the Infant to bee taken downe from the Gabion, knowing that the discharging of the Cannon would haue shaken the poore chilles bones in sunder, and then presently hee commanded the battery to begin, and the small shott did so incessantly burne powder, as the Warders durst not stand to their fight, untill a breach was made, assaultable into the Seller under the great Hall of the castle: all this was done with the losse of one onely man, a Cannoniere.

*A Breach
made.*

*The breach
assaulted.*

Then was Captaine *Flower* commaunded by the President, with certaine Companies assigned vnto him, to enter the breach, which hee valiantly performed, and gained the Hall, and enforced the Ward to returne into a Castle close adjoyning unto it, where from out of a Spike, they slewe foure of our men, then hee ascended a paire of staires, to gaine two turrets over the Hall, in which attempt Captaine *Bostocks* Ensigne was slaine; by the winning whereof, they were in better securitie then before, and there were our Colours placed; and because it was by this time within night, Captaine *Slingsby*, (who was there with the Presidents Companie) was commaunded to make it good till the morning; during which time, some whiles on either side, small shott played, but little or no harme done: about midnight the Constable seeing no possibilitie to resist long, and no hope of mercy left, thought by the favour of the night in a sally to escape;

*A sally made
by the rebels.*

escape; but the Guards were so vigilant, as they slew him, and some others; neverthelesse two escaped, the rest which were unslaine, returned into the Castle, and the Constables head was (as the President formerly had told him) put on a stake: Early in the morning, the Ward was gotten into the Tower of the Castle, wherunto there was no comming unto them, but up a narrow stayre, which was so strait, as no more then one at once might ascend; and at the staire foot, a strong wooden doore, which being burnt, the smoke in the staires was such, as for two howers there was no ascending without hazard of stifling; when the extremitie of the smoake was past, one of the Rebels presented himselfe, and said in the behalfe of himselfe and his fellowes, That if their liues might be saved, they would render; but before any answer was made, he voluntarily put himselfe into our hands: The smoake being vanished, a Muskettier, and to his second a Halbardier; Then Captaine Flower, and Captaine Slingsbie; Lieutenant Power, Lieutenant to Sir Henrie Power; Ensigne Power, Sir Henry Powers Ensigne; Lieutenant Nevill, Lieutenant to Sir Garratt Harvie, which was after killed in Connaght, seconded by others, ascended the staires in file, where they found no resistance, nor yet in the upper roomes, for the Rebels were all gone to the Battlements of the Castle, with resolution to sell their liues as deare as they could. Our men pursued the way to the Battlements; whereunto there was but one Doore. Captaine Flower entred upon one hand, and Captaine Slingsbie upon the other; the gutters were very narrow betweene the Roofe of the Castle and the Battlements: In conclusion, some were slaine in the place, and others leapt from the top of the Castle into the water underneath it, where our Guards killed them. In this Service eleven Souldiers were slaine, whereof one was an Ensigne, and one and twentie hurt, of which number the Serjeant Major, (who served admirably well) was one; hee received three or foure wounds, but none of them mortall; there was also the Lieutenants of the Earle of Thomond, and Sir Henry Powers hurt; of the enemy (of all sorts) were slaine 80, or thereabouts, whereof 23 were naturall borne followers to the Knight of the Valley, in whom hee reposed greatest confidence.

The reasons which mooved the Knight thus obstinately to persist, was partly the strength of the Castle, which hee (ignorantly) thought defensible against the Cannon, and also the manifold oathes and protestations made unto him by his fellow Rebels, that with their whole Forces they would giue reliefe, and raise the Siege; but how much hee sayled in expectation of the one, and they in the protestation of the other, yee haue already heard; whereof if

1605.
The Constable &c. slaine

9. Iulij.

The Castle wonne, and the rebels put to the sword.

1600.

the protesters had had any feeling (of their promised faith) the provocation they had was great; for they were eye-witnesses, when the Castle was assaulted and wonne. This Castle is a place of great importance, and ever since the beginning of the rebellion, one *Anthony Arthur* (a Merchant of Limricke) lay in it, as a generall Factor for the citie, to vent commodities to the Rebels.

C H A P. X.

A Ward put into the Castle of Glynne, by the Lord President. Carrigfoyle rendred by O Conner Kerry. Victuals and Munition sent out of England into Mounster. Maurice Stacke sent into Kerry. The Bonoghs obtained the Lord Presidents Passports to depart the Province. Sixty of the Bonnoghs slayne by the Lord Burke. The Lord Presidents returne to Limericke. The Castle of Corgrage rendred. A garrison left in Akeison. The Castle of Rathmore rendred. A garrison placed at Kilmallock. The Rebels enforced to rise from the siege of Lyskaghan. Florence Mac Cartie's persuasions to the Ward, to quit Lyskaghan. Florence attempts againe to corrupt the Conitable of Lyskaghan. A Letter from James fits Thomas, to Florence Mac Cartie.

*A Ward put
into the castle
of Glin by the
L. President.*



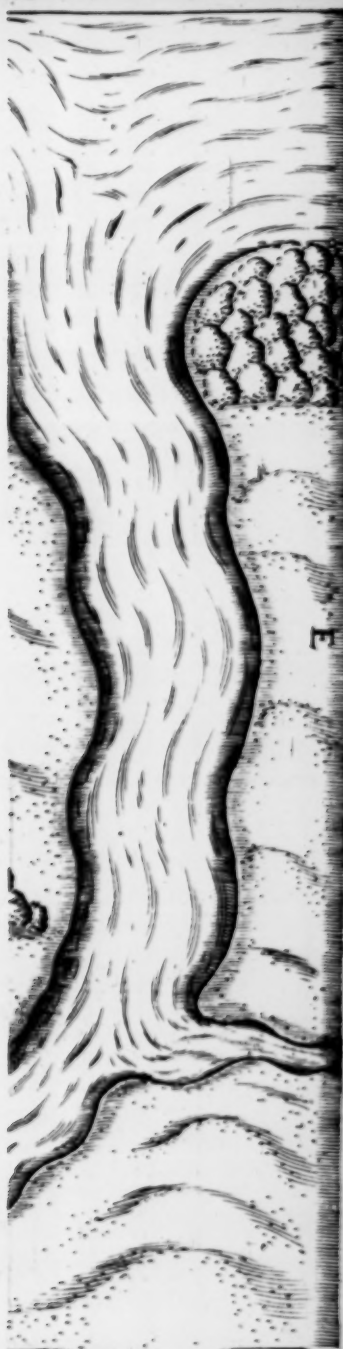
HE President was constrained to stay heere five dayes after the taking of the Castle, to place a Guard therein, which was left to the charge of Captaine *Nicholas Mordant*, with one and twentie Souldiers, and to repayre the breach and ruines made by the Cannon, which being finished, hee intended to draw the Cannon to Carrigfoyle, five miles distant from the Glinne; which Castle was held then against her Majestie, as it was in anno 1580, and wonne by Sir *William Pelham*, the Lord Iustice, under whom (at that time) the President was a Captaine of Foot: But *O Conner Kerry* being advertised hereof, desired a protection, and for assurance of his future loyaltie, offered to surrender his sayd Castle, to bee kept unto her Majesties use; His profer the Lord President accepted, and a Ward of Sir *Charles Wilmot* his Company was placed therein.

*Carrigfoyle
rendred by
Oconner
Kerry.*

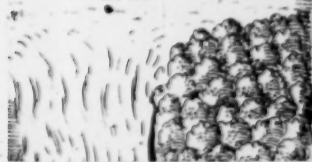
The Earle of Thomond, in his good affection to the service, gaue unto *John O Conner*, during the Warres, a Castle and thirteene Plow Lands, for his Tenants and himselfe, to live upon in Thomond, which was a better Pledge upon him, then any he could giue: Nevertheless, after the Spaniards landing in Ireland, this perfidious Traitor, relapsed as hereafter you shall heare.

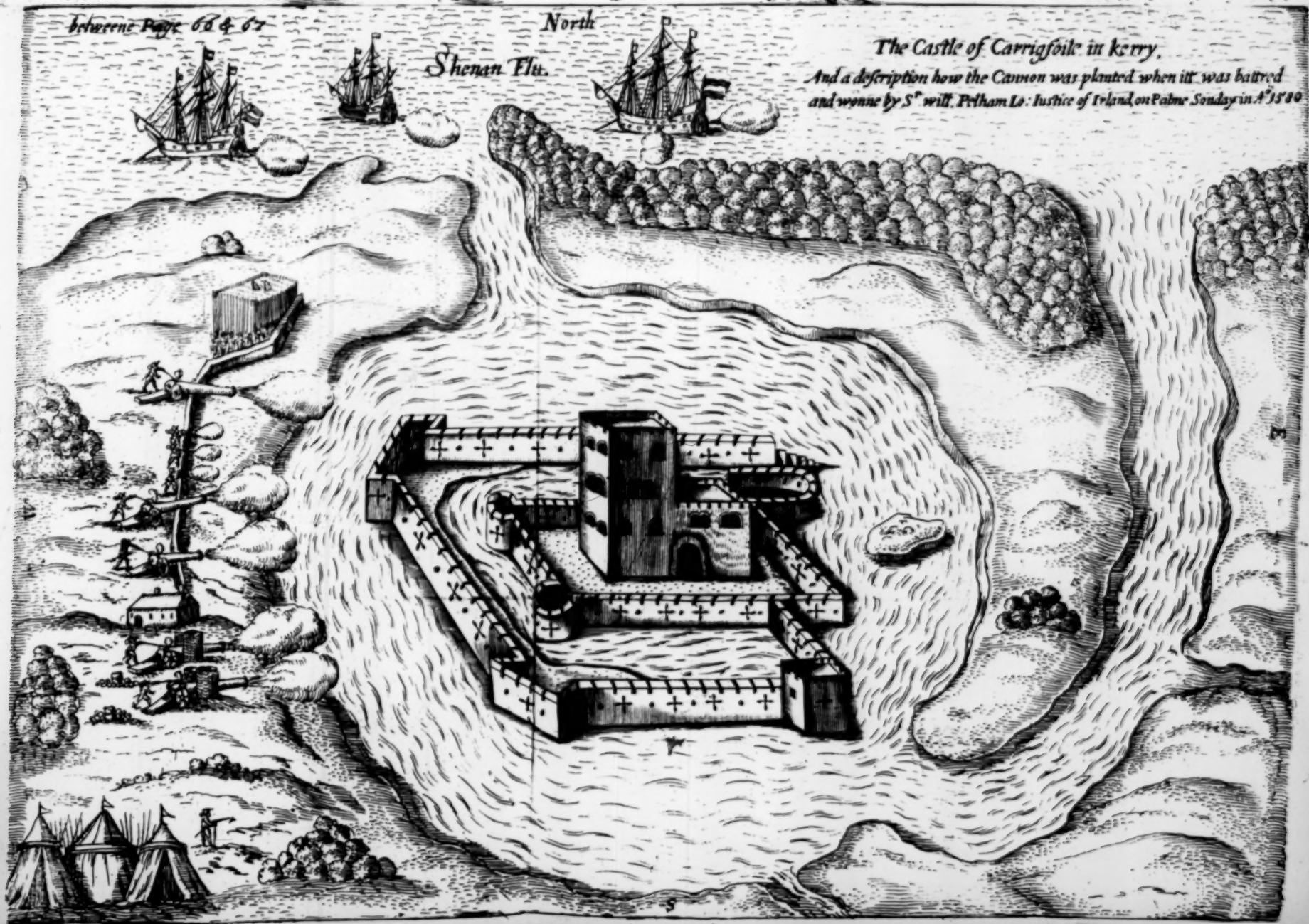
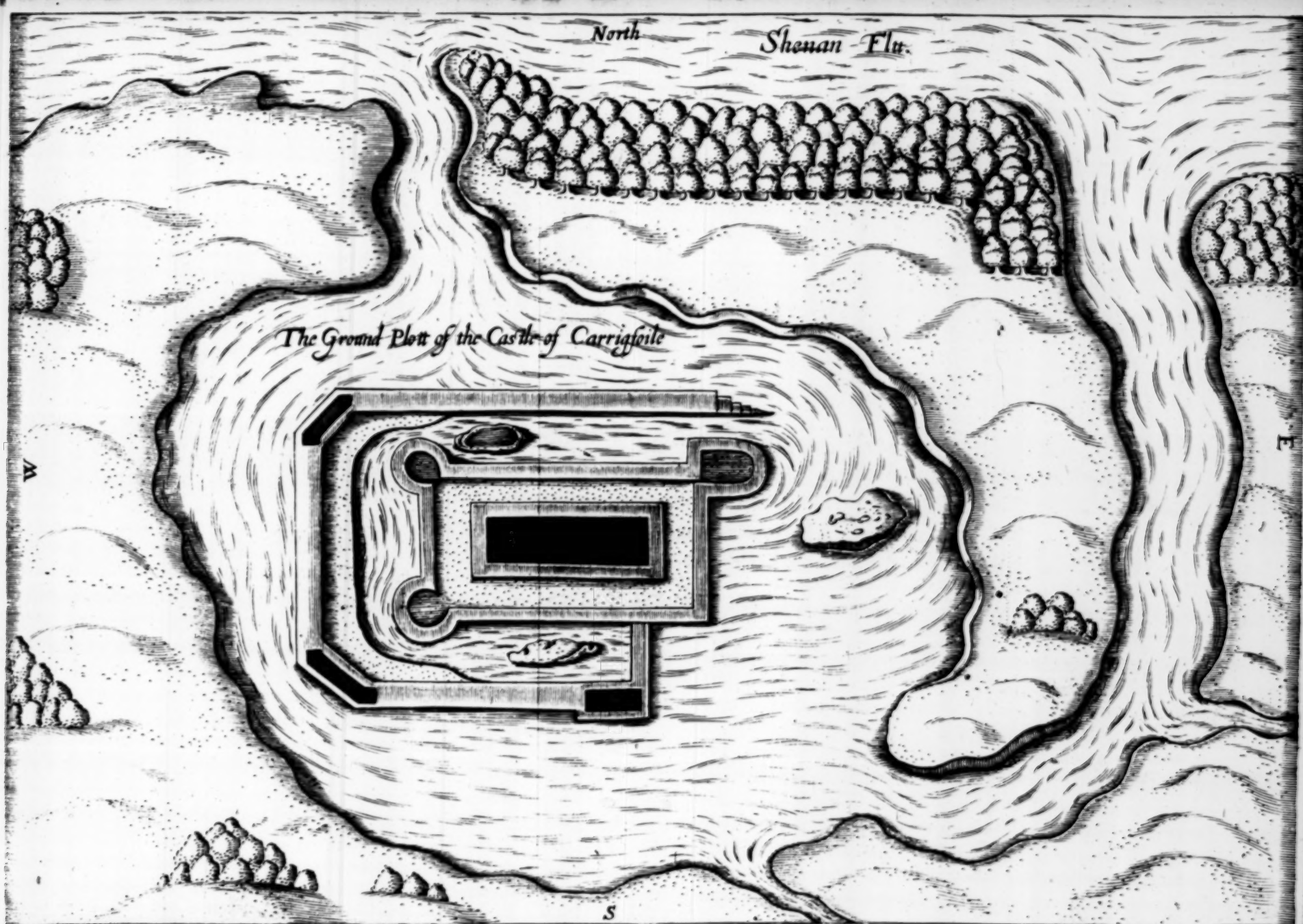
*Victuals and
munition sent
out of England
into Moun-
ster.*

About the middest of this Moneth, there arived first at Corke, a small Barke of five and twentie Tonnes, loaden with Victuals; and the day following, a greater quantitie; also three Lasts of Powder, with



in Kerry.
lanted when itt was battred
Ireland on Palme Sunday in A^o 1580





with Lead and Match proportionable, which was a great comfort to the President, and the whole Armie.

Whilest these things were in doing, the President to the end the Rebels might be set on worke, in many places at once, imployed one *Maurice Stacke*, a servant of his owne into Kerry (a Native of that Countrey) a man of small stature, but of invincible courage, with fiftie men; who confidently undertaking no more then he valiantly performed, surpris'd by scale, a Castle in the Heart of the Countrey, called *Liscaghan*, appertaining to Master *Edward Gray*, an Undertaker, put the Ward to the Sword, burnt Ardart and other Townes; tooke some Preies for the maintenance of himselfe and his Companie, and made good the place, untill hee was seconded, by the coming of Sir *Charles Wilmott*, as after you shall heare.

From the beginning of the Warre, untill this undertaking of *Maurice Stacke*, none of her Majesties Forces had beene seene in Kerrie; the Countrey was strong in men, and full of victuals, yet this undaunted Spirit of *Stacke*, would with a handfull of men attempt the Enterprize: Still did the Bownoghs (seeing their hopes in Mounster to be frustrated) importune the President, by Letters and Messages for his Pasport, to safe conduct them into Connaght, promising there to liue under her Majesties Lawes; as should become Loyall and Duetifull Subjects; which at last upon mature deliberation, was granted unto them. The Lord *Burke* being either ignorant of what was done, or would not take knowledge of it; in revenge of his two Elder Brothers deaths, who were slaine by them, with the helpe of Limerick men, set upon their Reare in Clanwilliam, as they were passing the Shenan, and slew sixtie of them, besides divers that were drowned; and tooke some part of their Prey: In this skirmish, an Alderman of Limericke called *Dominicke Roche*, and a Protestant, was dangerously wounded with a Musket Bullet; among these Bownoghs, *Dermond O Conner* passed into Connaght: Whilest these things were thus in handling, the President still remained at Carrigofioile, expecting daily and houely a Ship of Victuals, which had bin comming from Corke thither, since the beginning of Iune; upon arrivall whereof, hee purposed with the greatest part of his Forces to haue passed further into Kerry, and to haue settled that part of the Province.

But the Victuals by reason of contrary Winds, not being as yet come into the River of Shenan; the thirteenth of this Moneth, hee was constrained for want thereof, to returne to Limericke againe. In which returne, we having marched through exceeding strong Fastnesse, incamped the first night before the Castle of *Corgrage* seated upon the Shenan, belonging to Master *Trenchard* the Undertaker, and

1600.

Maurice Stacke sent into Kerry.

The Bownoghs obtained the Lord Presidents Pasport to depart the Province.

Sixty of the Bownoghs slaine by the Lo. Burke.

The Lord Presidents returne to Limericke.

The Castle of Corgrage rendred.

1600.

and of strength sufficient to hold out against any Force, except the Cannon. But the example of the Glynne, was so fearefull unto the Rebels, that upon the first summons, they yeelded the same, with safetie of their liues. And the President gaue the Custody of it unto *Oli-ver Stephenson*.

*A Garrison
left in As-
keiton.*

The next day, the Armie marched twelue miles unto Adare, a Mannor House, belonging to the Earles of Kildare, wholly ruined by *Pierce Lacy*; from thence the President sent seven hundred Foote, and seventie five Horse to Askeiton, there to remaine in Garrison.

15. Iulij.

*The Castle
of Rath-
more ren-
dred.
A Garrison
placed at
Kilmallock.*

The fifteenth, advertisement being given, that the Castle of Rathmore (three miles out of the way to Limerick) was still held by the Rebels; we came before it, which the Ward instantly delivered unto the President, from whence he sent foure hundred and fiftie Foote, and fiftie Horse unto Kilmallock; for it was well found, that the greatest hope of the Arch-traitor *Desmond*, did consist in Conniloe, which by reason of the fertility of the Soile, the strength of the Countrey, and the Inhabitants being all his Naturall borne Followers, did yeeld him more Command and Reliefe, then any part of the Province besides: These two Garrisons therefore were placed at Askeiton, and Kilmallock, that did so infest the Rebels, that resided in those parts, as before the next Winter was ended, they vvere utterly wasted.

16. Iulij.

*The Rebels
enforced to
rise from the
siege of Lis-
caghan.*

*Flor. Mac
Carties
perswasions
unto the
Ward to
quit Lisca-
ghan.*

The sixteenth, the President with the rest of the Armie, came to Limerick, which was no sooner disperfed and disposed in the manner aforesaid, but the Enemy drew their Forces to Liscaghan, surprised (as you haue heard) by *Maurice Statke*, and by him still possessed in despite of the Rebels: This Castle therefore they besiege, and placed an Engine (well knowen in this Countrey) called a Sovv (to the Wals thereof) to supp the same: But the Defendants did so vvell acquit themselues in a Sally, as they tare the Sovv in peeces, made her to cast her Pigs, and slevv twentie seven of them dead in the place; finding therefore that Force would not prevaile, to effect their attempt, they betake themselues to fraud: For the more cunning conveiance whereof, *Florence Mac Cartie* was imployed as a principall Instrument by *Fitz Maurice*, who then with two hundred Foote and twentie Horse lay at Ardart, not halfe a mile distant from the Castle; within a few dayes after the former Salley, the said *Florence* came to speake vvith the Ward, (commanded by *Walter Talbot*, in the absence of *Maurice Statke*) about some particulars concerning their ovvnegood; vvho amongst other conference assured them, that the President vvvas gone to Corke, that most of his Troopes vvvere defeated, and that it vvvas impossible for them to expect aide before the next Spring: All which notwithstanding, for the loue he bare to the

the President, he would be glad to save their lives; and if they would deliver up the place to him, hee would undertake to convey them in safetie to Carrigofeile: Much did this smoth report, distract some of the Wards; for they well understood, that he had not shewed himselfe in any overt action against her Majestie, since the President came into his government; and although he did converse with the Rebels, yet it might bee, that it was either to doe some service upon them, or else to draw them into subjection. But others misdoubting, *Anguis in herba*, resolutely answered, that they would make good that place against all Ireland, untill a second might come unto them: Then he began to terrifie them with the strength of the Enemy, and weaknesse of her Majesties Forces, reporting the one to be at the least seven thousand, and the other at the most two thousand and five hundred: But finding that this last attempt, prevailed no more then the first assault, with some threatening speeches hee departed to the Lord of Lixnaw. The next morning, *Florence* attempted the Ward againe, but they made answer as the day before; then he proffered *Walter Talbot*, if hee would render the place unto him, hee would give him sixtie men in wages, and a good Horse; but all his offers being rejected, he went his way.

Notice heereof being brought unto the President, then residing at Limericke, he addressed himselfe in all speed towards Kerry, and set forward the three and twentieth of *Iuly*: But whereas (by reason of continuall raine that had lately fallen in great abundance) it was thought that the mountaine of Sleulogher was impassible for carriages, was constrained to take the way of *Thornond*. The forces which hee carried with him, were in list 1050 Foot, and 75 Horse. These therefore marched to *Kilrush*, a place in *Thomond*, opposite to *Carrigofeile*, and by the eight and twentieth of the same, all the Foot, the Troopes, and baggage were transported, which in respect of the breadth of the River in that place, being at least one league and a halfe, was expedited beyond all expectation. In the speedy dispatch whereof much was attributed, and that worthily, to the Earle of *Thomond*, who provided Boats and such other necessaries, as his Countrey could afford. The beginning of *August* *James fitz Thomas* wrote unto *Florence Mac Cartie*, a Letter, the true Copie whereof followeth.

1600.

Florence Mac Cartie attempted to corrupt the Constable of Liskaghan.

23. *Iulij.*28. *Iulij.*

1600.

*A Letter from Iames fits Thomas to Florence
Mac Cartie.*

*Fits Gerald,
Knight of
Kerry.*

Cousen, yesterday I came over the Mountaine, and brought with mee the Bonnaghs of Conelloe, the residue and force of the Countrey I haue left to keepe their Crets. I understand since my comming, that Sir Charles Wilmott with six hundred Foot, and fiftie Horse, are come to Clanmorris; and this night pretend to bee at Tralee. I haue sent to the Knight, and all the Countrey presently to meet mee to morrow, to resist their determination: And for your better furtherance and accomplishment of our action, I am to intreat your Lordship, as you regard your owne quiet, and exaltation of the Service, to make what haste and force you may, and speedily to yeeld us your helping assistance, for which wee will rest thankfull, and most readie to answere your Lordship at your need: And thus referring the consideration hereof to your Lordship, I commit you to God. *Primo Augusti, 1600.*

Your Lordships very loving Cousen,

Iames Desmond.

CHAP. XI.

The Lord President at Carrigfoyle. The Castles of Lixnaw, Rathwin, and Tralee surprised by Sir Charles Wilmot. The Bonnaghs defeated by Sir Charles Wilmot. The death of Patrick Fits Maurice Lo. of Lixnaw. Florence mac Cartie sent for by the Lord President, but refuseth to come. A marriage practised by Florence for Iames fits Thomas. Letters and messages betweene Florence and Tyrone. An encounter betweene Captaine Harvie and the White Knights sonne. The White Knights sonne defeated. The Knight of Kerry, and the Lord of Lixnaw sue for protection. The Earle of Thomond left to command the garrison at Askeaton. Florence Mac Cartie continueth his practise with Tyrone. Lands given by Iames fits Thomas to Florence Mac Cartie. Donnell Mac Cartie taken in upon protection.

*The L. President come to Carrigfoyle
29. Iulij.*



HE President being come to Carrigfoyle, advertisement was brought, that the Rebels hastened to ruine their Castles in Kerrie. Wherefore the nine and twentieth hee sent Sir Charles Wilmot, (a very valiant and understanding Gentleman) with the Forces afore said into Clanmorris, who without much difficultie, by reason of his sudden and unexpected comming, recovered the chiefe House of the Lord

Fits

Fits Maurice, called Lixnaw, being formerly by him sapped and underfet with props of Timber, to the end, that whensoever any English Forces should come into the Countrey, that at an instant (fire being set unto them) the Castle should bee ruined, which hee rather wished, then that a Garrison of Souldiers should bee lodged in it: But the sudden comming of *Sir Charles*, prevented his intention. Hee surprized also in the same manner the Castle of Rathowine, belonging to the Bishop of Kerry, into both which (being very convenient for service) hee put sufficient Guards, and then rode with fiftie Horse to view Tralee, which was *Sir Edward Dennies* House: *James fits Thomas* had appoynted one hundred and fiftie Bownoghs for the ruining hereof; who having almost fully finished their taske, as they were busily imployed about the undermining of certaine vaults remaining after the rest unruined, *Sir Charles Wilmott*, with his fiftie Horse, as they came suddenly, so they ranne violently, like a Whirlewinde (in faire weather) upon those Rebels; killed two and thirtie of them dead in the place, and recovered the Armes of one hundred, who by the meanes and favour of a Bog and Mountaine neere adjoyning, escaped with their lives, being frighted almost out of their wits. The second of August *Sir Charles Wilmott* with his Troopes returned to Carrigfoyle.

1600.
*The Castles
of Lixnaw,
Rathowine,
and Tralee
surprized by
Sir Charles
Wilmot.*

*The Bownoghs
defeated by
Sir Charles
Wilmot.*

2. August.

In this meane time the President was advertised, that the victualls which hee expected from Corke, was arrived at Carrighowlogh in Thomond; almost opposite to the River of Cassan in Kerry, from whence in Boats they were transported up the Cassan to Lixnaw, foure miles into the Countrey, which service was performed by the ayde of the Earle of Thomonds Boats.

The Lord *Fits Maurice*, whose name was *Patrick*, and father to *Thomas Lord Fits Maurice* now living, an obstinate Rebelle, hearing of our being at Carrigfoyle, fearing our Neighbourhood, brake his Castle of the Beaulieu, seated upon the Shenan, two miles distant from Carrigfoyle, when hee saw his chiefe House possessed by our Forces, tooke such an inward griefe, as the twelfth of this instant hee gaue up the ghost. The Countie of Kerry at this time was the best inhabited Countrey of all Mounster; but whosoever tooke the most paines in sowing, certaine it is, that the Garrisons as they were shortly after placed, reaped all the profite of that Harvest.

*The death of
Patrick fits
Maurice, L.
of Lixnaw.*

The Island of Kerry, an ancient and chiefe house of the Earles of Desmond, and of late belonging to *Sir William Herbert*, as an Vnder-taker, together with many other Castles in those parts, are (by the rebels) absolutely ruined, neere upon the first bruit of the Armies approach, which was an evident argument of their obstinacies.

The

1600.
*Florence
 Mac Cartie
 being sent
 for would
 not come un-
 to the L. Pre-
 sident.*

*A Mari-
 age practised
 by Florence
 for James
 fits Thomas.*

*Letters and
 Messages
 betweene
 Florence and
 Tyrone.*

16. Aug.

The President upon his first comming into Kerry, hearing that *Florence Mac Cartie* was not then about ten miles distant from him, about a Parlie with *James fits Thomas*, wrote for him, to come and speake with him at Carrigofaile, but he remising nothing but oathes and delatory excuses, came not; Whereupon second Letters together with a safe guard were dispatched unto him, but unto those he returned no answer at all. This delaying conferred with the report of some Protestees, that averred *Florence* to haue entred into a new Combination with *James fits Thomas*; (and that hee had sent in this Moneth of August *Owen Mac Eggan*, a Traitorly Priest into Spaine;) made the President not doubtfull only of his former promises to him made, but almost out of doubt, that he would shew himselfe againe in open action. Which would bring to passe, that his Labours (like those of *Hercules*) should daily bee renewed, new Heads still growing upon this rebellious Hydra; for the Septs of the *Carries* themselves (with their Followers and Dependants) were knowen to bee no lesse then three thousand able men; and to the intent, that all these might more firmly vnite themselves, with the rest which were no lesse, then foure thousand and five hundred strong against Her Majesty: This *Florence* was now busie in working of a Mariage, betweene the Sugean Earle, and the sister of *Cormacke Mac Dormond*, Lord of Muskerry, a populous, a rich, and a fast Countrey. The President having received advertisement thereof, left *Sir Charles Wilmot* to prosecute the service in Kerry, and himselfe halted his returne towards Corke, there to worke some meanes, for the overthrowing the proceedings of this dangerous Complot.

The President being returned so farre as Limetick, certaine notice was brought him, that *Florence* had lately imployed a Messenger to *Tyrone* (as he pretended) for the release of *Osulevan Moke*, his Brother in Law; but as the truth was, to procure aide from the North, to support the Rebellion in Mounster; *Tyrone* by the said Messenger, sent Letters of Comfort and Encouragement, as well to *Florence* as to the rest of the Lords in that Province, assuring them, not only of succours from himselfe, but farther, that the Spanish Forces would land in Mounster before Michaelmas next. These exorbitant courses of *Florence*, gaue a great impediment to the service; for the President (as he would often say) did see him like a darke Cloud over his Head, threatening a Storme, to hinder and disturbe his proceedings: But wee will leaue *Florence* for a while busily employed, in devising meanes how to procure aide, either from Spaine, or from the North, or from both; and betake our selves to such other occurrents as happened about this time. Vpon the sixteenth of August, the Lord President came to Limericke.

The

The eighteenth, *Pierce Lacy* wrote unto the President, humbly beseeching him, that he might bee received into Her Majesties gracious protection, promising ever afterwards to remaine a loyall Subject; but withall hee made certaine demands, which were so much disliked by the President, as his suite was rejected; for the President insisted upon a Rule (which hee never brake) that hee would not giue care to any Traitor that did capitulate. The twentieth he came to Kilmallock, remayning there but one day, to take assurance of certaine Gentlemen and Freeholders, that had lately submitted themselves.

The day following at Kilmallock, the White Knight being there to attend the President, newes was brought unto him, that divers of his people and Followers were slaine by the Garrison of Moyallo, commanded by Captaine *Roger Harvy*: The President carefull to giue him contentment (being under her Majesties protection) in his owne presence examined the matter; and there it was found, that Captaine *Harvy* having intelligence by a Spy, that was his Guide, of a notable Traitor called *John Mac Redmond*, and certaine other Traitors, and their goods, which were reported to bee neere unto Sir *Walter Raleigh* his Lands, adjoyning to the White Knights Countrey, with seventie Foote and foure and twentie Horse, marched that night one and twentie miles from Moyallo; and at the breake of day, our menthinking, that they had beene brought upon an Enemies Towne, set fier to a House, having some few people therein: But an old Souldier knowing the place, told the Captaine that it was the White Knights Towne: Whereupon he commanded his Company to forbear committing any outrage, either upon the people, or any of their Goods: But the White Knights younger Sonne, *John fits Gibbon*, having suddenly gathered to himselfe, one hundred and sixty Foote and eightene Horse, overtooke Captaine *Harvy*; who began to excuse the matter, telling him (as the truth was) that the Guid whom he had there with him, to answer the Faët, had brought him unwillingly upon that place; and therefore for the hurt done (ignorantly) he would make a large satisfaction.

But the young man following the advise of one *Garret Mac Shane*, (who had lately beene a notable Traitor) thinking it not possible for so small a Company to resist his great Force; (without returning any answer) began presently to chardge our men, whom they supposed without any great resistance to haue at their mercie, and came up close to our Foote, who nothing dismaied, stood firme, expecting their Chardge: But they not comming on, Captaine *Harvy* advanced towards them, and brake them instantly. In this Conflict were slaine and hurt aboute sixtie of their partie; and among them *Garret*

1600.
Aug. 18.

Aug. 20.

21. Aug.
An Encounter
betweene
Captaine
Harvie and
the White
Knights
Sonne.

The White
Knights
Sonne defeated.

1600.

23. Aug.

The Knight
of Kerry, &
the Lord of
Lixnaw
made suite to
be protected.

Mac Shane, the Leader and Procurer of the fight; of our men, some foure were hurt, but none killed; *Captaine Harry* received a shot on his *Murrian*, a blow with a pike upon his back, but escaped danger by the goodnesse of his *Buffe Coat*, and had his Horse slaine under him. The *White Knight* upon dow knowledge hereof, condemned both his Sonne and people for their folly, to enforce a fight, having no harme intended them; and confessed they were well lost. But yet for his better satisfaction the treacherous *Guid*, who did upon a set purposed malice draw this Draught, was by the Presidents appointment, delivered over to the Marshall, and presently hanged: The three and twentieth the Lord President returned to Corke.

Sir Charles Wilmot having made his entrance into Kerry (as already you haue heard) and there proceeded so farre as *Lixnaw*, made knownen to the President, that the Rebels were exceeding strong in that Countrey; The Arch-Rebell *James fits Thomas* being attended with five hundred Bownoghs, besides the Forces that the Knight of Kerry, *Thomas Oge*, and the Gentlemen of the Countrey could make: Heereupon the President knowing that those parts were alwayes affectionately addicted to the Earles of Desmond, caused a Foot-man of the young Earles, (who was shortly afterwards to come into Ireland) as the manner is, having his Masters Armes upon his coate before and behinde, to shew himselfe in most places of the Countrey, that thereby they might bee the better perswaded of his comming, and bee a meanes to alienate their hearts from the counterfeit *Desmond*. The vigilant care that *Sir Charles Wilmot* used within his charge, having taken divers preyes, and killed some of the Rebels, together with this Invention, caused most of the Free-holders of that Countrey to submitt themselves, and seeke unto the Governour for her Majesties protection: the principall amongst these was *William fits Gerald*, commonly called The Knight of Kerry, who by Messengers signified the great desire that hee conceived to live a Subiect, and had present occasion to shew some prooffe thereof; for the Sagan Earle comming about this time to the Dingle, the said Knight would by no meanes receive him into his Castle; whereupon hee ruined all the houses that were standing in the Towne, and so tooke his journey unto Castle Mange: *Thomas fits Maurice*, (the pretended Baron of *Lixnaw*) also now newly come to his Barronie by the death of his father, sought by meanes of his wife, (who was Sister to the Earle of Thomond) for the Presidents favour, and her Majesties protection: Both were promised upon condition, hee would performe such service as might in some good sort deserue the same: but this hee absolutely refused, because (forsooth) it stood not with his Conscience, nor with

1600.

with his Honour: for these were his owne words in a Letter that hee wrote to my Lord of Thomond: and upon this Answer the President rejected both the man and his suit.

The affaires of Kerry succeeding so well with the Governour, it was supposed, that the reputed Earle of Desmond would not long remaine in these parts, lest the Protectees might offer him some false measure; which if it should happen, most likely it was that hee would passe the Mountaine, and shelter himselfe in the Fastnes of Conniloe, and therefore the Lord President intreated the Earle of Thomond, to stay with the Garrison at Askeiton, both to doe service upon such Rebels as should lurke in those woods, as also to secure the goods of those that were newly become Subjects; for (as the manner of the Irish) had they lost but twentie Cowes, or tenne Garrans, they would haue held it sufficient cause to haue relapsed againe. My Lord of Thomond therefore lying there in Garrison, received advertisement by certaine espialls (whom hee used) that *Florence Mac Cartie* had assuredly made a new combination with the Arch-Rebell *Desmond*, and had sent second Letters to *Tyrone* about *O Sulevan More* his enlargement; but in trueth the effect thereof was, to implore ayde of that Egyptian Reed, to underprop their ruinous, and almost rotten Building. Of this new and late combination, the Lord President was also advertised by the Lord *Barrie*, That *James Mac Thomas*, to assure *Florence* unto him, did giue him these Lands and Rents following: viz. the *Querinie*, *Killaha*, the rents of *Beare* and *Bantrie*, the *Beoves* of *Carbry*, *Carrigrobaghan* and *Ballinry* neere unto *Corke*; all which *Florence* accepted, and their place of meeting (where this Agreement was made) was at *Rahinémroeg*, bordering upon *Slewlogher*. Vpon this Intelligence the Governour of Kerry, by direction from the President, received into protection *Donnell Mac Carty*, naturall sonne to the late Earle of *Clancare*, and Brother to *Florence* his wife, whom the Countrey in the beginning of this Rebellion, saluted *Mac Cartie More*, or chiefe Lord of *Desmond*: But at *Tyrone* his late being in the Province, he was deprived of that promotion, and both the Title and Lands by him conferred upon the said *Florence*: wherefore they thought this man to be a speciall fit Instrument, of whom there might bee very good use, when the President should beginne his prosecutions against *Florence*.

The Earle of Thomond left to command the garrison at Askeiton.

Florence continueth his practise with Tyrone.

Lands given by James Mac Thomas to Flor. Mac Cartie.

Donnell Mac Carty taken in upon protection.

1600.

CHAP. XII.

The Castle of Mayne in Connolough taken. Omaghon, and the O Crowlyes protected. Cahir Castle rendred. Supplies of Horses and Money sent for Mounster. Dermond Mac Owen, O Keefe, and Mac Awley make suite to bee received as subjects. The submission of the Knight of Kerry. Iames fits Thomas, and Pierce Lacie defeated by the Knight of Kerry.

The Castle of Mayne in Connolough taken.

Omaghon and the O Crowlyes protected.

The intended Mariage of Iames fits Thomas frustrated.

Cahir Castle rendred

THE Rebelle that next bordered upon this Garrison of Askeiton, was Garret fits Nicholas, and some few Kerne that followed him, whom Sir Francis Barkley so haunted and hunted, that hee got from them all their prey, their owne riding Horses, and at last the Castle of Mayne, held by them, vvherein there was provision of Corne for all that yeare.

The President having disposed of his Garrisons in such sort, that they were lodged either in the Rebels Countries, or very neere thereunto, sent unto them severall Letters, willing the Commanders to imploy their Companies (at this time especially) about the standing Corne now ready for the Harvest, to gather in for their owne uses, what lay most conveniently for them, and the rest to destroy with Man and Horse, which was performed accordingly; and this no doubt was one principall cause, that they were unable to hold up their Heads the next yeare; for presently hereupon Omaghon and the O Crowlies in Carbery, sought to Sir Richard Percy lying at Kinsale, that hee would bee a meanes, to the Lord President for Her Majesties protection; which being granted, they remained Loyall Subjects with their Tenants and Followers untill the landing of the Spaniards. In this interim, the Lord President laboured with Cormuck Mac Dermond, partly by promises, and partly by menaces, to frustrate the intended Mariage, betweene Iames fits Thomas and his Sister; which at last with some difficultie was frustrated, by causing the said Cormuck to undertake for his Sisters apparatice, whensoever he or the Councell should call for her.

Towards the later end of this Moneth of August, the Lord Deputy writing to the President about some other occasions; it pleased him to remember Cahir Castle (which was left as before, you haue heard) signifying that hee much desired to haue that Castle recovered from the Rebels; the rather because the great Ordnance, a Cannon, and a Culverin being left there by the Earle of Essex, were now possessed by the Rebels. This Item from the Lord Deputy, spurred on the President without further delay, to take order therein; and therefore presently by his Letters, sent for the Lord of Cahir,

1609.

Cahir, to repaire unto him, who (as before you haue heard) was vehemently suspected, to haue some hand both in the taking, and keeping thereof. The Barron of Cahir being come, the Councell perswaded him to deale with *James Butler* (nicknamed *James Galde*) his Brother, about the redelivering thereof to Her Majesties use; but his Answer was, that so little interest had hee in his Brother, as the meanest Follower in all his Countrie, might prevaile more with him then himselfe; (for hee was unwilling to haue the Castle regained by the State, except it might againe, be left wholly to him, as it was before the first winning thereof) which the President surmising told him, that if it might speedily be yeelded up unto him, he would become an humble Suiter to the Lord Deputie (in his behalfe) for the repossessing thereof; otherwayes hee would presently march with his whole Armie into those parts, and taking the same by force, he would ruine and raze it to the very foundation; and this he bound with no small protestations: Hereupon, Justice Comerford being dispatched away with the Lord of Cahir, they prevailed so farre with young *Butler*, that the Castle upon the twentieth following was delivered to the State; as also, all the Munitions, and the great Ordnance conveyed to Clonmell, and from thence to Watterford.

The nine and twentieth the Lord President, among other things in his dispatch made for England; advertised the Lords of the Councell, that there was lately arrived at Limerick tenne thousand pounds in monie for the Armie in Mounster; and that also at Corke thirtie sixe Horse, (for the supply of his Horse Troopes) were landed at Corke; for the which hee gaue their Lordships humble thanks: The Horse sent were fourtie, but the Conductor delivered no more then aforesaid.

While these things were in handling, it hapned that a French Barke arrived at Dingle, laden with Wine and some Munition, which they sold to the Rebels, and thereby ministred unto them no small reliefe, being before in great want thereof. Whereupon the President wrote his Letters to the Lords of Her Majesties Privie Councell, intreating that it would please them, to procure Her Majesties Letters to be directed to her Ambassadour *Lager* in France, to deale with the King, for preventing such further mischiefs, as might arise by his Subjects merchandizing with the Rebels.

The sixe and twentieth of this Moneth, *Dermond Mac Owen* Lord of the Countrey, called *Dowalla*, a man for wit and courage, nothing inferior to any of the Mounster Rebels, by his Letters directed to Captaine *Roger Harry*, bearing Date the twentieth aforesaid, made humble suite unto the President, that himselfe, *Mac Awly*

29 August.
Supplies of
Horses and
Monie sent
for Moun-
ster.

26. August.
Dermond
Mac Owen
O keefe and
Mac Awly,
made suite
to be recei-
ved as Sub-
jects.

1600.

The submission of the Knight of Kerry.

Ja. fits Thomas and Pierce Lacy defeated by the Knight of Kerry.

and O keefe with all their followers, might be received into Her Majesties gracious protection; promising both for himselfe and them, from thence forward, to continue and remaine loyall and obedient Subjects; and for the performance of the same, they would put in sufficient securitie, which humble suite the President not long after granted.

Neere unto the day before mentioned, *William fits Gerald*, the Knight of Kerry, in a very penitent manner submitted himselfe to *Sir Charles Wilmott*, and received her Majesties gracious protection, protesting with many vowes his future loyaltie, whereof *Sir Charles* advertised the President, praying the confirmation of the same, which was upon sight of his Letters graunted. Foure or five dayes afterwards, as *Sir Charles* lay with his Forces before Ardart in Kerry, *James fits Thomas*, and *Pierce Lacy*, with all the Force they could make, entred (by night) into the Knight of Kerries Countrey, with a full intention either to surprise his person, or to spoyle & burne his townes, and come to his utter ruine: The Knight having some little foreknowledge of the storme at hand, as soone as they were entred into his Countrey, hee fought with them, slew two of their chiefe Leaders of the Bownoghs, the one called *Teg O Kelly*, the other *Walter Mac Castelagh*, and with them sixteene others. The Invaders finding so ill a vwelcome, returned, not having gained so much as one Cowe.

CHAP. XIII.

The Castle of Ardart taken by Sir Charles Wilmot. Maurice Stacke treacherously murdered. The prey of Killcoe taken by Sir Richard Percie. A Letter from James fits Thomas to Florence Mac Cartie. James fits Thomas defeated by the garison of Kilmallock.

The castle of Ardart taken by Sir Ch. Wilmot.



Ardart for some nine dayes made good defence, and had burned with Fire-workes such Boardes and Timber as *Sir Charles* had placed against the wall of the Castle, for his mens safetie as they undermined. But at the last *Sir Charles* sent for a Saker out of an English mans Ship, (which one *Hill* the Master lent him) with a purpose onely to breake open the doore of the Castle, for the walls were too strong for so small a Peece to offend: The Rebells at the sight of the Saker yeilded: *Sir Charles* hanged the Constable; the rest of the Ward, vvhich vvas but eight, with the vvomen and children vv ere spared.

Towards the latter end of August, *Maurice Stack*, the braue undertaker

taker before spoken of, was by *Honore ny Brien*, wife to the Lord of Lixnaw, invited to dine with her, in her Husbands Castle of Beaulieu in Kerry; at which time *Donnell Obrien*, Brother both to her, and the Earle of Thomond was then with his Sister; Dinner being ended, the young Lady desired to speake with the said *Stacke* privately in her Chamber, where after a little time spent, and disagreeing about the matter then in speech, the Lady cryed out unto *Dermond Kewghe Mac Corman*, *William Odomichin* and *Edmond Oheher* (being at the Chamber doore) doe you not heare him misse mee in words? Whereupon with their skenes they instantly murdered him in the place: Assoone as hee was slaine, shee sent unto her Husband, and willed the Murtherers to repaire unto him: of this barbarous and inhumane Act, some say that this Lady was the principall Agent, though some of her friends haue since sought to excuse her: The Earle of Thomond upon the knowledge of it, was so infinitely grieved, and for the same held his Sister in such detestation, as from that day forwards (to the day of her death) which was not many Moneths after (as I thinke) he never did see her, nor could not abide the memory of her name: But howsoever this worthy Subject, (more worthy then whom there was no one of Ireland birth of his quality) was thus shamefully butchered as you haue heard: The Lord of Lixnaw, not satiated with his blood (traitrouslly & shamefully shed) the next day after, he hanged *Thomas Encally Stack*, the Brother of the said *Maurice Stack*, whom he had held Prisoner a long time before.

About the beginning of this Moneth of September, the Garrison of Kinsale was droven into the field, and marched so farre as *Rosse Carbery*, being commanded by *Sir Richard Percy*, and guided by *Walter Coppinger* of *Cork*, upon hope of doing service thereabout, but being disappointed thereof, they marched beyond the Leape, and comming suddenly to *Kilcoe*, they tooke there a Prey of three hundred Cowes, which they brought in safetie without any losse to *Litterinlis*, and from thence they returned againe to their Garrison.

The Garrison of Kerry, had by this time so galled the Forces of the vsurping *Desmond*, as he found himselfe unable long to subsist, except *Florence Mac Cartie* (who had long played the Machiavillian *Ambodexter*, betwixt him and the L:President) would now at the last joine with him in defence and supportation of the Action; this did he importune by diuers Letters, but especially by one, which because it containeth his estate at this time, together with other particularities fit to bee understood, I haue thought good to insert the very words of his owne Letter as followeth.

A Letter

1600.

Maurice Stacke murdered treacherously.

Septemb.

The Prey of Kilcoe taken by Sir Richard Percy.

1600.

*A Letter from James fits Thomas to Florence**Mac Cartie.*

MY Lord, your Letters I haue received, and the present time of Service is now at hand, which by Letters, nor any excuse so effectually ought to bee delayed; And whereas you write, that you intend to conferre with the President, and the Earle of Thomond, I marvell that one of your Lordships acquaintance with their proceedings, doeth not yet know their inticing bayts, and humours, to intrap us all within the nets of their pollicies; Your vow to God and this action, for the maintenance of the Church, and defence of our owne right, should not for any respect bee disregarded: you know that of long time your Lordship hath been suitor to the Queene and Councell, and could not at any time prevaile, nor get any likelihood of your settlement; and now being duly placed by the assent of the Church, and us the Nobilitie of this Action, your Lordship should worke all meanes possible for to maintaine the same. You know the ancient and generall malice that heretofore they bare to all Irish Birth, and much more they raue at this present, so as it is very bootlesse for any of us all to seeke their favours, or countenance, which were but a meane to worke our totall subversion: Write to mee effectually your Lordships minde, and what resolution you purpose to follow, whereby I may proceed accordingly. This Armie is but very slender, for they are but sixe hundred Foot, and eightie Horse; I am my selfe and *Fits Maurice* sixe hundred Foot, and some Horse: Wee expect your Lordships assistance, which wee heartily desire, and not any further to deferre us with Letters, as you respect us, and the service: and whereas you write you haue no force, your owne presence, and the bruite of your comming, will much further the Service, and dismay the enemy, &c. 2. Septemb. 1600.

Your loving Cousen,

James Desmond.

Notwithstanding the importunitie of these Letters, together with his owne inclination, yet *Florence* finding that this their divided Kingdome could not long stand, hee would not in person joyne with them, but sent word to the white Knight by his daughter (*Donogh Mac Cormock* his wife) that rather then the Action should fall to the ground, hee would himselfe make a journey into Spaine,

to

to intreat ayd and assistance from the Pope and Spanish King: but in the meane time, the supposed Earle being still pursued by Sir Charles, is constrained to abandon Kerry, to goe to Conniloe, and so to Arlogh; in which passage hee sustained such a losse (as shall bee said) which proved to him irrecoverable. There was not left any man of esteeme likely to defend the Action, but *Florence Mac Cartie*, (lately spoken of) who having temporized all this while, (to see this Summers prosecution) was growne by other mens examples to bee more wise then honest, became now an Intercessor to the President, with frequent Letters, and damnable oathes, that he was in his heart and intentions sincerely devoted to her Majesties service.

The concurrence of this fortunate successe, did promise a present reduction of the Province, and an establishment thereof in a settled quiet, and so no doubt it would have proved, if the Protectees had meant in their hearts, as they professed with their tongues: but it was farre otherwayes, for the President did at this time receive certaine advertisement, that the titularie Earle being driven to great extremitie, and eagerly prosecuted in all corners, by the consent (in common Counsell) of his associates, whereof some of them had never beene in actuall rebellion, and others lately protected, and seeming to forsake him (notwithstanding their pledges in her Majesties hands) have advised him partly for his safetie, but especially to make triall what ayd hee could procure (out of Connaght and Ulster) to depart from thence, with confident promises, that whensoever hee should returne with new Forces, that then they would as constantly stand for him as heeretofore: Whence by the way may bee discerned the cankered disposition of their malicious hearts towards the English Government, who nothing regard the disease of their Persons, the losse of their Goods, the hazzard of their Lives, and danger of their perjured Soules, so that they may bee able to continue in action against her Majestie; hoping thereby that at the length shee would growe wearie of her extreame charges, and by that meanes bee driven to condescend to their owne Conditions and Libertie of conscience; wherein although they were not disturbed at this time, yet can they not be satisfied without publike allowance, and Exercise thereof under the Romish Authoritie, which they strive to have supream; and what kind of subjection can bee expected at the hands of any such Papists, may appeare, for that some of great qualitie in Mounster, did about the middest of this moneth, purposely send certaine Priests to Rome, to purchase absolution from the Pope, for the sinne that they Committed, in not entring into publike Hostilitie with the rest; and because they saw that the Queene could not bee violently dispossessed of Ireland, did likewise intreat a

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1600.

*James fits
Tho. defeated
by the garri-
son of Kil-
mallocke.*

16. Sept.

dispensation from overt action, but yet to live unchangeably in the Catholike Religion, and to be permitted in outward temporall obedience her Majesties Subjects. Consider therefore I say, the dutifull Alleagiance of these men, whose obedience depends upon the Popes allowance.

Sir George Thornton had in garrison at Kilmallock, Captaine Francis Slingsby, with the Presidents Company, Paul Arundles, with the Lord Audleys, Captaine Dillon, and Captaine O Reilly, with their Foot Companies, and Captaine Greame with his Troope of Horse, to whom intelligence was brought upon Tuesday being the sixteenth of September, that the Rebels James fits Thomas, and his complices, were that day to passe from Conniloe, to the huge Fastnesse of Arlogh: Whereupon Captaine Greame instantly drew forth (with his Troope) towards the said Fastnesse; Order being likewise taken, that the Foot should hasten after with all possible speed; Captaine Greame making extraordinary haste, suddenly espied their Forces somewhat neere the wood; but before they could recover the same, hee gaue them a Charge, and at the very first possessed himselfe of their Carriage, and killed all those that guarded the same: Heereupon the Rebels (having foure Colours) in defence of their Carriage, drew towards him, and gaue him a charge, which hee answered with his Horse; and by this time a Sergeant of Captaine Dillons, with some light shott, were come up, and delivered a Volley in their teeth, which killed divers of them, and slewe Pierce Lacie his horse under him: Hereupon Captaine Greame charged their Battalion home to the Colours, which they resisted; but at his second charge, he brake cleane through them, and they betooke themselves to running, and our men to killing; and surely had not our Horse been over-wearied with their long forrey before they came to fight, and our Foot tyred and out of breath to come up, there had not one man escaped aliue: But as it was, there were slaine at this skirmish of the Rebels, at least one hundred and twentie, whereof one halfe were of their best men, amongst whom was Desmonds base sonne, Tag O Kelly, and Hugh O Kelly, Captaines of the Bownoghs, whose heads were the next day presented to the President at Moyallo: There were (besides these) aboue fourescore dangerously wounded; wee tooke from them one hundred and fiftie Pikes and Péeses, besides many Swords, Targets and Skeines; we got fourtie Horses and Hackneys, and at least three hundred Garrans laden with baggage, to the value (as was reported) of five hundred pound, together with all their prey of sheepe and cowes, except some few that ranne into the woods, being feared with the crie of the people, and noise of the shott and drummes.

The

The greatest losse that wee sustained was in Horse; for Captaine Greame lost sixteene Horse, the Lord Audley had a Serjeant Ilaine, and there were sixe more wounded, but not mortally; one of Captaine Greames troope took the Archtraytor Desmonds Ensigne, which the Captaine perceiving, he stooped downe to reach the Colours, but at an instant receiving a blowe with a Peece upon the reines of his backe, vvas not able to recover them, being rescued with sixe Pike-men.

This Disaster proved so fatall to the vsurping Earle, that although of the sixe hundred Foote hee brought with him, foure hundred did still remaine able to fight; yet could hee never afterward gather one hundred of these to a Head; for some gat into Connaght, some into Vlster, and in fine, every man to his owne home, leaving the Earle to a desperate fortune; who now perceived that the Provincials submitted themselues daily to the President, and the strangers returned into their severall Countries; and that no aide approached either from the South or North, by Sea, nor Land, was compelled together with Iohn his Brother, Maurice Mac Thomas, Pierce Lacy, and the Knight of the Glyn, to leaue the Countrie of Corke, and to fly into Tipperary and Ormond, and from thence, Iohn fits Thomas hasteth to Vlster.

CHAP. XIII.

Supplies of Foote sent from England. Osulevan More sent by the Lord Deputie to the Lord President. The Castle of Glancoyne surprised by Sir Francis Barkley. Florence Mac Carties Wife and Followers perswaded him to goe to the Lord President. The young Earle of Desmond arrived at Toghall. A Letter from Her Majestie to the Lord President. Her Majesties Letters Patents for James Fitzgerald to be Earle of Desmond.

THE Lords of the Councell of England, by their Letters bearing Date the twentie seventh, advertised the President, that there was sixe hundred Foote in a readinesse to be sent to Corke, to supply the Armie; and for that many Souldiers daily arrived in England by Passports from their Captaines onely: They gaue the President a strait Charge, to take order with all the Maritime Townes, that no Souldier should be transported out of any of them, without a Passe under his owne Hand and Seale; and the last of the same, he had directions from their Lordships, that good Bands with Sureties should be taken upon all Merchants of Ireland, which traded with Spaine or France, not only for their owne good behaviours and loyalties,

Supplies of Foote sent out of England.

1600.

when they were beyond the Seas, but to all such Passengers as they should carry with them, which was presently put into execution.

Dermond O Conner at his late being in Mounster, had caused *Osulevan More*, a man aboue sixtie yeares of age, and yet never knowen to be in action against Her Majestie; neither in *James fits Maurice* his Warres, nor in the old Earle of Desmonds, nor in this last Rebellion: This man I say, *Dermond O Conner* had taken Prisoner not without Consent and Councell of *Florence Mac Cartie*, because he refused to pay Bonnacht unto the Connaght men: Captaine *Tirrell* by force or fraud (I know not whether) tooke the Prisoner from him, and caried him into the North, who escaped out of the Vlster mens hands, was taken by Sir *Theobald Dillon* of Connaght, and presented to the Lord Deputie, by whom hee is committed to the Castle of Dublin, untill his estate should be further knowen; and not long after he sent him to the Earle of Ormond, to be sent by him to the President, to be disposed of according to his discretion: He being about this time come to Corke, raileth bitterly against *Florence*, ascribing both the beginning and continuance of his troubles to him, and relating to the Councell such intelligence, as hee had learned in those parts where he had beene detained, returneth into his owne Countrey.

Osulevan More sent by the Lord Deputie to the Lord President.

October.

4. Oct.

The Arch-rebels, *James fits Thomas Fits Maurice*, and the Knight of the Glyn, not finding (as it should seeme) the entertainement they expected in my Lord of Ormonds countrey; or rather, not intending at the first to make any long stay there; but onely that thereby the President might thinke them quite gone, and so make no further inquirie after them; did in the beginning of this Moneth of October, steale backe into the Countie of Limerick, yet not so privily, but the President had intelligence thereof; for it was signified unto him, the fourth of this instant, that *Desmond* was about Arlogh, having not aboue fieve in his Company, and two of them came lately from the Pope, with promise of Succours, which came too late for his turne, as hereafter shall be shewed.

The Castle of Glancoyne surprised by Sir Francis Barkley.

In the meane time our Garrisons prospered so well, that Sir *Francis Barkley* got the Castle of Glancoyne in Connilogh, burning, and spoyling great store of Corne in those parts; and Sir *Charles Wilmot* in Kerry prevailed so farre, that Castlemange held by *Thomas Oge*, and Listoell defended by *Fits Maurice*, were the only two Castles held against her Majestie, which were both regained within short time; and Captaine *Flower* at Lysmore, wrought miracles against the Rebels in those parts, as Sir *Richard Aylward* wrote to the President. But *Florence Mac Cartie*, notwithstanding his manifold Letters, stuffed with abominable oathes, came not (as yet) to the President, nor indeed

indeed minded he to come (as it was reported) had not his Wife and some of his Countrey, in a manner compelled him thereunto; for she refused to come to his Bed, untill he had reconciled himselfe to Her Majestie; saying that she knew in what manner her Father had that Earledome from her Highnesse; and though she be not pleased to bestow the same wholly upon her, yet she doubted not to obtaine some part thereof; but if neither of these could bee gotten, yet was not she minded to goe a begging either unto Vlster nor into Spaine; and to confirme this report, it was certainly knowen, that she with the helpe of her friends, kept the Castle of the Lough in Desmond by force from him.

Her Majestie having evermore had a determination, to send *James fits Gerald*, Sonne unto the late Earle of Desmond attainted in Ireland; and having found by experience, that the attempt which *Dermond O Conner* made in the apprehension of *James fits Thomas*, was at his Wifes suite, in hope thereby to obtaine the restitution of her Brother to his old Title of Earle of Desmond, and also unto some state of Inheritance for his maintenance; did now resolve to put her determination in effect, hoping that his presence in Ireland, would draw the ancient Followers of the Earle of Desmond (his Father) from *James fits Thomas* the supposed Earle; and therefore releasing him out of the Tower (where from his infancie he had beene Prisoner) shee not onely admitted him to her presence, but stiled him Earle of Desmond, and sent him conducted into Ireland by Captaine *Price*, a sober, discreet Gentleman, and an ancient Commander in the Warres, who landed with his charge at Youghall the fourteenth day of October, from thence he brought him to Moyallo to the President; upon the eighteenth, where from Her Majestie he presented to his Lordship the young Earle; Her Majesties Letters, and Letters Pattents under the great Seale of England for his restitution in blood and Honour; both which Letter and Letters Pattens, I thinke it not unnecessary to set downe the true Copies, which were as followeth.

1699.

*Florence
M.c Car-
ties wife and
followers
perswaded
him to goe to
the Lord
President.*

*The young
Earle of
Desmond
arrived at
Toghall.*

14. Octob.

18. Octob.

L. 3

A Letter

1600.

A Letter from her Maiestie to the
Lord President.

ELIZAB. R.



*Rustie and Welbeloved, wee greet you well:
Wee haue now at the last resolved to send over
James fits Gerald into Mounster, after long
debate with Our selfe what accidents might
follow thereupon; wherein although there
might be many doubts, to what hee may bee inveagled in times
to come, yet that opinion which wee conceiue of his owne good
nature and disposition to gratefulnesse, for this high benefit
which hee receiveth, together with the orderly course which we
intend shall bee observed in the rayeing, and disposing his For-
tune, doeth make us lesse doubtfull of that mischiefe, then wee
are for the present of some other scorne, which we shall receive,
if by our sending him over, and your resolution to restore him, no
such effect should follow, as might be answerable to that which
is expected: In which consideration, although we know there
are many of Opinion, that the way to draw greatest things by
him, were to raise him high at first (because it will make those
cleave to him the faster) yet will we follow therein Our owne
resolution, which is rather to proceed in such a case by degrees,
then in any suddaine, without reasonable caution and reserua-
tion: For the first step therefore, wee haue now sent him over
by Captaine Price, (a trustie and discreet Person) to deliver
him safely into your hands, whereas wee know the keeping of
him in any state of a Prisoner, would wholly overthrow the
worke, and multiply the jealousies of those who judge all others
by themselves; So in respect that you are in place where all cir-
cumstances are clearest known, and that the change of causes
altereth Councels: Know this from Us, That we shall never
disallow it, if you in your discretion finde it necessarie (at any
time)*

time) that you doe abridge him of any libertie, or any favour now afforded him: For as wee haue much the rather assented to send him over, and place him there, because you haue had your part in the Counsell: So doe wee referre the managing of him to your discretion: for his maintenance during his abode there, there are but two wayes, the one to bestow Lands vpon him with an habitation: the other to maintaine him out of our owne purse with a pension. In the first there must be time to consider where to seat him: for the second, because it is a thing that must be done, and that he must be maintained with a convenient attendance, that they may not scorne him, and that bee bath one or two sisters, whom we had rather should depend vpon himselfe, then bee matched with any other that were ill affected, (whereof many there bee that would bee glad to fortifie themselves by them.) Wee doe heereby giue you order, to peruse the Numbers you haue, and where you finde any unprofitable Captaine that hath a weake band, that you doe presently cashier the same, and to imploy part of that charge, which was formerly bestowed in that Band, towards the maintenance of him and his, as you shall see requisite, without further charging vs, and the same to continue, untill wee may see how to resolute of some convenient Habitation for him, that they may see hee is to bee seated amongst them, with a competent portion of living, where he may be a stay to Our service. And now because wee know the Countrey will thinke him unlikely to stead them that shall follow him, if they bee not assured that hee shall haue the Title, (which is a matter they doe so much affect to follow) Wee haue heerewith sent you a Patent of his Earledome, to the intent that you may assure all that are diffident of our performance; and yet Wee can be content, they plainly doe understand also, that if they shall not actually, and substantially performe those Services, which may deserue this extraordinarie clemencie, and giue us cause to consummate the rest: Wee both can and will quickly recall all that is hitherto performed: for which purpose wee doe heereby commaund you, to
adver-

1600.

advertise Vs, what is effected for him, by this demonstrative acte of Ours, and then to receive our pleasure, before the Patent bee delivered out of your handes; although for the present you may let it bee shewed to any such persons as you shall see cause, to assure by viewe of the same, and thereby make them perceiue how vnjustly Wee haue beene slandered, by those that should possesse the world, that Wee haue no desire or end, but to extirpate as well the Innocent, as the contrary of that Nation, seeing Wee are contented to rayse the Sonne of that Father, that had committed so notorious crimes. For as much as Wee doe hold it convenient, that the Archbishopp of Cassell should not bee in any sort kept in extremitie: Wee would haue you convert tenne dead payes of Foote to his use, parcell of that hundred which is appoynted to bee cashiered for the maintenance of Iames Fits Gerald; Wherein likewise Wee would haue consideration helde of poore, and some maintenance for the wife of Dermond O Conner; All these allowances to bee borne by the Cashiering of that Companie, and to bee ordered according to your discretion, because Wee would not haue apparant penury to surprize any of these that haue entered so deeply, although the fruites are yet ungathered, which is the time when they must bee further rewarded. Wee haue likewise given order to the Deputie, to make an allowance of fortie shillings a weeke to the Archbishop, in nature of Dead Payes to Preachers, in lieu whereof hee may stay the pension of some other, who is not so necessarie to be provided for: Having now asserted to doe that you haue advised, Wee leaue it to be ordered accordingly to your discretion, assuring you, that wee are still of opinion, if you use not this Patent well, that they will bee lesse greedy to dispatch any businesse for Vs, then they would haue beene, if we had not gone on so hastily with theirs: But wee repose such trust in you, as we thinke our Honour and safetie of that Province in safe hands, for so much as faith and discretion can secure, to whom wee render condigne thanks for the good prooffe
you

you haue hitherto made of them both. The Bishop is not vnfit to frequent the young Gentleman; and therefore, that credit which is fit, let him haue, and let your prooffe of his zeale, excuse other of his indiscretions. Given at our Mannor of Otlands the first of October, 1600.

Ro. Cecill.

Her Majesties Letters, Patents for Iames
fits Gerald, to bee Earle of
Desmond.



ELIZABETH Dei Gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Regina, fidei Defensor, &c. Archiepiscopis, Ducibus, Marchionibus, Comitibus, Vicecomitibus, Episcopis, Baronibus, Iusticiarijs prepositis, Balliis, Ministris, & omnibus alijs fidelibus suis salutem. Cum non ita pridem Gerot nuper Comes Desmondæ, Cuius proavos ob præclaras suas erga Rempublicam res gestas, progenitores nostri Regij Comitum titulo ornarunt, infandi in nobis Coronamq; nostram perduellionis atinctus generis sanguinisq; sui nobilitatem viciauerit, totumq; illud dignitatis nomen penitus aboleverit. Ea tamen semper fuit nostra ad clementiam propensitas atque ad ignoscendum Regia facilitas, ut in tota imperij nostri moderatione in huiusmodi proditor' posteros, non modo, non summo jure vti sumus, sed etiam eos (meritis suis non obstantibus) iisdem quibus reliquos subditos nostros favoribus & præmijs affecerimus. Eaque de causa nos sumptibus nostris properijs, Iacobum fits Gerald filium prefati Gerot natu maximum aluimus, omniq; apparatus & educationis genere homine tam nobili orto non indigno institui curavimus: Non ferentes delicta mala meriti patris, in bono indolis filio castigari. Et quoniam idem Iacobus ita vere virtutis & nobilitatis insignijs peditus est, ut merito illum & nobis & Coronæ nostræ omni fidelitate inseruitur, ac Patriæ suæ summo futurum ornamento speremus, si honoribus dignitatibusq; titulis per patrem nuper amissis insigniretur. Sciatis igitur, quod nos de gratia nostra speciali, ac ex certa scientia & mero motu nostris, prefatum Iacobum fits Gerald in Comitem Desmondæ, in Regno nostro Hiberniæ ereximus, perfecimus, & creavimus; Ac per presentes erigimus, perficimus, & creamus; Et ei nomen, statum, stilum, titulum, honorem et dignitatem Comitis Desmondæ, Loco & suffragio, in Parliamentis nostris in prædicto Regno nostro Hiberniæ tenendum, sicut & eodem modo quo prædictus Ge-

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rot,

1600.

rot, jam ultimus Comes, aliquo tempore ante attincturam suam predictam, habuit, seu habere debuit, seu consuevit, Cum omnibus alijs & singulis preheminencijs, honoribus, ceterisq; quibuscunq; huiusmodi, statui, & dignitati Comitum Desmonie, temporibus retroactis pertinenti seu spectanti, damus & concedimus, per presentes: Ipsumq; statu stilo honore & dignitate Comitum Desmonie per Cincturam gladij insignimus & realiter nobilitamus. Habendum & tenendum nomen, statum, titulum, honorem & Dignitatem Comitum Desmonie predicti. Cum omnibus & singulis preheminencijs, honoribus, suffragijs, & ceteris premissis quibuscunq; prefato Iacobo fits Gerald, & Heredibus masculis de corpore suo legitime procreatis, & procreandis, imperpetuum. Quoniam autem Comitum Dignitas, convenire putamus, ut qui ejusdem dignitatis à patre, aut alio parente successionem proximam expectet, aliquo inferioris dignitatis titulo decoretur, proinde de uberiori gratia nostra volumus, & concedimus, pro nobis Heredibus & Successoribus nostris, quod quilibet Heres masculus de corpore dicti Iacobi fits Gerald legitime, procreatus, qui successionem in dicto Comitatu velut proximiore gradu expectet, & pro Herede apparente, juxta tenorem huius concessionis nostre habeatur, Baro de Inchequin in Comitatu Corke, in dicto Regno nostro Hibernie durante ejus vita, qui predicti dignitatis Comitum obtinet perpetuis futuris temporibus vocetur & appelletur, ac nomine, stilo, statu dignitatis & preheminencijs Baronis de Inchequin, eodem pro tempore gaudet & vivet. Et hoc absq; sine, seu feodo, solvendū in hamperio nostro seu alibi, ad usum nostrum quoquo modo, Eo quod expressa mentio de certitudine premissorum, sive eorum alicuius, aut de alijs donis sine concessionibus per nos seu per aliquem Progenitorum nostrorum, prefato Iacobo fits Gerald, ante hec tempora facti in presentibus minima facti existit, aut aliquo Statuto, Actu, Ordinatione, Provisione, sine Restrictione, in Contrarium inde antehac habitus facti editi ordinatus, sine provisa, hanc aliqua alia re causa vel materia quacunq; in aliquo non obstante. In cuius rei Testimonium has Literas nostras fieri facimus Patentes. Teste me ipsa apud Orlands, primo die Octobris Anno Regni nostri Quadragesimo secundo.

Per ipsam Reginam.

It was thought by all men, that the coming of this young Lord into Ireland, would have bred a great alteration in the Province, and an absolute revolt of all the old Followers of the House of Desmond from James fits Thomas, but it proved of no such consequence: For the President to make triall of the disposition and affection of the young Earles kindred and Followers, at his desire consented that hee should make a Iourney from Moyallo into the Countie of Limerick, accompanied with the Archbishop of Cashell, and Master Boyle Clarke of the Councell (a person whom the Lord President did re-

pose

pose much trust and confidence in, and with whom he then communicated, and advised about his most secret and serious affaires of that Government.) And to Master Boyle his Lordship gave secret charge, aswell to obserue the Earles waies and carriage, as what men of quality or others made their addresse unto him, & with what respects and behaviour they caried themselves towards the Earle; who came to Kilmallock upon a Saturday in the Evening, and by the way, and at their entry into the Towne, there was a mighty concourse of people, insomuch as all the Streets, Doores and Windowes, yea the very Gutters and tops of the Houses were so filled with them, as if they came to see him, whom God had sent to bee that Comfort and Delight, their foules and hearts most desired, and they welcomed him with all the expressions and signes of Ioy, every one throwing upon him Wheat and Salt (an ancient Ceremony vsed in that Province, upon the Election of their new Majors and Officers) as a Prediction of future peace and plenty: That night the Earle was invited to supper to Sir George Thorntons, who then kept his House in the Towne of Kilmallock; and although the Earle had a Guard of Souldiers, which made a Lane from his lodgings to Sir George Thorntons House, yet the confluence of people that flockt thither to see him was so great, as in halfe an houre he could not make his passage thorough the crowd, and after Supper he had the like encounters at his returne to his lodging. The next day being Sunday, the Earle went to Church to heare divine Service; and all the way his Countrey people vsed loud & rude dehortations to keepe him from Church, unto which he lent a deafe care; but after Service and the Sermon was ended, the Earle coming forth of the church, was railed at, & spet upon by those that before his going to Church were so desirous to see and salute him: Insomuch, as after that publike expression of his Religion, the Towne was cleared of that multitude of strangers, and the Earle from thenceforward, might walke as quietly and freely in the Towne, as little in effect followed or regarded as any other private Gentleman: This true relation I the rather make, that all men may obserue how hatefull our Religion and the Professors thereof, are to the ruder and ignorant sort of people in that Kingdome: For from thence forward none of his Fathers followers, (except some few of the meaner sort of Free-holders) resorted unto him; and the other great Lords in Mounster, who had evermore beene overshadowed by the greatnesse of *Desmond*, did rather feare then wish the advancement of the young Lord: But the truth is, his Religion, being a Protestant, was the onely cause that bred this coynesse in them all: for if hee had been a Romish Catholike, the hearts and knees of all degrees in the Province would haue bowed unto him: Besides, his coming was

1600.

not well liked by the Vndertakers, who were in some jealousie, that in after times he might be restored to his Fathers Inheritances, and thereby become their Lord, and their Rents (now payed to the Crowne) would in time be conferred upon him. These considerations assured the President, that his personall being in Mounster would produce small effects, but onely to make tryall what power hee had.

CHAP. XV.

The juggling of Florence Mac Cartie. Supplies of Men and Apparell sent into Mounster. The submission of Florence Mac Cartie. A skirmish betwene the Mac Carties, and the Oleries. Olery slaine. A Letter from Redmond Burke to the Lord President.

THE President attempted by his meanes the getting of Castle Mange, a Castle of her Majesties, in the which before, and at the beginning of the Warre, shee had a Ward surprised by the supposed *Desmond*, and left by him in the custodie of *Thomas Oge*, as afore-said; which by his negotiation with the said Constable, was at last rendred unto him, together with *Pierce Lacie* his two sonnes, which were kept as pledges therein; and this was all the service that hee did or could doe, during his abode in Ireland: And that worke of his *Florence Mac Cartie* used all his wit and policie to prevent and overthrow: for at the very instant when *Thomas Oge* (who had the keeping of Castle Mange, and *Pierce Lacies* sonnes as pledges therein) had faithfully assured the yeelding up thereof, and of the afore-said Pledges to the Lord President; (*Florence* being then entertained by the President in his house at Moyallo, and as fast bound unto him by many benefits and favours, as *Florence* was by the strongest oathes and vowes that any Christian could be obliged by) gott some secret hint that Castle Mange was by *Thomas Oge* to be yeelded up to her Majestie; who well foreseeing what reputation it would bring to *Desmond*, and how much it would make up towards the hastening of his owne ruine, if that Fort were once regained, and an English Garrison placed there, he presumed, and that in the Presidents owne house, where he was so graciously used and entertained, to write his effectuall and earnest Letters to the said *Thomas Oge*, assuring him, that *Redmond Burke*, and Captaine *Tirrell* were on their way with great Forces to set Mounster on fire againe, dissuading him from keeping his promise with the President and the young Earle of *Desmond*, promising, and binding his promises with damnable

1600.

damnable oathes, that he would presently revictuall the Ward of CastleMange for three moneths, pay them the Arrear of all their vvages, and that he would giue *Thomas Oge* and his Heires for ever, six Plowlands of his owne Inheritance; so he would not deliver up Castle Mange. And these Letters were by the watchfulnesse of Master *Boyle* intercepted and delivered to the President. And from thenceforward after *Florence* knew his Letters were intercepted, and his treacheries more and more discovered. But all this while it was a world to see how *Florence* plaid fast and loose, betweene the President and the Governour of Kerry: For when the President sent to haue him come to him, then he answered, that he was within few dayes to meete with the Governour of Kerry by a former appointment; if Sir *Charles* sent for him, then he was shortly to repaire to the President, and so deluding both, he would come to neither: His stay was (as we haue shewed) because he purposed to stand out, and for that cause had the last Moneth before planted as it was reported, some number of Bownoghs in his Countrey; but the governors people, upon one side, and these his Bownoghs on the other side, had by this time so harried and consumed his Countrey, as he found the same unable longer to maintaine his Mercenaries; and therefore delayed with good words to gaine longer time, for it was commonly spoken among the Protectees, and Captaine *Taffe* wrote so much to the President from Kilkenny, that *Redmond Burke* and Captaine *Tirrell*, with all the Forces they could gather in Connaght, and Linster, would make an other incursion into Mounster, so soone as the Lord Deputie should returne from the North, which was expected very shortly, because the time of the yeare would breed many difficulties and inconveniences in his longer stay: Whether it were this bruite, or the hearking after a Ship, to arriue in those parts, which might transport him beyond Seas, that occasioned his delatory excuses, I know not; But sure I am, that they proceeded not from any loyall or dutifull mind.

The beggerly Earle in the meane time, lurked in the Woods with some two or three in his Company, sometimes in Arlogh, sometimes in Drumfinnin; but most in the Countie of Typperrarie, where hee had much kindred by his Mothers side: The President had intelligence every day where hee lodged the night before; but never untill he was departed, and had left the place; not but that the Countrey could haue reported aswell where he is, as where he had beene, but they were possessed with such a superstitious folly, & so terrified with the Priests Thunderbolts of Excommunication; as they adjudged him unavoidably damned, that should ruinate such a principall Piller of the Catholike action: And *Fits Maurice* was in little better case;

*The Ing-
gling of Flo-
rence Mac
Carric.*

1600.

case; for although since his returne into Mounster, himselfe with the Knight of the Glyn, had assembled some fower score in the Fastnesse of Clanmorris, who guarded their Corne that should maintaine them for the yeere following. Yet Sir Charles Wilmot marching twelue miles through their Woods, being directed by a trusty Guid, came suddenly upon them, and slew sixtie of them; the two Principals escaping very narrowly. After the killing ended they scoured the Woods, and finding great store of Corne therein, they burnt the same, and returned with the Armes of all the disperfed Kerne. *Pierre Lacy* had so well bestirred himselfe in his negotiation, with those of Ormond and Ossery, that of the Ormond and Ossery men, with the Purcells & Omaghers, he had reinforced himselfe with five hundred men, and being now joyned with *Redmond Burke*, who had one thousand Foote and sixtie Horse (as was credibly informed) drew their Forces into *O Carrels* Countrey, threatening daily to invade the small Countie of Limerick, which bordered upon them, but their stay (as was reported) depended upon the returne of *John of Desmond*, who was expected with Forces out of the North. But *Tyrone* was so well set a worke, by the honourable, painefull, and prosperous proceedings of the Lord Deputie, as hee had enough to doe in defending his owne Countrey, much lesse could he spare any Forces for other parts.

Supplies of
men & appa-
rell sent into
Mounster.

In September last, mention is made that the Lords of the Council had promised to send unto the President sixe hundred Foote for the supplying of his Armie, which accordingly arrived at Corke, as appeareth by the Presidents Letters written to their Lordships, dated the five and twentieth of this Moneth of October, and with them three hundred and fiftie Winter suites of apparell.

The submis-
sion of Flo-
rence Mac
Curtie.

Octob. 29.

But to returne againe to *Florence Mac Curtie*, after all the tergiversations before mentioned, and many other too tedious to be inserted, finding all his Neighbours to have submitted themselves, and his owne Followers, so much impoverished by the Warres, desirous to doe the like, was contented (*Tandem aliquando*) to repaire to the President lying at Moyallo, bringing some forty Horse in his Company, and himselfe in the midst of his Troope (like the great Turke amongst his Janisaries) drew towards the House (the nine and twentieth of October) like *Sam* higher by the head and shoulders then any of his Followers; upon his submission, the President as having forgotten all former matters, gave him kind entertainement, being indeed heartily glad of his presence, as hoping thereby, that these Warres of Mounster were brought to a finall end; to secure him therefore to the State, the President demanded his Eldest Sonne in pledge, who being unable to take so long a Iournie by the indispo-

1660.

indisposition of his body (as *Florence* protested) he left two others; the one his base Brother, who had spent many yeeres in France, Spaine and Hungary; and the other his foster Brother, both which he had in very precious esteeme. *Florence* requested that those pledges might suffice for the *O Sulevans*, the *O Donoghies*, the *O Crowlies*, and *Omagbon Carbery*: But hereunto the President would by no perswasion bee drawn to condescend; and that especially for two causes; the one was, that hereby he might draw from *Florence* this great rabble of Dependants; and the second was, because every of these being compelled to put in pledges for themselves, the Queene might haue the stronger assurance of these wavering and slippery Subjects.

The Province being reduced to this passe (as you haue heard) the Irish having now no other Enemy to oppugne, beginne to goe together by the eares amongst themselves, for certaine of *Donoghe Moyle Mac Cartie* (sonne to Sir *Owen Mac Cartie Reughe*) his people, following the track of some Cowes, that had beene stollen from them into Muskerry, the *Oleries* assembled themselves to the number of one hundred or thereabouts, and following the *Carties*, (who were by this time returned into Carbery;) at last overtooke them, and without many words gaue the On-set, the other stoutly resisted, betweene whom there passed a short, but a sharpe skirmish, wherein were slaine *Olerie*, the Head of that Sept, and ten other the chiefe of his family, with some more of lesse note, and of the *Carties*, *Finin Mac Owen* his Brother dangerously wounded, with some few slaine of his part. *Cormock Mac Dermond* Lord of Muskerry, much grieved with the slaughter of the *Oleries* his Followers, was an earnest Sutor to the Councell, that he might be permitted, to revenge this losse upon the *Carties* in Carbery; some there were that thought it not unfit to accord unto his demands; because which party soever should prevaile, yet could not the Queene loose a good Subject: But the President would by no meanes yeeld thereunto, lest the hot prosecution of these particular grievances, might kindle the coales of some further mischief, in giving occasion of distast to the now reconciled Subjects.

Redmond Burke being weary of his vagabond life, living like a Wolfe upon every one from whence he could take any thing, or rather wittingly foreseeing the ruine and destruction of those his Confederats, which were in rebellion, of whose fortunes he was in all likelihood to be a Partaker, wrote a Letter to the President dated the thirtieth of October, which because it is but short I doe here insert.

A Letter

A skirmish
betweene the
Carties and
the Oleries.

Olerie
slaine.

1600.

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The submis-
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Octob. 29.

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A Letter

1660.

*A skirmish
betweene the
Carties and
the Oleries.*

*Olerie
slaine.*

1600.

*A Letter from Redmond Burketo the
Lord President.*

Right Honourable, I doubt not the detestable and apparant wrong, that the Earle of Clanrickard hath done mee, is manifestly knowen to your Lordship already, as I need not larger to expresse it; but this I am sure, that the tolleration thereof, and that I would not otherwayes bin caused to runne this course, and if there were any hope of redresse, that I would long ere this be a Subject, and will now shew my selfe worthy to be accepted, if I be entertained, and my Fathers Lands seized into your Honours hands, till my Title be tryed; This Countrey of Ely being in your Honours Province, is a parcell to whom I make claime, wherein I would expect your Honour to right me first: And thus requesting your Honour to accept my service, and favour my right, I take leaue. From Ely the thirtieth of *October, 1600.*

Your Honours as you please.

Redmond Letrim.

The President much misliking the tenour of his Letter, as vvell for other reasons, as for capitulating for the Countrey of Ely O. Carrell, before he had by his service merited any favour; and lastly, for the slight subscription, *Your Honours as you please*, returned him no Answer in writing, utterly refusing any further traffique with him, it being his custome not to deal with Traitors upon Conditions.

CHAP. XVI.

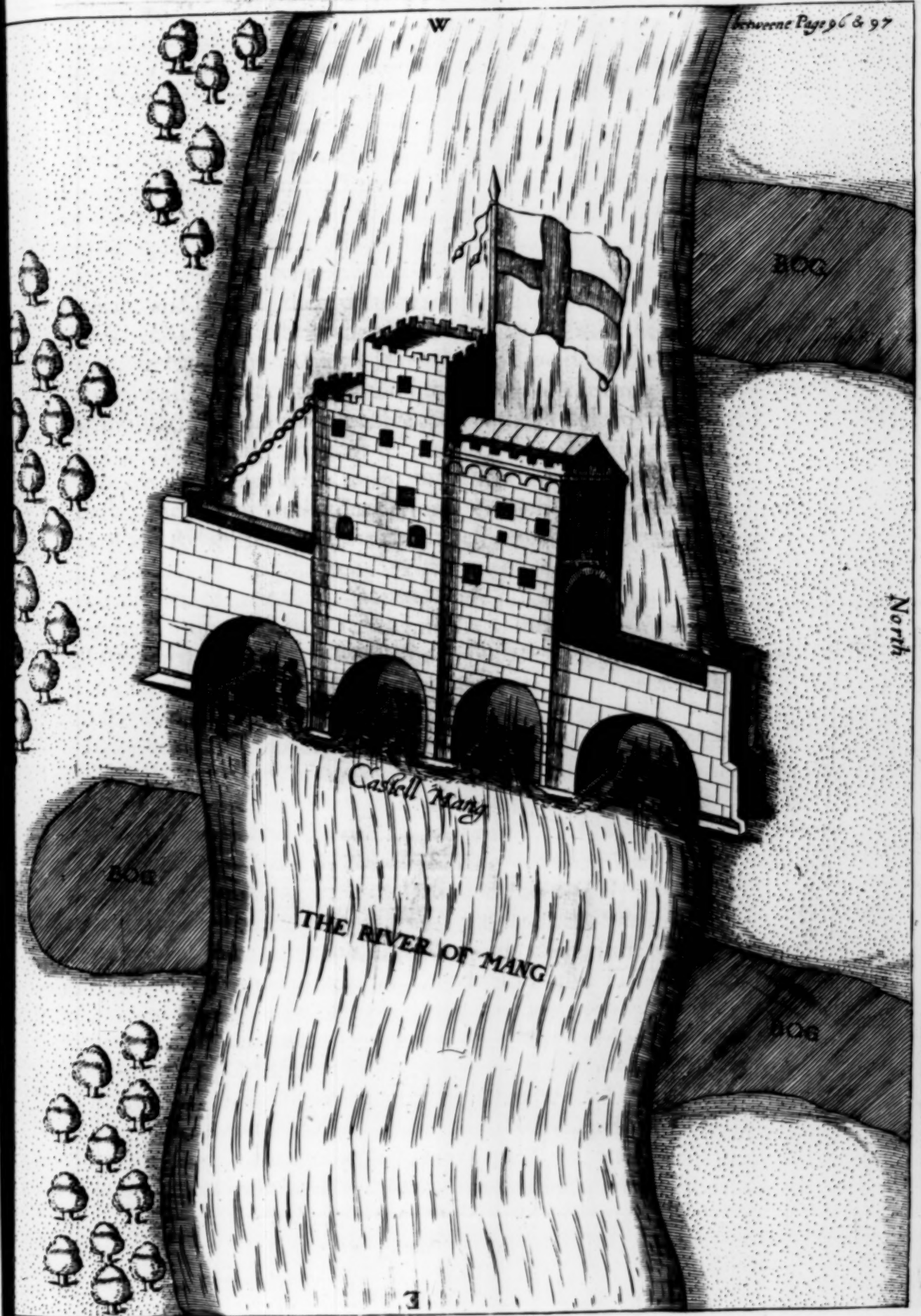
The Lord President sueth for a generall Pardon for the Provincials. The Submission of Thomas Oge Fits Gerald, and the rendering of Castle Mange. The Castle of Disfodd besieged and taken. The Castle of the Dingle rendered.

2. Novemb.
The Lo. President sueth
for a generall
pardon
for the Provincials.



HE Province of Mounifter now growing to a peaceable estate, the President, by his Letters of the second of *November* to the Lords of the Councell, humbly prayed, that they would bee pleased to mooue her Majestie, that a generall Pardon might bee graunted unto all the Provincials that desired the same, the lurking Earle, his Brother

John



1602.

John fits Thomas, Pierce Lacie, and two other of good qualitie (who are yet living) onely excepted, for those he knew to be the most malicious Traytors, and also her Majesties inclination was no way bent to extend her mercie unto them: The reasons which mooved him to sue for this Generall Pardon, was principally the multitudes of the protected persons, who living from time to time upon protection, were not so assured to the State as they would bee, if they were pardoned, whereby the Government received much impediment: and besides, there were many poore women and children, that had no abilitie to be at the charge of suing forth of their pardons; and lastly, it was much desired by the Provincials themselves: Neverthelesse he added this caution, that if any of the Protectees did in this interim doe any treasonable act, that the President, with some foure or five of the Councell of the Province joyned with him, might have power to denie them the benefit thereof, and also that Priests, and Romish religious persons, (which were the fitt inciters of the Rebellion, and the continuall fomenters of the same) should likewise bee excepted. The opinion of the President had good allowance in England, yet for some private respects of commoditie to Officers, (as it may bee imagined) the motion of a generall Pardon tooke not the effect desired; but afterward (as you shall heare) there was order given, that all such as the President would recommend, should have the favour to sue out their Pardons.

In the beginning of November, a strong castle in Connilogh (which was held by *James fits Thomas*) was surprized by our Forces, so as hee had no other Castle at his devotion left, but Castle Mange.

The fourth of November, *Thomas Oge fits Gerald*, Constable of Castle Mange (for *James fits Thomas*) having evermore had a better affection unto the young Earle of Desmond *James* (lately sent by her Majestie into Ireland, as hath been declared) upon the Earles intreatie and perswasions, came to Kilmallock, and there made tender of the said Castle unto the Earle, for her Majesties use. The Earle the next day brought him to Moyallo to the President, where hee made his submission, and direction was sent to Sir *Charles Wilmot* for the receit of the said Castle.

Sir *Charles Wilmot* knowing that *Fits Maurice* the Lord of Lixnaw, had onely one Castle called Liscoe, wherein to shelter himselfe, finding no other meanes to compasse the same, determined to besiege it, and intimated so much to the President by his Letters, requesting his advice and allowance therein, who returned answer, That hee desired nothing more, then to have that Castle gotten for the Queene, and for the manner, left the managing thereof wholly to his discretion. He sate downe before it upon the fifth of November,

4. Novemb.
The submission of *Thomas Oge fits Gerald*, and the rendering of Castle Mange.

The Castle of Liscoe besieged and taken.

5. Novemb.

1600.

ber, attempting to get it by a Myne; in the which after hee had wrought five or sixe dayes, and brought it underneath the Castle wall, being ready to make a bed for the placing of the powder, suddenly the spring brake forth in such abundance, as that worke became fruitlesse: thereupon new ground was sought, which proved good, the foundation of the Castle was undermined, as farre as the middest of the Seller, which the Ward perceiving, made humble suit to bee permitted to depart with their liues, which Sir Charles absolutely refused; but if they would simply render themselves, the Castle and all things in it to his discretion; hee would then stay further proceeding in his worke; otherwise they might looke within very few howers to bee blowen up. The Ward vvhich were eightene in number, came forth, and upon their knees submitted themselves unto him, whom hee caused to bee apprehended; the women and small children hee suffered to depart, of the weaponed men hee hanged nine, so many of ours being lost at the Siege, which continued more then three weekes; the residue hee detained, untill he had acquainted the President with all these accidents, who gaue present order for the execution of the rest; for they had beene all of them formerly protected, except one Sir *Dermond Mac Brodie*, a Priest, whose life was saved upon this occasion: It fortun'd that within this Castle, at the rendring thereof, there was unknowen to Sir Charles, the Lord of Lixnawes eldest sonne, being a child of five yeares of age; the Warders upon their comming foth, disarrayed this child of all his cloathes, and having besmeared his face with dust and durt, committed him to an old woman, who bringing the Infant naked and disfigured at her backe, conveyed him away without suspicion. Sir Charles receiving advertisement of this escape, sent out some Souldiers, and some Provincials, (vvhom he most trusted) for the recovery of him, but in vaine they all returned vvith lost labour: at last hee bethought himselfe, that peradventure some of the prisoners could direct him in the pursuit, and questioning the Priest concerning the Child: Hee answered, that he could best resolue him, for that himselfe had given direction to the vvoman where shee should bestow the child, till shee might deliver him to his Father: Why then, saith Sir Charles, will you not conduct mee to him? Know you not, that it is in my power to hang you, or to saue you? Yes, and I assure you, if you will not guide mee to the place where hee lieth hidden, I vvill cause you to bee instantly hanged: The Priest answered, That it was all one to him, whether hee dyed this day, or to morrow; but yet if hee might haue his Word, for the sparing of his owne life, and the childes, hee would reveale his knowledge; otherwayes the Governour might doe his pleasure. Sir Charles, though

1600.

though very unwilling to graunt the Priest his life, yet the earnest desire hee had to gett the child into his hands, caused him to agree thereto. The Priest being put into a Hand-locke, is sent with a Captaine, and a good Guard of Souldiers about this businesse, who guided them to a Wood fixe miles from the Castle, by reason of thicke bryers and thornes, almost unpassible, in the middest whereof there is a hollow Cave within the ground, not much unlike by description to *Cacus* his denne, or the mouth of *Avernus*, in vvhich desolate place they found that old vvoman, and this young childe, whom they brought to the Governour, and the Priest and childe were shortly after sent to the President. In this Castle were gotten all the Lord of Lixnaw his goods, besides store of provision for the Warre, vvho were plentifully provided for fixe moneths with such kind of victuall as the Countrey yeeldeth; and it was said, that the Baron himselfe would haue set up his rest in this Castle, which he held impregnable against any force, (the Cannon excepted;) but it should seeme his heart failed him, no lesse then his expectation. While these things were in doing, Sir *Richard Percy* drew his Company forth of Kinsale into Kinalmekagh, and there tooke a prey of two hundred Cowes, and got the killing of some Rebels.

*A prey taken
in Kinalme-
kagh.*

In the beginning of this Moneth *William fits Gerald*, the Knight of Kerry, came to the President with a Letter in his favour from Sir *Charles Wilmot*, dated the thirtieth of October, wherein he witnessed for him, that (ever since he was received under protection) hee had demeaned himselfe, not onely like a good Subject, in doing no harme, but that he had endeavoured (to his uttermost) to annoy the Enemy, and had lately in token of his obedience, delivered unto Sir *Charles* his Castle at the Dingle: This testimony wrought so much with the President, as hee vsed him very kindly, and returned him home with great contentment.

*The Castle
of the Dingle
rendred.*

Not long after the landing of the young Earle of Desmond in Ireland, the minds of the Provincials were much distracted, every one fearing what might be the successe thereof. But after a little while it appeared that he was able to doe but little. To the end that the Reader might see, that at the first it did breed some distraction; I doe here insert a Letter unto *Tyrone* from *Cormocke Mac Dermond*, the Lord of the large Countrey of Muskry, who was never personally in actuall Rebellion, neither afore, nor after the Spaniards arrivall; the copie of which Letter came not to the Presidents hands, untill the latter end of the yeere one thousand fixe hundred and two, and he then pardoned, wherein it doth evidently appeare, what cancred hearts the better sort of Subjects, did beare to the Crowne of England, and the English government.

1600.

CHAP. XVII.

A Letter from Cormocke Mac Dermond unto Tyrone. The Abbey of Ratho burned, and fourtie of the Bonoghs slaine. One thousand Bonoghs lewied by Florence Mac Cartie. Connaght and Ulster men change their Resolution, for the invading of Mounster, and the cause why. Dermond O Conner murdered by Theobald ne Long Burke. A Letter from the Earle of Glanrikard to Theobald ne Long.

A Letter from Cormock Mac Dermond

unto Tyrone.

I Haue received your Letter of the twentieth of September and doe thanke you for the great trust you repose in mee; which by the helpe of God shall bee by mee discharged to the uttermost of my power; But the English haue (in these parts) so much prevayled (by the sinister false dealing of the Connaght men) as the President hath taken Pledges of most of the Gentlemen, and men of power in these parts. And besides, wee are so weake in men, as that wee are out of necessitie constrained to yeld to the yoke of the English Heretiques, from the which wee pray God to deliver us, according to our hearts desire; and therefore doe hope you will beare with our present necessities, being ready at all times to obey your directions, when you shall bee able to send us helpe; but because that we shall neither deceiue you or our selues, we doe pray you to send us word, what numbers you will send us, and by what time, that accordingly wee may make our selues ready, to giue you our best assistance: But of one thing I thinke good to giue you particular notice, which is, not to put any confidence in any of Mounster, of the English Nation; for whatsoever they professe or protest unto you, they meane not to deale faithfully with us, but will forsake us in our greatest need. The newes of these parts are, that the Sonne of *Gerald* the late Earle is arrived, unto whom, his Fathers old Followers doe much resort; hee is an Heretike, yet neverthelesse (by the helpe of the English) he will doe us great harme: The right Earle of Desmond is forsaken of all men, and not able to make Head, and the lesse hope of his rising againe by the comming of young *James*, who is the Queenes Earle, and hath a Patent for his Earledome; I pray your speedy Answer; in the meane time, I will dissemble with the President, who deales sharply with us; the Letter which you sent with these to *Mac Carty More*, I haue sent unto him by a Messenger of my owne, who is lately

lately agreed with the President, and so we are deceived in him, and therefore he is not to be firmly trusted with the commandement of all the *Clan-Carties*.

Cormocke Cartie.

Sir Charles Wilmot (in the meane time) marching to an Abbey in Kerry called *Ratho*, neere unto *Lixnaw*, as soone as his Colours were descried, was fired by the Enemy that lodged there; from thence with his Horse onely he marched to *Trillic*, where hee found one hundred Bonoghs of the *Okellies*, among whom was *Morierragh Mac Shighie*, and three or foure more of the lurking Earles chiefest Followers on horsebacke; our Horse charged them, the Horsemen (by flight) saved themselves, but of the Foore there was slaine about fourtie dead in the place, the rest by the favour of a neighbouring bogge, and the Mountaine at hand escaped, but all their Armes were left to our shares.

The perpetuall juggling which *Florence Mac Cartie* continued towards the Lord President, I have so often touched as it needs no other prooffe; but for the better Testimonie of his ill affection to the State, even now when the Sungan Earle was in the estate of a fugitive, hiding himselfe from the sight of men, *Florence* (as the Lord President was advertised from *Sir Charles Wilmot*) had raysed one thousand Bownoghs to bee placed upon *Desmond*, foure hundred upon *Kerry*, and sixe hundred upon *Carbry*, and concludes with these words: *Viz.* assuredly hee purposeth to bee a Villaine, though hee could be contented to live in neutralitie, as he doth, if he could cary it cleaneely: Also at that time the Baron of *Lixnaw* (who was banished *Kerry*) was by him relieved in *Desmond*; but obserue well I beseech you this wavering and unsetled companion, who not knowing which way either to be a Subject or Rebelle, not many dayes afterwards (as shall bee said) came to the President, with a smooth countenance full of Loyaltie, but inwardly the same man hee had ever beene.

Nothing was more common now in Mounster, then a bruite of the strangers from *Connaght* and *Ulster*, comming to invade the Province with two thousand men, and hereof the President received daily advertisement from the Earle of *Thomond*, the Lord *Barry*, Justice *Comerford* and others; and to verifie the same, *Pierce Lacy* was come into the borders of *Kilquig*, and had preyed *Glanogre*, a Towne belonging to *Sir George Bouchier*, Master of the Ordnance, being a parcell of his Signiory, and then in farmeto *Alexander Fitton*; this caused the President to assemble the greatest part of his For-

1600.

The Abbey of Ratho burned, and fourtie of the Bownoghs slaine by Sir Charles Wilmot.

A thousand Bownoghs levied by Florence Mac Cartie.

Connaght and Ulster men being ready to invade Mounster suddenly brake their resolution, and the cause why.

1600.

ces to Kilmallock, attending there to behold what should become of this Cloud which threatned such a dangerous Tempest, which at length vanished without any great disturbance; for about the midst of this Moneth, they withdrew themselues into Ormond, within the Libertie of Tipperarie; the cause why they departed, before they had made any Bonfiers in Mounster (which was their arrand) as I haue since learned, was two fould. First because *Redmond Burke* could by no meanes bee drawn into the Province, being in expectation of great favour from the President, as appeareth by his Letters sent about this time, which because it is but short, and yet apparantly declareth this truth; I thought not unfit here to bee recited in his owne words.

Right Honourable, I would long ere this be a Subject, and will now shew my selfe worthy to be accepted, if I be entertained, and my Fathers Lands seized into your Honours hands, till my Title bee tried; this Countrey of Ely O Carrell being in your Honours Province, is a parcell whereto I make claime, wherein I would expect your Honour to right me first; and thus requesting your Honour to accept my service, and favour my right, I take leaue this ninth of November, 1600.

Your Honours as you please,

Redmond Letrim.

The President, to hold *Redmond* (as I conceiue) in some hope, that hee might not joyne with the Northerne Forces (then expected to come into Mounster,) returned him answer to this effect, That his Demaunds seemed to bee somewhat reasonable, and that hee was very sorry, that it was not fully in his power to accomplish his request; Notwithstanding there was no doubt, but upon his Letters already dispatched to the Councell of England, and to the Lord Deputie in his behalfe, such order should bee taken, as hee should hold himselfe well satisfied; and surely whether the President dealt plainly, and *bona fide* vvith the said *Redmond*, or whether hee fed him vvith good vvords onely (like a Courtier) to serue his owne turne, (I know not;) but if I might deliver my poore opinion, I thinke him to haue received some hard measure, (I meane in respect of his Fathers Lands, upon whomsoever the fault lyeth; but to returne.

This *Redmond* commanding the greatest part of the Forces now assembled, depending this much upon the Presidents favour, (as by his

his Letter appeareth) could by no allurements of these Mounster Rebels, bee inticed to commit any outrage within that Province: Another cause why these Rebels thus assembled came no further up into Mounster, was, because the wandring Earle *James fits Thomas*, who should haue given them Bonnaght in the Province, knowing that *Lixnaw, Redmond Burke, Pierce Lacie*, and all of them were growen wearie of the Rebellion, and that the President had commerce with all those, durst not commit himselfe into their power, they being so strong, and hee so poore and weake, fearing lest they should haue delivered him, (being the marke the President chiefly aymed at) to worke their owne peace.

Dermond O Conner having now heard that the young Earle of *Desmond* (his Brother in law) was arrived in Mounster (according to the Presidents promise to him made, that he should come) was desirous that hee should repaire thither, with intent to doe some acceptable service for her Majestie; which being made knownen by the Lady *Margaret* his wife, the Lord President sent him a Safe-conduct for himselfe and his followers, and procured the like from Sir *Arthur Savage*, the chiefe Commisstoner in Connaght, and also from the Earle of *Clanrickard*, to secure his passage through his Countrey, and for his better safetie, he sent an hundred Foot to guard him as soone as hee should enter into Thomond: Hee being now past *Clanrickard*, and comming to *Osbafnesses* Countrey, within seventene or eightene miles of *Limerick*, *Theobald ne Long Burke*, who had a Company of an hundred Foot in her Majesties pay, (notwithstanding all his Safe-guards) assaulted him, who for his safetie, retired into an olde Church, burnt it over his head, and in comming foorth of the same, hee killed about fourtie of his men, and tooke him prisoner, and the morning following cut off his head: which being done, *Theobald* sent to the Earle of *Clanrickard* for a protection, pretending that what he did, was done in revenge of his Cousen the Lord *Burkes* death: But the Earle misliking the Action, in stead of a Protection, returned him this Letter insuing.

*Dermond O
Conner
murdered by
Theobald ne
Long Burke.*

*A Letter from the Earle of Clanrickard, to
Theobald ne Long Burke.*

I Doe understand that you haue yesternight assaulted *Dermond O Conner* and his Company, which is both a very mighty impeachment of Her Majesties word, in respect the Gentleman had her gracious Protection and safe Conduct, from the Lord President of Mounster, and the Governour of this Province, for his safe passing, and a perpetuall slander and abuse unto me and my posteritie, considering

1600.

sidering the Gentleman was sealed in my Countre, and had my word at my very good Lord, the Lord President of Mounsters request, and the Governour of this Provinces direction, which little expected to bee by you resisted, but rather imagined your coming into the Countre, to doe better service upon Her Majesties enemies, which are daily threatening to come for us on all sides. But if in lieu thereof your service bee to murder a Gentleman that is drawn for good considerations, tending the advancement of Her Majesties service, contemne her gracious protection which he hath, and offer the Lord President of Mounster, the Governour of this Province, and my selfe, the mightiest wrong and abuse that may be, I take it, such a course as I doe not doubt, your selfe and your house to bee thereby ever overthrowne, and everlastingly live hopelesse of any favour or kindnesse of me, except you take such apt and present course, as to send the Gentleman unto me released; and all the rest of his people, as many as you have in hand of them, with a full restitution of their goods; otherwayes thinke of me as the greatest Enemy you have in this world, which with the permission of God, I will make you and yours feeble, if you urge me thereunto; and so expecting to see the Gentleman from you with expedition without hurt, I leave Doiehoway the foure and twentieth of October, 1600.

Your very loving Kinsman if you will,

Vlick Clanrickard.

Whilest *Dermond* was in Rebellion, hee received no prejudice by *Theobald ne Long*; but now (being as hee knew) a man fast linked to the State, and able to performe extraordinary service, he is treacherously murdered to the great dishonour of Her Majestie, in violating Her word, solemnely and advisedly given: The Lord President was exceedingly incensed, against the Actors, Abettors and Procurers of this murder; writing his Letter both to the Lords of Her Majesties privie Councell in England, and also to the Lord Deputie, and Councell of Ireland, signifying how much Her Majesties honour was blemished and the Service hindred, by this malicious and hatefull murder; who considering of the fact, besides sharpe rebukes and reprehensions, the Lord Deputie was commanded presently to casheere and discharge him both of his Command and Entertainment.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

Sessions held at Limericke, Cassell, and Clonmell. The Lord President and the Earle of Ormond meete at Clonmell. Muskry, Quirk and Arlogh burnt and spoyled by the Armie. The submission of the Burkes and the Obryens. The narrow escape of James fits Thomas, and Dermond Mac Craghe, the Popes Bishop of Corke. In what good estate the Province of Mounster stood. Mac Awley preyed by Sir Francis Barkley. A Marriage practised betwene the Lady Ione Fitz Gerald and O Donnell, but prevented by the Lord President.



Notwithstanding, the retiring of these Rebels as you haue heard; yet the President thought it meete, to spend some time in those parts before his Armie should be reduced: In consideration whereof, finding it expedient for furtherance of her Majesties service, that Sessions of Gaole delivery should bee held (as often as conveniently they might) that the Course of civill Iustice might againe bee renewed, whereunto of late yeeres they had not beene accustomed, the eighteenth of November his Lordship left Kilmallock, and marched to Limerick, where hee kept Sessions, from thence to Cassell, and so to Clonmell, in both which places he did the like, doing exemplary iustice upon such Rebels, as had afore beene apprehended thereabouts. During the Sessions holden at Limerick (as aforesaid) the President sent a message to the Earle of Ormond, signifying unto him his purposed comming to Clonmell, wherein also hee belought his Lordship, that if it might stand with his leasure and good liking, it would please him to make a Iourney that way, to the intent that upon their meeting, some conference might be had about divers particularities concerning the service. The Earle accorded both to time and place, which was at Clonmell: The sixe and twentieth of November, amongst other matters (there consulted betwixt them) the President moved the Earle about some present order to be taken, for the prosecution of those Rebels, that had (now for a good space) remayned without impeachment in the borders of Ormond in Tyrperarie; and for so much as his Lordship peradventure had not sufficient Forces to displant them, he offered his owne service, with such Companies as he had there assembled, being the greatest part of the Armie of Mounster: The Earle either unwilling to hane the President set foote within his Liberty, or else desirous himselfe to haue the sole honour of that service; did entreate the President to satisfie himselfe concerning that busines, for he would undertake it; and that within few dayes, to make them repent that ever they set foote within his Libertie; which I thinke had immediately beene performed, had not the immature death of his most vertuous and honorable

18. Nov.
Sessions held at Limerick, Cassell, and Clonmell.

26. Nov.
The Lord President & the Earle of Ormond meet at Clonmell.

1600.

December.
Muskry-
quirke, and
Arloghe
burnt, prey-
ed, and spoy-
led by the
Army.

The submis-
sion of the
Burkes and
Obriens.

The narrow
escape of
James fits
Thomas, and
Dermond
Mac Craghe,
the Popes
Bishop of
Corke.

ble Lady : (the lamentable tydings whereof were now brought him to Clonmell, oppressing his aged heart with immeasurable sorrow) caused the same for a time to be deferred.

This service therefore thus undertaken by the Earle ; the President having received certaine information, that the Mounster Fugitiues were harbored in those parts, having before burned all the Houses and Corne, and taken great preyes in *Owny Omulrian*, and *Kilquig*, a strong and fast Countrey, not farre from Limerick, diverted his Forces into East Clanwilliam, & Muskry-quirke where *Pierce Lacy* had lately beene succoured, and harraising the Countrey, killed all mankind that were found therein, for a terrour to those as should giue Reliefe to runnagate Traitors; thence we came into Arloghe Woods, where wee did the like, not leaving behind us man, or beast, Corne or Cattle, except such as had beene conueied into Castles: The prosecution of this Service was committed to the care of Captaine *Francis Slingsby*, who had under his Command five hundred foote; whereupon the *Burkes* and *Briens* (that inhabited those places) came all upon their knees, beseeching to bee received into Her Majesties gracious Protection, and promising to doe service upon any Rebels that should hide themselves in those Woods; who putting in their pledges were received to mercy.

In this Iourney it chanced there was a youth taken Prisoner, who had lately before beene servant to the imagined Earle, who being brought to the President and examined, tooke upon him to bring our Forces to the place where his Master was: The Earle of Thomond, Sir *George Thornton*, and Captaine *Roger Harry* with their Companies following the direction of this Guid, were conducted to Lisbarr, a parcell of Drumfinnim woods; no sooner were they entred into the Fastnesse, but presently the Sentinells which were placed in the skirt of the wood, raised the crie, which as it should seeme, rowed the counterfeit Earle of Desmond, and *Dermond Mac Craghe* the Popes Bishop of Corke, who were lodged there in a poore ragged Cabbin: *Desmond* fled away bare-foot, having no leasure to pull on his shooes, and was not discovered: but *Mac Craghe* was met by some of the Souldiers cloathed in a simple mantle, and torne trowles, like an aged Churle; and they neglecting so poore a creature not able to carry weapon, suffered him to passe unregarded: upon the end of this journey (by the wise and painefull proceedings of the President, (Gods blessing alwayes accompanying the same) it came to passe, that there was not one Castle in Mounster held out against the Queene; Nay, which was more, it was not knownen that there were five Rebels in a companie throughout the Province, nor any one of note except these five (lost sheepe) the children of perdition,

perdition, *James fits Thomas*, and his Brother, *Lixnaw*, *Pierce Lacie*, and the Knight of the Glinne, who lay lurking in desert, uncouth, and unknowen places; yet notwithstanding there were divers vagabonds and loose people disperfed in sundry corners, for whom no man would undertake, that lived by stealth and badroagues, disquieting the good Subjects, being the reliques of the rebellion.

The President by his Letters dated the fifteenth signified unto the Lords of the Councell, that now the Province was so much overawed by her Majesties Forces, that unlesse Northern Rebels came to infest it, or that the Spaniards did invade it, he was well able to containe the Provincials in obedience; and although five hundred of his List was already cashier'd, he would at any time lend the Lo. Deputie one thousand Foot to serue in Linster, but with this caution (for countenance sake) that they might bee evermore (in estimation) of the List of Mounster; which if the Reader doe well obserue, he shall finde that the prosecution of the service in that Province, had succeses beyond expectation: for in *May* last, when the President first tooke the field, the Rebels were no lesse then seven thousand strong, and now the Subjects Cattle day and night lay abroad in the fields, no Bodie of Rebels united, and not one castle in all the province that did withstand her Majestie: This was the vvorke of God, and unto him onely it must be attributed.

Her Majestie (as hath been said) did by her Lettērs to the President command, that one Companie of one hundred Foot should bee cashier'd for the sustentation of the young Earle of Desmond, and of others vvhich vv ere mentioned in that Letter: The Lords of the Councell likewise by their Letters bearing date the tenth of November, required the President to see the same performed; which being done accordingly (as was directed) the President by his Letters of the twentieth of this December, made an account how the partition was made; Now you must understand, that although one hundred Foot was discharged for the maintenance of the Earle, and the rest, yet her Majesties meaning was not that more should bee turned to that use; then the ready money which was payed to the Companie yearely for their Lendings, for their apparell was saved unto her Majestie, the yearely lendings of one hundred men amounts unto no more then seven hundred eightietwo pound, two shillings, and ten pence. The Archbishop of Cassell, who was a principall Agent in stirring up *Dermond O Conner* to make the attempt he did upon the titularie Earle, had for his share, one hundred twentie one pound, thirteene shillings and three pence; *John Power*, who was one of the Hostages, (as hath been related) had thirtie sixe pound ten shillings; the Lady *Ellis*, sister to the Earle, had thirtie three pound, sixe

1600.

*In what good
estate the
province of
Mounster
was.
15. Decemb.*

20. Decemb.

1600.

*Mac Awly
preyed upon
by Sir Fra:
Barkley.*

shillings, eight pence, which was as much as her other sisters formerly had in pension from her Majestie: the Lady *Margaret*, the Earles sister also, and wife to *Dermond O Conner*, (in regard of her forwardnesse to haue done the Queene service) had an hundred pound, and the remainder, which was five hundred fortie pound, twelue shillings ten pence, was to the Earles owne use.

About the eighteenth of the same, Sir *Francis Barkley* finding good cause, and fitt opportunitie to plague *Mac Awley*, (and his Tenants, who under protection, relieved the heart-broken Rebels) with the Garrison which hee commanded at Askeiton, he harrassed all the Countrey of *Clanowlie*, and tooke from thence one thousand Cowes, two hundred Garrans, besides Sheepe and other spoyle, and had the killing of many Traitors, which harboured themselves in the bogs and woods thereof.

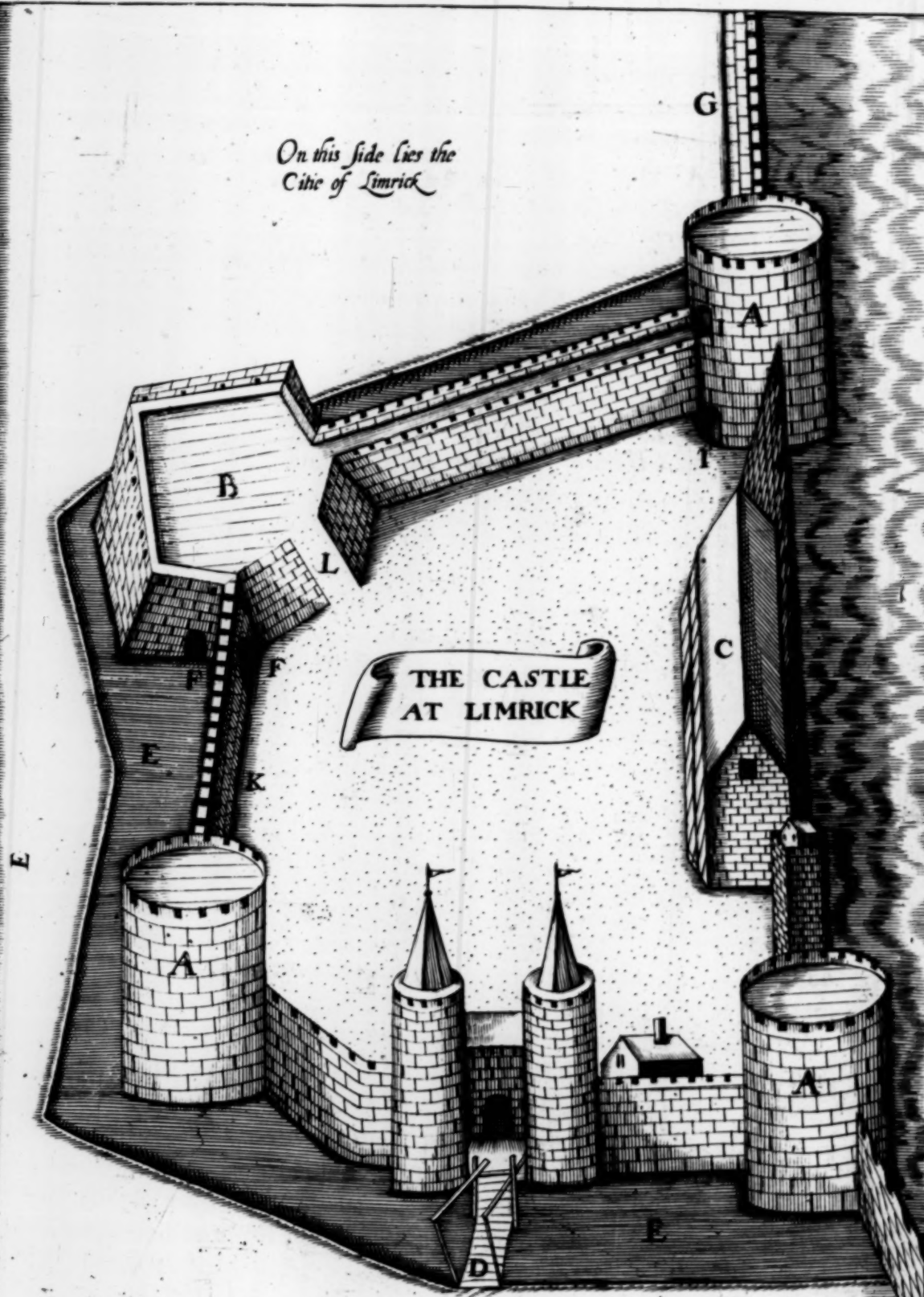
*A practise of
a marriage
betweene the
La. Ioane &:
Gerald, and
O'Donnell, but
prevented by
the Lo. Pre-
sident.*

Whilest the President was holding Sessions at Limericke (as before) hee received notice, that *Mary ni Shye*, one that had been an old servant to the Countesse of Desmond, was in the Towne: but hee (suspecting her errand to haue been no other, but to see *James* the young Earle) seemed to take no knowledge thereof, to make triall whether the said Earle would acquaint him with such Letters, or Messages, as should bee brought from his mother: At the end of three dayes, the Earle related to the President, that such a woman was in Towne, whom he had seene that morning, and not before. The President answered, That her repayte to the Towne was knowen to him certaine dayes before, but desired to bee certified from him concerning the occasion of her comming; who replied, that her errand was to his Sisters, the Lady *Ioane*, and the Lady *Ellen*, and especially to the Lady *Ioane*, but himselfe had received neither Letter, Message, nor token by her. Whereupon the President suspecting some other cause of her comming, being so necessary a servant to the old Countesse, caused her to be brought before him and the Councell; and upon her examination it was found, that the especiall cause of her comming, was to convey away the said Lady *Ioane* to her mother, and from thence to *O'Donnell*, who had promised to consummate a Marriage with her, and for the same purpose had himselfe written Letters to *O'Conner Sidge*, her father in law (in being her mothers husband) to hasten her away. The Lady *Ioane*, upon her examination likewise confessed the same, but denied to yeeld any consent thereunto, without the advise of her Brother, whom (as shee said) shee purposed shortly to haue acquainted with this businesse. The old craftie Countesse understanding that this complot was discovered, pretended, that her indeavours in seeking to effect this Marriage, tended to no other end, but to reduce

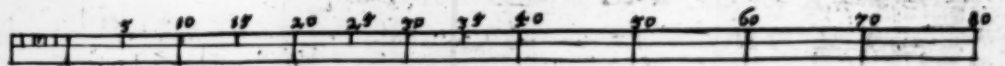
O'Donnell

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On this side lies the
Citie of Limrick



Scale of Yards

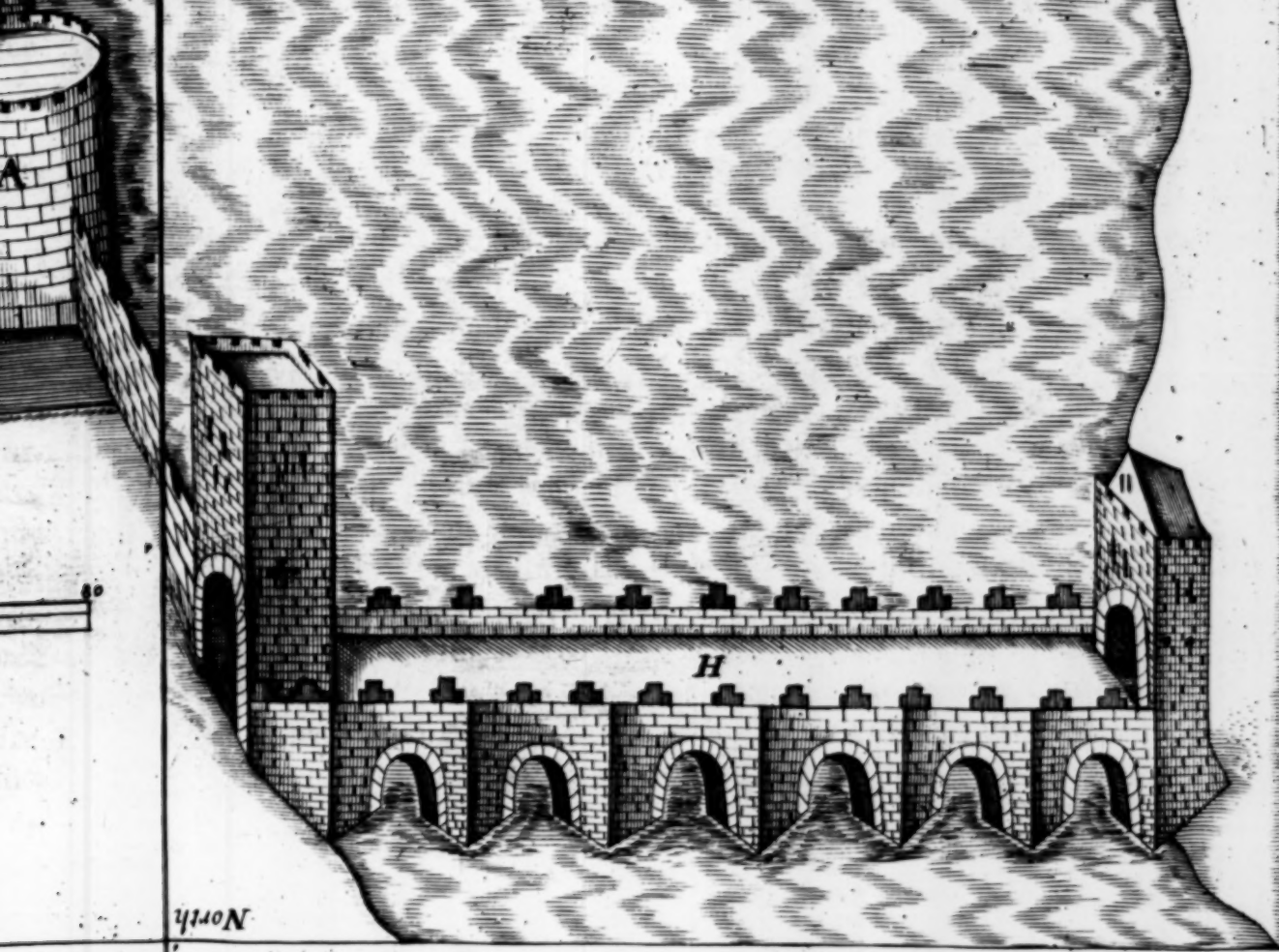


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between Page, 108 & 109

- A. Three round towres that beare Ordinance,
- B. The new bulwarck capable of 5. or 6 great peeces,
- C. The Storehouse,
- D. The Drawbridge,
- E. The Ditch,
- F. a Saly porte,
- G. parte of the Townewall.
- H. The bridge ouer into Towmond,
- I. Dores into the tower.
- K. an asseent by Staires to the foote path on y^e wall,
- L. a Slope asseent to y^e platforme on y^e bulwarck

THE SHANON



North

O Donnell to be a Subject, although indeed there was nothing lesse meant: The President and Councell upon the discovery, (for preventing such mischiefe as they foresaw might arise by this marriage) committed the Lady *Ioane* to an Aldermans House, and *Marie ny Shye* (the said Countesse servant) close prisoner in the Goale, till time and occasion should minister further opportunitie to deale in that affaire of so great importance.

C H A P. XIX.

The Maior of Limerick fined and imprisoned, and a new Maior elected. A Letter from the Spanish Archbishop of Dublin to James fits Thomas. The Sheriffes men slaine by Florence Mac Carrie. The Lord Presidant persuadeth Florence to goe into England. Florence seemeth to like of the wooing, and the use be made of it.

THE Countrey being now reduced to that outward obedience and conformitie (as you have heard) the President and Councell returned unto Moyallo the thirteenth of December, where they had some leasure to looke in the Corporate Townes, whom they found to be principall ayders, abettors, and upholders of this unnaturall Rebellion, which proceeded partly out of malice to the State for matters of Religion, but principally for their owne benefit; for in these turbulent times, the greatest part of the Queenes Treasure sent over into this Kingdome, is expended by the Captaines and Souldiers amongst them: Againe, they issue their Marchandise to the Rebels (underhand) at very excessive rates, and buy the Countrey Commodities at their owne prizes; by reason whereof it was probably conjectured upon good grounds, that the Townes of Mounster were more enriched within these three yeares of Warre, then they were before almost in twentie yeares of peace. Another thing also at this time was noted in the Townes, namely, that all the chiefe Cities made choyse of professed Lawyers to be their Majors, Magistrates, and chiefe Officers, and such, as before were Ring-leaders of their Corporations. These prepaied Elections, whether they were made for feare, lest they should bee called to account for their former faults, both in assisting the Rebels, and assisting the Souldiers, or to maintaine the Townes in obstinate superstition; which before was much augmented by these Instruments, or for some other hidden cause, knowne onely to themselves, I cannot certainly determine, but sure I am, it proceedeth not from any loyall or dutifull disposition. Amongst these lawlesse Lawyers thus elected, there

1600.

was one *Geoffrey Gallway*, Major of Limerick, a man that had spent many yeares in England, in studying of the Common Lawes, and returning into Ireland about three yeares since, did so pervert that Citie by his malicious counsell, and perjurious example, that hee withdrew the Major, Aldermen, and generally the whole Citie from comming to the Church, which before they sometimes frequented. Moreover, about a yeare since there happened an affray in Limricke, betweene the Souldiers and some of the Towne, at what time this *Gallway* came to the then Major, advising him to dis-arme all the Souldiers, and told him, that all their liues were in the Majors hands, and at his mercy, whereby a gapp was most apparantly opened by him, to haue induced a wicked and barbarous massacre upon her Majesties Forces. With this man therefore did the President take occasion to enter into the Lists, upon a manifest contempt offered unto his Office and Government, as followeth: It came to passe, that a Souldier of the Earle of Thomonds Company, was imprisoned by the said Major, for a supposed Pettie Larceny of a Hatchet. The President (being upon his journey against the Rebels, that were now reported to haue invaded the Province) required to haue the said Souldier delivered unto him, that hee might receiue a present tryall, and punishment for his default, if hee were found guiltie, or else to repayre to his Colours, and to goe the journey. The Major before hee would deliver the Prisoner, desired that hee might conferre with his Brethren; This being graunted, hee returned answer, that it was not thought fit by the Corporation to release the prisoner, except his Lordshipp would make a Warrant, enjoyning and commaunding them so to doe. The President and Councell being assembled, a Warrant was framed, signed, and directed to the Major: but this Warrant was deemed insufficient, and therefore desired to haue the same amended in certaine particulars, which without difficultie was yeilded unto, and a second and a third framed according to the Majors owne directions; and thus did hee dally untill hee saw the President ready to leaue the Towne, some part of the Armie being already upon their March, at which time the Major came to the President, and utterly rejected all those Warrants, affirming that the Authoritie given them by the Charter, did sufficiently exempt them from the Iurisdiction and Commaund of the President and Councell: The President much scorning to bee thus deluded and dallyed withall, told the Major, that hee would shortly find a time to call him to an account for his contempt offered, not against his Person, but against her Majestie and her Government established in the Province: Who being now returned from the Service, (as you haue heard) and abiding at

1600.

at Moyallo, directed his Warrant to the said *Gallway*, commaunding him upon his Alleageance, that hee should immediately appeare before him and the Councell at a day assigned at Moyallo, to answer unto such things as should bee objected against him on her Majesties behalfe; where making his appearance, hee was censured to live as a prisoner in a Castle in the Countrey, and not to come into the Citie of Limericke, untill hee had payed a fine to her Majestie of foure hundred pound sterling, which was designed for the reparation of Her Majesties Castle there; which summe was imployed afterward to that use; and lastly, that a new Major should be placed in his roome. The Townslemen presently sent an Agent (as their manner is) to make suite unto the Councell of England, seeking to abuse their Lordships with counterfeited humility and false suggestions, to get abatement either in whole or in part of this fine aforesaid; but therein they failed of their expectation, and having received a check for their proud contumacie against the President, they were commanded from the Court.

The Major of Limericke fined and imprisoned, and a new Major elected.

The one and twentieth of this Moneth of December, Sir Richard Percy sent sixty of his Garison at Kinsale into Kinalmekaghe, Omaghons Countrey, to get the prey of the same, whereunto he was encouraged by one who promised to guide them, so as they should not misse of all the Cowes in the same; Dermond Moyle Mac Carle Florence his Brother, and Moylmo Omaghon the chiefe of his Sept, having some intelligence of their coming, with three hundred Foote and some Horse, assailed them, not doubting but to have cut all their throats; for the space of two houres a good skirmish was maintained; but the Rebels not finding the Defendants to be Chikins, to be afraid at the sight of every cloud or kite, with some losse (of slaine and hurt men) soberly retreated: of the Garison of Kinsale onely two private men were hurt, yet they returned ill pleased for that they missed of the booty expected. About this time the Spanish Archbishop of Dublin wrote unto the lurking titular Earle of Desmond, the Copie whereof I doe here verbatim relate, translated out of Latine.

21. Decem. Kinalmekaghe preyed by Sir Richard Percy.

A Letter from the Spanish Archbishop of Dublin to James fits Thomas.

MY most Honourable good Lord, having long desired a fit opportunity to write unto you, the same is now offered by M^r. John, whereof I am very glad, that by such a most sure and faithfull Messenger I might open my mind to your Lordship; as also to shew that most certaine and undoubted hope of aide is shortly to come. I would most willingly have come unto
your

1600.

He meaneth
Iohn fits
Thomas brother to the
titulary
Earle.

your Lordships presence, which lately I haue assayed, and doubtlesse would haue done, unlesse I had beene hindred by these Lords, which told mee that present and imminent dangers were to be feared in my Iourney, unlesse I had an Armie of souldiers to conduct me; and now (but that there is a necessity of my returning into Spaine) I would haue come to you in the company of Master Iohn; But I hope that most speedily and most fortunately I shall returne unto you againe: In the meane time I haue pretermitted nothing which might tend to your profit, aswell to our Catholike Master, as any other whosoever, which now also in Spaine I will performe; I would therefore intreate your excellencie, that you would be of a good courage together with all other of your faction; and that you would fight constantly and valiantly for the faith and the libertie of your Countrey, knowing and firmly hoping, that the helpe of my Lord the Catholike King, is now comming, which when it cometh, all things shall bee prosperow, and will place you in your former liberty and securitie, that ye may possesse your desired peace and tranquillity: The Almighty conserue your Lordship in safety long to continue. From Donegal the thirtenth of Ianuary, 1601.

The Province of Mounster standing now in these good tearmes of Obedience and Conformitie (as you haue heard) the President thought good for the diminution of Her Majesties charge to spare some part of those Forces, which at first were allotted unto him for this service; and therefore besides those five hundred which were of late cashiered by direction from the Lord Deputie; he was contented to spare one thousand more to bee disposed for the warres of Linster, or other places neere adjoyning, conditionally that they might remaine upon the List of Mounster, aswell to countenance his proceedings, as also that he might call them backe upon any occasion, if new broyles should bee raised; and so in effect reduced the Armie of that Province to fifteene hundred Foote and two hundred Horse.

You heare before, that the Earle of Ormond upon conference with the President, undertooke to driue Redmond Burke, and the other Rebels his associats out of his libertie of Ormond, within the liberty of Tipperary, which although he oftentimes assaied to effect, yet it sorted not to his desired end, untill the beginning of this Moneth of Ianuary, at which time he employed the Lord of Dunboyne, Sir Walter Butler his Nephew, and Captaine Marberry, with such forces as he had (of Her Majesties and the Countrey) to so good purpose, that besides fourty fighting men that were presently slaine, and amongst them Thomas Burke, brother to the said Redmond, and the Armes of thirtie more gotten, they forced Redmond and all his Company into the river of Nore, being at that time very high, and there

Ianuary.

1600.

there drowned seventie of his men with their armes, besides divers Churles and all their baggage; certaine persons were also taken in this service, amongst whom was *Iohn Burke*, brother to the said *Redmond*, who was shortly after executed in Kilkenny, and *William Burke* an other of his brethren, grievously wounded. But to returne to the Presidents actions, who desirous that the Countrey might grow acquainted with the civill government, whereunto of late it had beene a stranger, thought it convenient, that the Sherifes being necessary officers for the State, should looke into the Countrey, as well to finde out such ill disposed Malefactors, and idle Vagabonds, as were pernicious to the government, as also to levie at reasonable rates, such provisions as the Countrey yeeldeth, and the Garisons wanted: for this cause *Iohn Barry*, the Sheriffe of the County of Corke, made a Iourney unto some of *Florence Mac Cartie* his lands, who no sooner entered into his Countrey (as hee termed it) but presently he was resisted; and before he could make his retreat, some of his men were murthered; the like measure was also offered to some of the Garison of Kerry, who had no sooner set foote beyond the Mang, a River that parteth Kerry and Desmond; but they were instantly assaulted by *Florence* his Followers, and two of his souldiers slaine.

*The Sheriffs
men slaine by
Flor. Mac
Cartie.*

The President receiving Advertisement of these malicious and traytourly practises of *Florence* (still continued) was exceeding desirous (according unto directions sent him out of England) to get him into his hands; if it might bee effected, without putting the Queene to a further charge, which without some temporizing could not as yet conveniently be performed: For *Florence* finding himselfe to haue notoriously incurred severall breaches of his former protection, wrote divers Letters unto the President, in excuse of these facts, the same being stuffed (as his phrase was) with damnable oathes, and execrable blasphemies, that himselfe was never acquainted with the former slaughters, and that his people were strangely overseene therein, who mistaking the Souldiers for the Sheriffes men, and the Sheriffes men for Traytors, committed those offences at unawares. Answer was remitted by the President, that the State was well perswaded of his loyaltie and innocencie, touching these disorders, and therefore requested him very earnestly to make his repaire unto him, that hee might by his presence and advice, the better finde out and punish those malefactors; but by no meanes or wayes could he be drawn forth of his strong Countrey of Desmond, before hee had gotten his protection to be renewed; a plaine demonstration of his guiltie conscience.

*Florence his
excuses re-
ceived for
truths.*

Not long after, upon his repaire to the President, he mooved him

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to

1600.
The L. President
perswaded Florence
to goe into
England.

Florence
seemeth to
like of the
motion, but
meaneth no-
thing lesse,
and the use
he made of
it.

to goe for England, laying before his Iudgement divers commodities that might thereby accrew unto him: First, he should prooue these suggestions to be untrue, which some of his Enemies had buzzed into the eares of the Councell of England, That hee was a vowed enemy to the English Government, and a devoted friend in his heart to the Spanish King. Secondly, that by his owne presence (with the Councell) he might get that Countrey of Desmond confirmed unto him, which hee now held rather by courtesie then by right. And lastly, that the Queenes Majestie might understand (out of his mouth) the present estate of that Province, to whose relation (as he verily thought) shee would giue attentiu eare and credit: All this was urged, to the end, that the Province might be rid of so dangerous a member, who vvas most likely to breed new commotions: This Gentleman smelling the Presidents drift, pretended himselfe to bee most willing, and for that purpose would returne into Desmond, and when his necessities were provided hee would speedily proceed in his Iourney for England. Within certaine dayes after, he sent Messengers to the President, signifying unto him, that the Countrey of Desmond was so poore and beggerly, as it could not possibly afford him meanes for such necessities as hee needed for his Iourney, and therefore requested his Lordships Letters unto the chiefe Gentlemen of Carbery, that they would bee contributors unto him in a businesse that did so neerely concerne him: All this being graunted and effected, hee neither went forward, nor did he purpose at all to goe, as the sequell of his doings manifestly declared.

CHAP.

The Lord President advertiseth into England of the intended invasion of the Spaniards. Demaunds made by the Lord President for Money, Munition, Victuals. A Letter from Her Majestie to the Lord Deputy of Ireland, to pardon all such as the Lord President should nominate, certaine persons excepted as incapable of pardon. A certaine branch of the Lords of the Councels Letters to the Lord President.

THE President having (as is said) reduced Mounster to good tearmes of obedience, and had promised to lend the Lord Deputie at any time one thousand Foote for the service of Linster; yet he still insisted that they might remaine as part of the Lift of Mounster: And to that end; upon the thirteenth of Ianuary, hee wrote unto the Lords of the Councell in England: Also hee advertised their Lordships that undoubtedly the Spaniards would invade Ireland; for testimonie whereof, he sent unto them many advertisements, which came unto him out of Spaine; and that many Romish Priests and Fryers, which are the forerunners of mischiefes in this Countrey, were lately come into Ireland, to no other end, then to withdraw the hearts of Her Majesties naturall Subjects from Her to the Spaniard. Also for prevention of future mischiefes, that hee might not bee unprovided (if the kingdome were invaded) although he should haue no more then fiftene hundred Foote left in the Province, when he had sent the one thousand promised to the Lord Deputie, yet he humbly desired the Lords, that they would bee pleased (untill Michaelmas next following) to continue the victuals to bee sent for Mounster, as formerly was accustomed, that is for three thousand two hundred and fiftie, and for the same reason of innovation, he besought them to send unto him five Lasts of powder with match and lead, two thousand shovels and spades, five hundred pickaxes, and fiftie Crowes of Iron; and lastly that they would be pleased, to send a competent summe of money for the souldiers to live upon; for untill the expectation of the comming of Spaniards were past, hee would preserve his victuals untoucht.

I formerly recounted unto you, that the President by his Letters of the second of November, humbly besought their Lordships, that a generall pardon might be granted for the reasons then alleged, which (as it seemeth) had good acceptance in England, as by Her Majesties Letter to the Lord Deputie, dated the one and twentieth of December may appeare, which came to the Presidents hands the nineteenth of Ianuary; the true Copie of which Letter is here inserted. And also for the Lord Deputies farther discharge, a draught of a Warrant to bee passed under the Great Seale of Ireland, was sent unto him by Her Majestie.

13. Ianuary.

The President advertiseth into England of the intended invasion of the Spaniards.

Demands made by the Lord President for money, munition & victuals.

A Letter from her Maiestie to the Lord
Deputie of Ireland.

ELIZABETH R.

Right Trustie and Welbeloved, We greet you well. Wee understand by such advertisements as wee haue received from Our President of Our Province of Mounster, that it will bee very expedient for the reducing of Our Subjects, dwelling in that Our Province to a settled obedience, to graunt unto them our generall and gracious Pardon, thereby to remooue from them all suspition of impeachment for their former offences, whereunto the greatest part of them haue beene violently carried, rather by the power of the arch-traytours, then by any wilfull defection in their loyaltie; Wee being therefore in Our princely Clemencie, graciously pleased, to accept the humble submission of such our Subjects within that Province, as haue not out of their desperate and disloyall hearts entred into this horrible action of Rebellion against Vs, doe thinke meet, and hereby doe will and authorise you, that from time to time, you cause such generall and particular pardons to be passed in due forme of Law, under our great Seale of that our Realme, to all and everie the Inhabitants of that province, of what condition or estate soever they bee, either by ample words of our generall Pardon, (as wee understand hath beene graunted to some Counties in Connaught, upon like occasion) or by particular Names of peculiar persons, as by Our said President and Councell, or two of them with the President shall bee desired of you, excepting out of every pardon such persons, and inserting such Conditions, and Limitations, for our service, as by our said President, and two of our Councell shall bee thought requisite. And to the ende, our people wasted with the miserie of these warres, may not bee pardoned

The Lord
Deputie to
pardon all
such as hee
should be
punished

1606.

pardoned with expences in the obtaining their pardons, or putting in Securitie for our peace, in Causes where it may be needfull: Our gracious pleasure is, That the Fees of our Seale, and all other Officers Fees in these cases of our affayres, shall bee either wholly remitted, or so moderated by you and Our Councell there, that our Subjects may haue cause the more dutifully and gladly to imbrace our princely Clemency, and Bountie in this our gracious and free Pardon: Neverthelesse such is Our detestation of the Treasons, and horrible Murders committed in this Rebellion, that for a perpetuall memorie in every such pardon, either generall or speciall, there shall bee an expresse exception, that the same extend not to pardon James Fits Thomas, usurping the Title of Earle of Desmond, John his Brother, Pierce Lacie, the Knight of the Valley, nor Thomas Fits Maurice, sonne to the late Barron of Lixnaw, who are known to haue beene the ringleaders to many monstrous and unnaturall outrages: Neither shall our pardon bee availeable to any of the servants and followers of the persons so excepted, unlesse those servants and followers shall fully and absolutely submit themselves to our President and Councell of that Province, or to some of them to bee bound with Sureties for their future Loyaltie within twentie dayes after publique proclamation made of this Our gracious Pardon. And for the doing heereof, these Our Letters shall bee your sufficient Warrant and Discharge. Given vnder Our Signet at Our Pallace of Westminster this one and twentieth of December, one thousand sixe hundred, in the three and fourtieth yeare of Our Reigne.

Certain persons excepted incapable of Pardon.

And at that time he received a Letter from the Lords of the Councell, agreeing in substance with that of her Majesties, to the Lord Deputie: Wherefore I hold it needlesse to set it downe at large, onely I will recite the first part of it, whereby it is manifested how agreeable the Presidents proceeding was, as well to her Majesties liking, as to their Lordships.

1600.

*A Branch of the Lords of the Councils Letters to
the Lord President.*

After our very heartie Commendations to your Lordship. We haue received your Letters, bearing date the second of November, whereby you haue made us an orderly Relation of the state of that Province, whereof wee haue informed her Majestie, who hath commaunded us to giue you notice of her most gracious acceptation of your Endeavors, in the whole course of your proceedings, as that which hath proved greatly to her Honour, and the advancement of her Service; wherein as wee haue beene alwayes ready to performe the best offices, in respect of your discreet proceedings towards us in all things: so it doth not a little content us, (for the loue wee beare you) to bee messengers of her Majesties favour towards you, then which wee know you can receiue no greater comfort, &c. From the Court at Whitehall the foureteenth of December, 1600.

CHAP. XXI.

Victuals and money arrived at Corke. One thousand Foote and fiftie Horse to bee sent out of Mounster to the Lord Deputy. A Letter from the Lord President to the Lord Deputy. The Companies sent for by the Lord Deputie, and staied by his directions. The effect of the Lords of the Councils Letters to the Lord President, with an Abstract of his Letter to the Lords of the Council.

25. January.

*Victuals and
money arri-
ued at Corke*



HE five and twentieth the President advertised the Lords, that there was arrived out of England, at Corke, a proportion of victuals, and money, and in the same dispatch, he humbly besought their Lordships (for that the Province was in a manner by the long warre thoroughly wasted, and that the Horse having nothing but grasse to sustaine them, grew weake and unserviceable.) That they would be pleased to send (with the best expedition) foure hundred quarters of Oates, which should bee defalked upon the Horsemens entertainements.

30. January.
1000. foot,
& 50. horse
to be sent out
of Mounster
to the Lord
Deputie.

Vpon the thirtieth, the President received Letters from the Lord Deputie, praying him to send for the service of Linster one thousand Foote, whereof the Companies of Sir Iohn Barkley, and Sir Garret Harvies to bee part, and with them Sir Richard Greames troope of Horse: According to this direction, he assembled them at Clonmell, and

and gaue the Command of them unto the Lord *Awdley*; and as they were ready to march, hee received advertisement from the Earle of Thomond, that a body of more then three thousand men of *Ylster* and *Connaght*, were presently to enter into the Province; whereupon hee wrote unto the Lord Deputie this ensuing Letter, making stay of the Lord *Awdley* untill he should receiue answer thereof.

*A Letter from the Lord President to the
Lord Deputie.*

IT may please your Lordship, I am so infinitely distracted betweene the earnest desire I haue to satisfie your Lordships commandements, and the present dangers which I see hangs over this Province; if I should obserue them, as that I stand amazed, what Councell to take, being in my selfe wholly addicted to obedience, and by necessitie (in a manner) enforced to pause upon the same, untill I may receiue your Lordships answer to these, and then without farther protraction I will bee ready accordingly to obserue your commandements; wherein I humbly pray your Lordship deliberatly to advise, being (as I take it) especially materiall for the furtherance of Her Majesties service. The next day after, I received your Lordships Letter of the seven and twentieth of January (being the thirtieth of the same) for the better expediting of your directions, I addressed severall warrants unto the Captaines residing neerest unto me, commanding every of them, to meete at the Townes of *Clonmell* and *Fetherd*, by the sixth of this Moneth, there to receiue such further directions, as the Lord *Awdley* (who I haue appointed to command them) should direct. The List consists of one thousand and fiftie Foote, and Sir *Richard Greames* Horse, Sir *Garret Harvie*, lyes so farre remote in *Kerry*, as I could not conveniently in so short a time, draw them to the rest: Wherefore, for that particular I humbly pray to be excused: and for Sir *Iohn Barklies* Company (who are part of the List aboue-said) I haue directed them by warrant according to your Lordships former pleasure signified unto me, before the receipt of your Lordships last letters to repaire into *Connaght*, but haue now countermanded them, and doe hope they are not yet past. Thus your Lordship may see my willingnesse to obey your directions, which I did as gladly and affectionatly as your Lordship can desire. But since having this day received these inclosed Letters from the Earle of Thomond, and Master *Comerford*; I doe make humbly bold to present the consideration of them unto your Lordships wisdom, before I doe thoroughly accomplish your Commandements, wherein my hope is, that your Lordship will both giue me thanks,
and

1600.

and hold me excused ; because the publike service doth violently urge me unto it. In my judgement I am perswaded that this intelligence is true , drawne thereunto by many and sundry the like advertisements, from all parts and persons, lately reconciled, whereof I could send your Lordship bundels of papers of divers mens relations, and now confirmed in the same by these inclosed Letters, which as your Lordship sees, threatens the present disturbance of this Province, not yet well settled. Yet neverthelesse, that it may appeare unto your Lordship, that I am not backward to accomplish any thing, which your Lordship shall require : I do yet continue (though not without some hazard to this Province if these Northern Forces should presently invade us) to send the Companies (aforesaid) to the Rendevous before mentioned, with directions to remaine there until your Lordship shall returne me your pleasure in answer of these, and then what you shall prescribe unto me, I will dutifully and carefully effect, assuring my selfe that your Lordship will haue such a speciall regard to the State of this Province, as that you will not withdraw them, but upon certaine knowledge of the untruth of these intelligence. But (as a Councillor to speake my opinion) if your Lordship can other wayes follow the prosecution in Linster, without calling Forces from hence, it were very expedient to forbear the same, untill this Cloud be overpast, which cannot long hold in suspence; for all the danger is betweene this and the end of the next Moneth, after which time untill the Cattle be strong, and giue milke, there is little doubt : All which humbly referring to your Lordships better consideration, I rest. Moyallo the second of February, 1600. G. C.

2. February.

The Companies sent for by the L. Deputy, stayed by his directions.

Not many dayes after, the Lord Deputie by his Letters so well approoved of the reasons, why the President stayed the Lord Audley, as hee thanked him for it, and willed him to make Head against the Rebels descent, and hereafter when they might be better spared, then he prayed him to send them unto him.

The effect of the Lords of the Councells Letters to the Lord President.

In Anuary 28. the Lord President received Letters of great comfort from the Lords in England, saying, That they were exceeding glad, to see that in so short a time hee had reduced the Province to such tearmes, as that he could indure the cashiering of five hundred Foot, and spare the Lord Deputie one thousand more of his List, which was an evident demonstration of his Labours well spent in the Service; and that his holding of Assises and Sessions, so long dil-

1600.

dis-ufed, was a manifeft figne of a new life in the Province; That they had written to the Lord Deputie, to call *Theobald ne Long Burke* in question for the murdering of *Dermond O Conner*, and had required him to see it punished; That notwithstanding her Majesties pleasure was signified unto him, that *James fits Thomas*, his Brother *John*, the Baron of *Lixnaw*, the Knight of the Valley, and *Pierce Lacie*, should not be received to mercie upon any condition, but to be left (as children of perdition) unto destruction, yet considering how long Rebels may continue (by underhand friendships) in Ireland, shee was pleased, that the Lord President should haue power (if he saw cause to induce him thereunto) to accept of the last three, but with this caution, That they should be pardoned for life onely, and that not untill they had performed some signall services which might merit such gracious favour. Lastly, they admonished the President to carrie a strict hand upon the Commissaries of the Musters; for by Certificate from Dublin, they understood that they were very slacke in their duties.

The President knowing that it was a matter of no lesse moment, to retaine and keepe the Provincials in subjection and good order; then it was at first to reduce them hereunto, imployed now a great part of his time, in devising such courses as might secure them from a future revolt, and therefore first resumed into his owne hands all power of protecting, and then protested never to renew any protections (already granted) whereby they were constrained to use all celerity and haste for the obtaining their Pardons. In so much, that within lesse then two Moneths, (namely before the end of February) the President had recommended aboue foure thousand by name unto the Lord Deputie for Pardons, who had all put in such pledges or other Caution, as by the State of the Province, was thought convenient, which indeed was such and so warily taken, as no Governor in former times had ever done the like: All which notwithstanding, the President could not satisfie himselfe in the safetie of the one, and so consequently in the securitie of the other, so long as their pledges were remayning in the Cities of Corke, and Limerick, the places of their custodie not being of sufficient strength, the Keepers many times negligent or corrupt in their charge, and the Citizens so partiall, as they had rather helpe to convey them into the Countrey, then to retaine them within the Citie: for prevention whereof, the President became an humble Suitor to the Lords of the Councell of England, that they would be pleased to give commandement, that the Bledges of greatest moment might (by an order from them) bee commanded to the Castle of Dublin, which should

An abstract
of the Lord
Presidents
Letter to the
Lords of
the Coun-
cell.

not

1600.

not be any thing chargeable to Her Majestie, and yet very profitable for the State: As also that they would be pleased to giue Commandement to all such Vndertakers, as hold land within the Province, that they should make their immediate repaire unto their Signiories, that thereby the Countrey might bee the better furnished with English upon any occasion: As also that Her Majestie might from them receiue their rents in some part, of that immeasurable treasure which was expended in these Warres.

6. March.

And lastly being fully assured of a Spanish Invasiō, in all his dispatches for England: He evermore put the Lords in mind of it, sending unto them the intelligences hee had, and for that he would not be taken unprovided, hee continually in all his Letters besought supplies of Victuals, and Munition. And for that in his last dispatch, he had intreated a large proportion of Victuals; now in this of the sixth of March hee forbore the same, requesting onely five Lasts of powder, and foure hundred quarters of Oates.

22. March.

The young Earle of Desmond, having beene tenderly brought up in England, and not well agreeing with the manner and customes of Ireland, and also seeing how much he was deceived in his hopes, supposing that al his Fathers Followers would haue relied upon him, and obeyed his directions; whereof finding little or no appearance, desired the Lord President to giue him leaue to goe into England, whereunto (for the reasons afore mentioned) the President easily assented; for in all the time of his being in Ireland, no one Rebelle did for his sake submit himselfe to Her Majestie; *Thomas Oge* of Kerry onely excepted, who at his request submitted himselfe and rendered Castle-mange (whereof he was Constable) by *James fits Thomas* his assignement into Her Majesties hands, as formerly hath beene declared. But it may be truly supposed, that wit and necessitie did perswade him to submit, and render the Castle as he did; for *Sir Charles Wilmot* had so blockt him up with Garisons, as at that present he was in feare of starving; and if he had not taken the opportunity offered upon the Earles motion, he was in danger to haue lost both his life and it. This I write not to upbraid the Earle, or to lessen him in any thing; for I must confesse, he was too good to live amongst such traitorly Followers, and no man living had a more willing desire to serue Her Majestie then himselfe; but the truth is, that this was all the service which hee did or could doe during his aboad in Munster, from whence he embarked the two and twentieth of March, and landed at Miniade in Somerset-shire, and so to the Court of England; where after a few Moneths he died. The Letters Patents which Her Majestie had granted for his restoration, the President never delivered unto him, where in my opinion he did discreetly

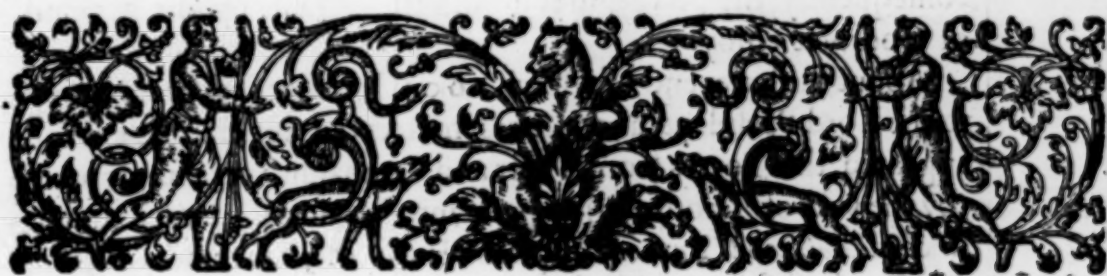
ly, and according to his directions, for they were sent unto him by Her Majestie (with caution) not to deliver them, except he saw sufficient cause so to doe, and that his services (or services done for his sake) should merit the same; of both which there was but weake and slender performance.

In this first Booke the Reader may behold in what a confused estate the Province of Mounster was in, when the L. President entred into his government; in the first yeare whereof these memorable accidents hapned: the unfortunate death of Sir *Warham St Ledger*, the departure of *Tyrone* out of Mounster; The taking of the Earle of *Ormond* by the rebels; The defeat of *Florence Mac Cartie*; the losse and recovery of *Cahir* castle; the submission of the White Knight; the recovery of the Iland and castle of *Loughgier*; the bold attempt of *Nugent*, and the effects which followed therof; the burning and spoiling of *West Clanwilliam*, & *Omulrians* countrey; the taking and escape of *James fits Thomas*, the titularie Earle of *Desmond*; the sieg and winning of the Castle of the *Glin*; the freeing of the Province of 2500 *Bownoghs*; *Odonnels* harraising of *Thomond*; the encounter betwixt Captaine *Roger Harry*, and the White Knights sonne; the planting of garrisons in *Kerry*; the perpetuall juglings of *Fló. Mac Cartie*; the taking of the Castle of *Listoell* in *Kerry*; the defeat (by the garrison of *Kilmallock*) given to the *Sugan* Earle; the poore and distressed estate he was driven unto; the submission of *Dermond Mac Owen*, L. of *Dowalla*, and sundry others; the comming into Mounster of the young Earle of *Desmond*; the submission of *Flor. Mac Cartie*; the rendring of *Castle Mange*; the murdring of *Dermond O Conner*; the burning and spoyling of *East Clanwilliam*, and *Arlogh*; the quiet settling of the Province, and the restoring the civill government: Whosoever with indifferencie will consider, how much was done in such short time, must acknowledge it to bee beyond expectation, and say that God fought for vs, and directed our Counsels, otherwise it was not to bee hoped for: And had not the comming of the Spaniards, given new interruptions, the worke of Mounster had beene thoroughly finished: The Province fully reduced to a settled peace, and in all likelihood so to haue continued.

The end of the first Booke.

[illegible]

It is a good idea to have a copy of the book on hand.



PACATA HIBERNIA.

THE SECOND BOOKE OF THE WARRES IN IRELAND,

Whereby that Countrey was reduced to Sub-
jection and Obedience.

CHAP. I.

Connaght and Ulster men drawn to a head to invade Mounster. A Regiment sent by the Lord Presidents into Connaght to assist Sir John Barkley. Walter Burke and Teg O Bryen slain. The Lord Presidents with the remainder of the Army come to Limrick. The rising out of the Countrey commanded by the Lo. Barry drawne neere to Limericke. The Rebels distressed for want of victuals, and defeated. Donogh Mac Cormocke Cartie slain. Redmond Burkes letter to the Lo. President, with the Lord Presidents answer.



THE prosperous Successes of the last yeere, did promise faire hopes, that the malice of the Warre was spent, and that the Province would within short time bee reduced to a settled conformitie: but the malicious practises of the Irish Papists, had so farre enraged the Pope and the King of Spaine, against our Sovereaign Mistresse, and her good Subjects, the Professors of the true Religion, (whom the Romanists falsely tearme Heretiques) as in this yeare of 1601, the Province of Mounster was not onely set in a raging flame, but the whole Kingdome was indangered to bee torne from the Crowne of England: But God in his great mercie fought for his servants, and made this intended mischief to bee the breake-neck of the Rebellion throughout the Kingdome, and

1601.

March.

Connaght &
Ulster men
drawn to a
head to in-
vade Moun-
ster.

A Regiment
sent by the L.
President in-
to Connaght,
to assist Sir
Ioh. Barkley.

29. March.

Walt. Burke,
and Teg O-
Brien slain.

consequently, the peace and tranquillitie, which by the goodnesse of God wee enjoy.

About the latter end of March, 1601, Intelligences were brought to the Lord President, and Letters intercepted, whereby it probably appeared, that Forces from Ulster and Connaght, were in preparing, (by the way of Thomond) to passe into Mounster, under the conduct of *Redmond Burke*, Captaine *Hugh Mostian*, and *Con Oneale*, (*Tyrone's* base sonne) with about two thousand men, (besides Mounsters fugitiues) to releue the lurking Earle; but although the circumstances of that Relation proved to bee untrue, both in the Leaders, and number of men, yet that smooke did arise from some fire: for presently heereupon *Redmond Burke*, and *Hugh Mostian*, with eight hundred Connaght men, and *Teg Orwrk*, *Iohn fits Thomas*, *Donogh Mac Cormocke*, and *Pierce Lacle*, with seven hundred of the North came through Connaght; Sir *Iohn Barkley*, Governour in the absence of Sir *Arthur Savage*, being constrained to giue way to their greater force: Likewise the Barroon of *Lixnaw*, and *Teg Kewgh Mac Maghon*, were busie in providing Gallies to come by Sea, and the *O-Maylies*, and *O Flagberties* had a purpose with sixe hundred men, (which they had already furnished) to invade Kerry. The President having received certaine Intelligence of all those preparations, principally set on foot to disturbe his Government, first dispatched away one thousand Foot, under the command of Captaine *George Flower*, Sergeant Major of that Province, with direction to march forward in all haste into Connaght, to joyne with Sir *Iohn Barkley*, that they might doe some good service upon the Rebels at their passage over the Shenan, which of necessitie they must hazzard before they could come into Mounster.

The nine and twentieth of March, Captaine *Flower* rose out of Limerick, and that night lodged at Quyn in Thomond, had notice that the enemy was aduanced into Thomond, to spoyle the same, having the assistance of *Teg*, Sonne and Heire to Sir *Tinloghe O'Brien*, who went into action not about three dayes before: The Sergeant Major discovering their Forces, came up close unto them; and when hee began to fight, they began to runne, whom notwithstanding he so well pursued (with my Lord of Thomonds Company) that they slew and hurt divers of them; and amongst the rest, *Walter Burke*, Sonne to the blind Abbot was slain, and *Teg O'Brien* (now mentioned) received a mortall wound, whereof (within three dayes after) he died; besides these Forces by land, the President also made certaine provisions by Sea, for preventing of *Fits Maurice* with his *Omaylies*, and *Oflagberties* from coming into Kerry; upon which occasion there was a tall Merchant (lately come with prevent apparell for the

Armie,

1601.

Armie, into the river of Limerick) together with certaine small boats, well victualled and manned, commanded to attend, about the mouth of Shenan, to doe service upon such Rebels as should appeare upon that Coast; all which being notified in the Countrey, the Enemy finding his purpose frustrate of transporting his Armie into Kerry that way, they retyred themselves into a strong Fastnesse in Tough-kynalehin, betwixt Clanrickard and Thomond; Her Majesties forces lodging so neere them as possible they might: The President also himselfe with all the rest of his forces (except the Garisons of Kerry) followed as farre as Limerick, aswell to giue countenance to the other Companies (that attended the Rebels) as also to bee ready (upon the first allarum) to intercept or interrupt them; If by any devise or chance they might escape the forces in Connaght, and because the Enemy should bee desperate of any helpe, and assured of strong resistance in the Province, the President tooke order that all the Chieffes of every Countrey, should assemble themselves at Gallybally in the County of Limerick, and to bring with them the best forces they could make of Horse and Foote, together with victuals for ten dayes, to attend such directions as they should bee commanded by the Lord Barry, who was appointed Generall of the Provincials. What service they would haue done (if occasion had beene offered) I know not; But sure I am, although they did somewhat exceede the time limited, before they were assembled, yet at last there was gathered thirteene hundred Foote, and one hundred and twenty Horse of the Countrey of Corke only, with great alacrity as seemed of doing some acceptable service. In the meane time Sir Iohn Barkley layeth so hardly to the Rebels, still keeping within their Fastnesse, that they could not possibly get any prey of the Countrey, but were constrained from the thirtieth of March to the thirteenth of Aprill to feede upon garrans flesh, and such unsavory meate: Afterwards being halfe starved, and altogether past hope of O'Donnells coming to their reliefe with more forces, they stole away in the night, and drevy into Omaddins Countrey; our men perceiving their rising pursued them, and held them fighting all night, and in the morning found that wee had slaine many of them; yet by breake of the day, they had recovered another strong Fastnesse, whereto Sir Iohn Barkley (though often assaying) could not annoy them: after two dayes being distressed with like want as before, they were inforced to dislodge againe in the night; our forces pursued them at the heeles, and coming close up unto them, put them to route, and forced them over the Suckoe, a deepe River, wherein they lost two hundred men, with the most part of their munition and baggage. In this service there was lost and hurt of our men one and twentie, but not any of note, except

The Lo. President with the remainder of his forces came to Limericke.

The rising out of the Countrey drawn neere to Limericke, and commanded by the L. Barry.

The Rebels distressed for want of victuals.

The Rebels defeated.

1601.

*Donoghe
Mac Cormock
Carry
slaine.*

21. Aprilis.

cept *Nevile*, Sir *Gerrard Harry* his Lieuetenant onely : The Rebels were so terrified in this prosecution, that such as escaped the River sought not to vnite themselues againe : *Teg Orwrke* retired into his Countrey, *Redmond Burke* went to *O Donnell*, *Iohn fits Thomas* to *Tyrone*, and the meaner sort dispersed into sundry places, and *Hughe Mostian* with his Company rested himselfe in *O Conner Roes* Countrey : In one of the aforesaid skirmishes in *Osbasnes* Countrey, upon the seven and twentieth of March, *Donoghe Mac Cormock* (afore mentioned) was slaine, being lately enlarged by *Tyrone*, to set a fire in Mounster. These affaires thus accomplished with good successe, although not fully so good as was both promised and expected ; Capitaine *Flower* with his Regiment, returned the one and twentieth of Aprill to Limerick.

Ever since the Presidents first coming into Mounster, there had beene (as formerly you may obserue) secret trafficke held betweene the Lord President and *Redmond Burke*, the pretended Barron of *Leetrim* : *Burkes* ends was to haue the President to assise him for the recovering of his Fathers lands, against his Vncle the Earle of *Clanrickard*, and the President held him on with good words, and messages for two respects ; the one for keeping him from joyning with the rest of the Bownoghs in Mounster, the other to procure him (if he might possibly worke him unto it) to doe some signall service upon the Rebels : *Redmond* still pursuing his desires, (when Capitaine *Flower* was in *Connaght* with the Mounster forces as aforesaid) writes this Letter here inserted to the President, and the answer unto it was as followeth.

Redmond Burkes Letter to the Lo. President.

Honourable Lord, having heretofore complained to your Lordship of the inestimable wrongs that are offered mee, which seeing your Honour cannot redresse heere, I would request your Honour, (in respect that I specially meane not to disturbe any place under your Lordships, or the Earle of *Thomonds* Iurisdiction) not to be a meanes to stop me from demanding my right, or pursuing it in this sort, seeing by right or Law the State pleaseth not to satisfie mee ; and assure your Honour, if your selfe had any power to minister Equitie betwixt her Majesties Subjects, the same of the honorable worth and equitie your Lordship doth carry, would not only alien me to loath this kind of life, but also very many unspecified others. And thus requesting your Lordship to draw your Forces for the defence of your Lordships Charge, which otherwise might suddenly revolt, if they had any ayd by Sea or Land, as very many they expect ;

expect; which if your Lordship wrong me not, I will stop to my best endeavour, I betake your Honour to God. From the Campe, the twelfth of Aprill, 1601.

1601.

Your Honours loving Friend,

Redmond Letrim.

The Lord Presidents Answer.

I Haue received your Letter on the twelfth of this instant, and am glad to finde by the same, that the life you now leade is odious unto you; I doe wish, that the feeling of your dutie may increase in that manner in you, as that you would make your selfe capable of the Queenes mercie, which is farre more infinite then your transgression hitherto hath been; Of which Royall disposition of hers, the examples (of the offenders in this Kingdome) are plentifull and apparant. The pretence you make in your continuance in action, is the wrongs done unto you, by your Vnckle, and to enable him farther to suppress you utterly; you adde heere to that Arch-Traytor *Tyrone*, and forsake your ducie to your Sovereigne, refusing her Lawes, (by the which you may bee righted) with opinion to be repossessed by the strength of his sword: your Youth may somewhat excuse your error, but beleue mee, you shall neither bee Barron of Letrim, or possesse your Fathers Inheritance by the ayde of that perfidious Traytour, which I know hath not the power any long time to support this Rebellion; and if he had, yet your selfe and all the English race of Ireland birth, is as odious unto him, as now we are, that are naturall English: If his power were able to make him Monarch of Ireland, the *Burkes*, with all of English descent, must looke for no other then assured extirpation: I am sure you are of discretion sufficient to conceiue as much as I write, wherefore I need insist no longer upon the same: To be short, if you will follow the way which I doe by this Messenger prescribe you, you may make your selfe capable of the Queenes mercie, and find both meanes and friends to obtaine Iustice: The request you make unto me to forbear sending of Forces to annoy you, and in so doing that you will spare Mounster, and keepe others from harming the Province: If I were but an ordinary Subject, and not an Officer to the Queene, I neither might, or would make any such contract with you, and therefore much lesse may I hearken to any such motion, being an Officer of that qualitie as I am; and doe marvell that you would require mee to juggle with my Prince, whom I wish that you did

*The Lord
Presidents
answer.*

R

serue

1601.

serue with the like faith and dutie as I doe. I doe wish that your estate were such, that I might shew you friendship. If you persevere in rebellion, I hold you lost, and in condition with them who haue made themselues unreconcilable. What I leaue unwritten, I referre to this Bearer. Limrick this fourteenth of Aprill, 1601.

*Your loving Friend when you
are an obedient Subject,*

G. C.

This Answer of the Presidents could not be very pleasing to *Radmond*, for it plainly manifested, that his purpose was not to doe him any courtesies, untill hee had done somewhat that might deserue his friendship, and Her Majesties grace: Neverthelesse it seemes that there was some hopes for him to feede upon, in the messages sent, which he did not write, or else *Burke* could not haue beene contained from harming of Mounster as hitherto hee was. To conclude, he fed him with faire language and threats; and sure I am, that the President made his advantage by it.

CHAP. II.

Intelligence of Spanish Invasion. The escape of Teg O'Brien brother to the Earle of Thomond. Florence his preparations for munition and men. A Letter from Tyrone to Florence. A Letter from the Lords of the Councell to the Lord President. The report of Dermond Mac Awley touching the coming of Kisser men into Mounster.

*Intelligence
of Spanish
invasion.*

I Must desire the Reader to excuse me, if I doe a little breake the rule of the progresse of this Storie, in looking backe some few dayes, for that which proceedeth of the accidents of Captaine *Flowers* Service in Connaght, did so necessarily depend one after the other, as that I was inforced to continue that Relation untill this returne to Limericke, which made mee forbear to speake of Sir *Henry Dockwray*, who upon the seventh of this instant Aprill, wrote to the Lord Deputie, (as his Lordship advertised the President) that *Hugh Boy*, (who was a man of good estimation, and very inward with *O'Donnell*) assured him, that the Spaniards would this yeare invade Ireland with sixe thousand men, and would land in some part of Mounster, and that three of the chiefe Townes (which must bee *Corke*, *Limerick*

rick and Waterford, for they were the chiefeſt) had promiſed to receive them, and that *Florence Mac Cartie* (by the neceſſitie of the time onely) had ſubmitted himſelfe to the Preſident, but upon the Spaniards landing he would aſſuredly come unto them, with all the force hee could make.

The ſixe and twentieth of Aprill, the Preſident leaving at Limerick, and neere unto it, twelve hundred Foote and fifty Horſe for the Guard of thoſe borders, returned towards Corke; and the ſeven and twentieth, the next day following hee heard that *Teg Obrien*, brother to the Earle of Thomond, having beene a long time Priſoner in Limerick, (by the corruption of his Keeper) made an eſcape; Immediately hee wrote unto the Preſident; proteſting his loyaltye to Her Majeſtie, profeſſing to doe ſervice, ſuch as ſhould merit favour. Humbly beſought him (not deſiring any protection) that hee might remaine with his Lordſhip: The Preſident granted his requeſt, and withall ſent him a Protection, which in an other Letter unto *Richard Boyle* the Clarke of the Councell hee beſought: The reaſon which moved the Preſident, to grant his requeſt, was the abſence of the Earle of Thomond, then in England, that during the ſame, the County of Clare might bee freed from Bonfires, but now for a time we muſt leaue the Preſident in Cork, & returne to *Florence Mac Carty*.

You heard before that *Florence* had a cutting (as they call it) upon Carberry, towards his charges in the pretended journey for England, but employed all the ſame, and whatſoever more hee could procure, to another end; for about this time he provided a Barke, which hee fraught with Hides, Tallow, and ſuch commodities, committing the care and truſt thereof to ſome of Kinſale, by whom the ſame merchandize ſhould bee transported beyond the Seas, and in lieu thereof, munition, and abilliments of warre ſhould be returned, and delivered unto him in the Harbour of Valentia: Moreover, about the ſame time, hee did earneſtly ſolicit aide from the neighbour Provinces, to reſiſt Her Majeſties forces; and for the ſame purpoſe wrote a Letter in Iriſh (which was read by *James Welſh*, by whoſe relation I received this light) unto one in Ormond called *Cahir Mac Shane Glaſſe Omulrian*, deſiring that he would leavy for him ſixe hundred Foote in Linſter, which if hee could not, then to procure *Redmond Burke* to come with ſo many to his aide, and if hee failed likewise herein, to deale with *Captaine Terrill* to the ſame effect, and hee would pay them upon the Countrey of Deſmond: Laſtly, *Donoghe Mac Cormuck* called *Mac Donoghe* (his Agent with *Tyrone*) laboured ſo much at his hands; and that ſo earneſtly, as he procured a Letter from *Tyrone*; the Contents whereof were as followeth: And thus tranſlated out of the Iriſh.

1601.

26. Aprill.

*The eſcape
of Teg Obrien,
brother
to the Earle
of Thomond.*

His ſubmiſſion.

*Florence his
preparation
for Munition
and men.*

1601.

A Letter from Tyrone to Florence Mac Carty.

OUr commendations to you *Mac Carty More*, I send shortly unto you according to our trust of you, that you will doe a stout and hopefull thing against the pagan beast, and thereupon our Armie is to goe into Mounster, and with the will of God, we consent unto you, and will that you beleue not any word from us for ever, before wee write againe unto you; for you shall see trouble enough in England, by English men it selfe, so as there shall be easinesse of suffering their warres, at May next, in respect of that it is now: And since this cause of Mounster was left to you (next under God) let no weaknesse or imbecillitie bee found in you, and the time of helpe is neere you, and all the rest. From Dongannon the sixth of February, 1601. *Stilo Novo.* *Oneale.*

The Armie mentioned in this Letter, was the same which now you heard of, taking their journey by the way of Connaght, which as may appeare both by the examination of *James Welsh*, and the Contents of those Letters, were solicited and sent principally by the meanes, promises, and procurement of *Florence*, he being then and before under protection, the breach whereof hee nothing esteemed: But surceasing farther to rake in the filthy Channels of his malicious practises, like maladies immedicable, lest it should be loathsome to the Reader, I will leade him abroad into the open Aire, to behold the hunting, rousing and fall of a great Stag, which was after sent into England to Her Majestie, and by her received as a most acceptable Present, although it was not Gods will, that shee should liue to reward the chiefe Ranger.

About the middest of May, the Lord President received a Letter from the Lords of the Councell in England, which bare date the eight and twentieth of Aprill, which for the Readers better vnderstanding, how the Affaires of Mounster did sute with the Directions and Counsels in England, I thinke it meet to be inserted.

A Letter from the Lords of the Councell to the Lord President.

After our very heartie Commendations to your Lordship: Although we haue before this time acquainted you with her Majesties gracious acceptation of your service, because wee know you had no greater object, then to deserue her Majesties grace and favour; yet now wee vwill forbear to touch it at this time, because her Majestie giues you notice of it with her owne hand, and for the present onely let you know what care wee haue taken to satisfie all
your

your demaunds for her Majesties service, because it may appeare unto you, seeing you doe orderly and carefully giue us account of your proceedings, that wee will in no sort neglect such things as you in your discretion hold fit or necessary. Wee haue therefore first by her Majesties Commandement, sent you a supply of Munitions according to your request; We haue likewise given order for Victuals in good proportion, although it seemeth to us by the Certificate of the Victualler, that you were better stored at your writing, then you knew for: Wee haue also given order for Oates to be presently sent you; and because you haue so good use of a Ship for transporting of Victualls to and fro, besides the service shee may doe, in mastering those Barques and Boats which offend the Coast, wee haue sent Captaine *Harvie* with a good Ship for that purpose. And now that you may know, what Letters wee haue intercepted out of Spaine, concerning those bruits which wee perceiue are spread of Spanish succours, you shall receiue the Copies of three Letters, whereof wee haue the Originall, which were committed to the charge of *Peter Strong* of *Waterford*, whose Ship and Goods were taken in *Famouth*, where they were put in by storme; One of them comes from the Governour of the Groyne, and another from a Fryer that resideth with him, the third from one *Sennock*, who as it seemeth, being unwilling to haue *Tyrone* deceived, sheweth him truely how little reason they haue to trust to any of the Spanish Succours as they expect; of these you may make such use as you thinke good. As concerning your desire, to know what shall become of the Lady *Ioane* of *Desmond*, wee thinke you should doe well to set her at libertie againe as shee was before, referring the care of her well doing to some of her Sisters, that may haue an eye over her. We doe also require you still to foresee, that her Majesties Forces being now so much diminished, may not bee spent in maintaining private mens Castles and houses, but where those places are of use for her Majesties service. Lastly, concerning the Fine imposed on the Major of *Limrick*, for which we finde you had so just occasion, wee wish you in no wise to remit it, but rather to bestow it upon the repaire of her Majesties Castle there, which as it seemeth, will serue to so good purpose for her Majesties service: And so wee bid your Lordship very heartily farewell. From the Court at *Whitehall* the 28 of *April* 1601.

Your Lordships very loving Friends,

Thomas Egerton. C.

Ro. Cecill.

Tho. Backhurst.

Ioh. Fortescue.

W. Knowles.

I. Herbert.

1601.
May 28.
Thereport of
Derm. Mac
Awlie touch-
ing the com-
ming of Vl-
ster men into
Mounster.

The eight and twentieth day *Dermond Mac Awlie*, who was lately come out of Vlster, and daily conversant with the Traytors of Mounster, and acquainted with all their proceedings and Councell, by mediation of friends, made his repaire to the President, and being examined whether they intended to come againe with new forces into the Province, hee affirmed that at his departure from them, they were ready to come away, and did particularize what Munitions, and Money every one of them was furnished withall, by *Tyrone*, viz.

The Lo. of Lixnaw, { Calievers, 40.
Powder Barrells, 02.
Lead one Sow, 01
Match, faddoms 120
Money, 14. pound.

John fits Thomas. { Calievers, 25.
Powder Barrells, 01.
Lead Sowes, $\frac{1}{2}$
Match faddoms, 1
Money, 10. li.

Pierce Lacie. { Calievers, 20.
Powder Barrells, 01.
Lead Sowes, $\frac{1}{2}$
Match faddoms, 1
Money, 8. li.

Mac Donogh. { Calievers, 25.
Powder Barrells, 01.
Lead Sowes, $\frac{1}{2}$
Match, 1
Money, 12. li.

Redmond Burke. { Calievers, 150.
Powder Barrells, 10.
Lead Sowes, 05.
Match, 1
Money, 500. li.

Teg Orourke. { Calievers, 150.
Powder Barrells, 10.
Lead Sowes, 05.
Match, 1
Money, 500. li.

From

From Odonnell to

Teg Kewgh.	Calievers,	12
	Powder Barrells,	12
	Lead Sowes,	1/2
	Match Fathomes,	
	Money,	40. li.

CHAP. III.

James fits Thomas, the titular Earle of Desmond taken Prisoner. James fits Thomas kept Prisoner in the Lord Presidents house. His arrangements and condemnations. His relation presented to the Lord President. The Lord Presidents Letter to Her Majesty. Two Letters from James fits Thomas to the King of Spaine. The causes of the Rebellion in Mounster as James fits Thomas alleaged. Hulfies reports of the causes of the Rebellion in Mounster.

Here was no man of account in all Mounster, whom the President had not oftentimes laboured about the taking of the reputed Earle, still lurking secretly within this Province, promising very bountifull and liberall rewards to all, of any such as would draw such a draught whereby he might be gotten alive or dead, every man entertained these proffers, as being resolute in performing the same service, although they never conceived any such thought; but at last it hapned after this manner. The Lord Barry having one hundred men in pay from the Queene, employed them many times about such service, as either the President should command or himselfe thought requisite; and namely about the fourteenth of May, knowing that one Dermond Odogan, a Harper dwelling at Garrydiffe, used to harbour this Arch-rebell, or else upon occasion of some stealth that had beene made in his Countrey, the thieues making towards this Fastnesse, his Souldiers pursued them into this Wood, where by good fortune, this supposed Earle with two of the Baldones and this Dermond were gathered together, being almost ready to goe to supper; but having discovered these Souldiers, they left their meate, and made hastero shift for themselves; they were no sooner gone out of the Cabbin, but the Souldiers were come in, and finding this provision and a Mantle (which they knew belonged to James fits Thomas) they followed the chase of the Stag now roused. By this time the Harper had conveyed the Sigan Earle into the thickest part of the Fastnesse, and himselfe with his two other Companions, of purpose discovered themselves to the Souldiers, and left the Wood with the

James fits Thomas the titular Earle of Desmond taken by the White Knight, and brought to the Lord President.

Lap-

1601.

Lapwings policie; that they being busied in pursuite of them, the other might remaine secure within that Fastnesse, and so indeed it fell out; for the Souldiers supposing that *James fits Thomas* had beene of that Company, made after them till Evening, by what time they had recovered the White Knights Countrey, where being past hope of any farther service, they returned to Barry-court, and informed the Lord *Barry* of all those accidents: On the next morning, the Lord *Barry* glad of so good a cause of complaint against the White Knight, whom hee hated, hasteth to the President, and relating unto him all these particulars, signifieth what a narrow escape the Arch-traytor had made, and that if the White Knights people had assisted his Souldiers, hee could not possibly haue escaped their hands: Hereupon the White Knight was presently sent for, who being called before the President, was rebuked with sharpe words and bitter reprehensions, for the negligence of his Countrey in so important a busines, and was menaced, that for so much as hee had undertaken for his whole Countrey; therefore hee was answerable both with life and lands, for any default by them made: The White Knight receiving these threatnings to heart, humbly intreated the President to suspend his judgement for a few dayes, vowing upon his soule, that if the said *Desmond* were now in his Countrey (as was asserted) or should hereafter repaire thither, hee would giue the President a good account of him aliue or dead, otherwise he was contented that both his Lands and Goods should remaine at the Queenes mercy; and with these protestations he departed: And presently repairing to Sir *George Thornton*, hee recounted unto him the sharpe reproofes, which from the President hee had received; Sir *George* finding him thus well netled, tooke hold of the occasion, & never left urging him to performe the service, untill he had taken his corporall oath (upon a booke) that he would employ all his endeavours to effect the same: Assoone as he was returned to his house, he made the like moane unto some of his faithfullest Followers; as hee had done to Sir *George Thornton*, and to stirre up their minds to helpe him in the perill hee stood; hee promised him, that could bring unto him word where *James fits Thomas* was, he would giue him fiftie pound in money, the inheritance of a Plough land, to him and his Heires for ever, with many immunities and freedoms. One of his Followers, which loved him dearly, compassionating the perplexity hee was in, but would you indeed (said he) lay hands upon *James fits Thomas*, if you knew where to find him? the Knight confirmed it with protestations, then follow me said he, and I will bring you where he is: The White Knight, and hee with sixe or seven more (whereof *Redmond Burke* of Muskry-quirke was one) presently upon the nine and

29. May.

twen-

1601.
29. May.

twentie ninth of May tooke horse, and were guided to a Caue in the Mountaine of Slewgorr, which had but a narrow mouth, yet deepe in the ground, where the Caytiffe Earle (accompanied onely with one of his foster brothers called *Thomas Ophaghie*) was then lurking: The White Knight called *James fits Thomas* requiring him to come out, and render himselfe his Prisoner: But contrariwise hee presuming upon the greatnes of his quality, comming to the Caues mouth required *Redmond Burke* and the rest to lay hands upon the Knight, (for both hee and they were his naturall Followers) but the vvheele of his fortune being turned, vvith their swords drawen they entréd the Caue, and vvithout resistance disarming him and his foster Brother, they delivered them bound to the White Knight, who caried him to his Castle of Kilvenny, and presently dispatched a Messenger to Sir *George Thornton*, to pray him to send some of the Garison, of *Kilmallock* to take the charge of him, which employment was committed to the care of Captaine *Francis Slingsby*, who marching with his Company to Kilvenny, had the Prisoner delivered unto him, and from thence vvith as much expedition as might bee, the White Knight, Sir *George Thornton*, and Captaine *Slingsby* brought them unto the President, then residing at Shandon Castle adjoyning to Corke. But how the White Knight performed his promise to his Servant it may bee doubted; though he had one thousand pound given him from Her Majestie for the service.

James fits Thomas kept Prisoner in the Lord Presidents house.

The President having thus gotten his long desired prey, not adventuring to haue him kept in the Towne, appointed him lodging and a Keeper vvithin Shandon Castle, where himselfe then remayned, and there held him in Irons, untill he was sent into England, which was yet deferred; for the President being informed by the Queenes learned Councell, that if he should dye before his arraignment, the Queene could not be interressed in his Lands, but by act of Parliament, and also his Brother *John*, was not debarred by the Law from the title, which this Pretender holdeth to be good in the Earledome of Desmond. When the White Knight had delivered his Prisoner, *James fits Thomas* into Captaine *Slingsbys* custody; he told him, now the house is yours, take care and charge of him.

And in conference vvith Captaine *Slingsby*, told him how much it grieved him, that the Lord President should suspect him to bee a Releever of *James fits Thomas*, contrary to his protestation of service to Her Majestie and to him; and to make it the better appeare what infinite prejudice hee had received by his meanes. For first at the comming of *Tyrone* into Mounster, *James fits Thomas* having some jealousie (and not vvithout cause) that the White Knight would quit the confederacie, and humbly seeke Her Majesties gracious favour,

1601.

acquainted *Tyrone* with it, who thereupon apprehended him, and willed him either to put in his Sonne *John* as Pledge of his perseverance, or else hee must detaine him Prisoner: which the White Knight being neither able nor willing to performe, committed him to the custody of *Redmond Burke*, who caried him out of the countrey, making him lackie it by his horse side on foote like a common Horse-boy; and that in his absence his Countrey being thus distracted for want of a Head, the Earle of Ormond came with some forces, preying, burning, and spoyling most part of his Countrey; and that he was forced to pay unto *Redmond Burke* two hundred pound ransom after three moneths imprisonment with this ill vsage, concluding that it might well be beleaved, hee had small cause to doe those favours to *James fits Thomas* (which were suspected) considering hee had received those harmes and losses from him, who was never able to repayr him of the least part thereof. But it may well be conceived that the White Knight had not (untill he was so pressed by the President) made any diligent inquiry after him; and that if he had more timely sought it, he might sooner have effected it.

Captaine *Slingsby* having now the Prisoner and the whole house and keyes committed over to his charge and keeping, setting his Guards and Sentinels both within the house and without, as was fitting for the Guard of so welcome a Prisoner, went to where the said *James* was to be his Watch that night, and judging a man in his case not capable of any favour from Her Majestie (as being the principall cause of all the rebellion of Mounster, though otherwise none of the bloodiest enemies) could take no comfort, in discourse was silent by him, not willing to grieve him with discouraging on that which hee thought could not bee pleasing unto him, untill *James fits Thomas* himselfe first ministred occasion, who having had some notice what Captaine *Slingsby* was, after some complements, began in some sort to extenuate, though not to excuse his former faults to Her Majestie, how he was inforced to take that title upon him, otherwise his brother *John* would not have beene so nice in the accepting; and that hee never shed any English blood in the first insurrection, nor suffered any to doe it that hee could withhold (though many of his Followers did not so piously observe it) but with the best respect of humanity, did cause them to be sent out of the Countrey to the next coast Townes with the least offence that might be, and therefore hoped Her Majestie, who had extended her clemencie to farre greater crimes (though it was his hard fortune to bee so eminent a man in that action) she would now retract nothing of Her wonted goodness and mercy: Intimating withall his Father to bee elder brother to *Gerrot*, Earle of Desmond, who by the power of his Mother a

second

1601.

second wife was disinherited, and her sonne, though a younger received and acknowledged for Earle of Desmond. With these and other discourses they spent the whole night untill it was day, when they made ready to goe to Corke to the Lord President, to deliver the Prisoner.

Vpon these reasons, the Prisoner at a Sessions (holden in Corke for that purpose) was indicted, arraigned, convicted, and adjudged, to bee executed as a notorious Traytor; which being done, the President advertised all the proceedings into England, and desired that he might be sent to the Tower of London, and there to remaine in prison; humbly praying that his life might bee spared, in policie of State; for whilest hee lived, his brother *John* could not make any pretext to the Earledome; whereas to the contrary, he being dead, it was very probable that the Rebels would set him up (for a new Idoll) in his place, whereof what inconveniences might ensue was apparant. These reasons although they are subject to every mans understanding that hath common sense; and therefore no marvell, that the Lord President should light upon them: Behold here what the Captive Earle himselfe doth say concerning that point, who being Prisoner in the Presidents house, having the favour to haue Paper and Inke, upon the third of Iune, one thousand sixe hundred and one, wrote this which insueth; humbly intreating the President to send it to Her Majestie, or to the Lords of her Councell in England, which hee performed in his next dispatch.

James fits Thomas arraigned and condemned.

3. Iunij.

The Relation of Iames of Desmond, to the Right Honourable Sir George Carew, Lord President of Mounster, most humbly beseeching your Honour to certifie Her Majesty, and the Lords of her most Honourable Councell of the same: Hoping in the Almighty, that Her Highnesse of her accustomed clemencie and mercy, by your intercession, will take most gracious and mercifull consideration thereof, to the end that Her Majesties Realme of Ireland shall be the better planted, and maintained in good government by his release. The third of Iune, 1601.

A Relation presented to the Lord President by Iames fits Thomas and sent into England.

First it may please your Honour to consider, that this action at the beginning was never pretended, intended, nor drawen by mee, nor my consent; but by my Brother *John*, and *Pierce Lacy*, having the oathes and promises of divers Noblemen, and Gentlemen of this Province, to maintaine the same, and not ever consented unto by me, untill Sir *Thomas Norris* left Kilmallock, and the Irish forces camped at Rekeloe in Connolough, where they stayed five or sixe dayes; the most part of the Countrey combining and adjoyning with them,

1601.

and undertooke to hold with my Brother *John*, if I had not come to them; the next Sessions (before these proceedings) at Corke, Sir *Thomas Norris* arrested me (in person) therefore my Brother, he being then suspected by him, and intended to keepe me in perpetuall prison for him, untill I made my escape; by this the intent of Sir *Thomas Norris* being knowen, the feare and terrification thereof drew me into this action; and had I beene assured of my liberty, and not clapt up in prison for my Brothers offence, I had never entred into this action: Further, I was bordered with most English neighbours, of the Gentlemen of this Province, I dese any English that can charge me with hindring of them, either in body or goods; but as many as ever came in my presence, I conveyed them away from time to time.

Also it is to bee expected, that the Spanish Forces are to come into Ireland this Summer, and *O'neale* will send up the strongest Army of Northren men into Mounster, with my Brother *John*, the Lord of Lixnaw, and *Pierce Lacy*; and when they are footed in Mounster, the most part of the Countrey will joyne with them: Preventing this, and many other circumstances of service, the saving of my life, is more beneficiall for Her Majestie then my death: For if it may please Her Majestie to be gracious unto me, I will reclaime my Brother, the Lord of Lixnaw, and *Pierce Lacy*, if it please Her Majesty to be gracious unto them, or else so diligently worke against them with Her Majesties forces, and your directions, that they shall not be able to make head, or stirre in Mounster at all; for by the saving of my life, Her Highnesse will winne the hearts in generall of all her Subjects, and people in Ireland, my owne service, and continuance of my alliance in dutifull sort, all the dayes of their liues.

Farther, I most humbly beseech your Honour to foresee, that there are three others, of my Sept and race alivie; the one is in England, my Vncle *Garrets Sonne*, *James*, set at liberty by Her Majestie, and in hope to obtaine Her Majesties favour, my Brother in Ulster, and my Cousen *Maurice fits John* in Spaine; wherewith it may be expected, that either of these (if I were gone) by Her Majesties favour, might be brought in credit, and restored to the House: It may therefore please Her Majestie to be gracious unto me, assuring to God and the world, that I will bee true and faithfull to Her Majestie during life: By which meanes Her Majesties government may bee the better settled; my selfe and all others my Alliance, for ever bound to pray for Her Majesties life, long to continue.

But afterward being examined by the President, and the Provinciaall Councill: He added some other reasons for his taking of Armes against her Majestie, which in its due place shall bee mentioned:

In

In the dispatch which the President made into England upon his apprehension, he wrote a Letter to her Majestie as followeth.

*The Lord Presidents Letter to Her
Majestie.*

SACRED AND DREAD SOVERAIGNE,

TO my unspeakable Joy, I have received your Majesties Letters signed with your Royall hand, and blessed with an extraordinary addition to the same, which although it cannot increase my faith and zeale in your Majesties Service, which from my cradle (I thank God for it) was ingrafted in my Heart, yet it infinitely multiplies my comforts in the same; and wherein my endeavours and poore services shall appeare to bee short of such inestimable favours, my never dying prayers for your Majesties eternall prosperitie, shall never faile to the last day of life. But when I compare the felicitie which other men enjoy, with my unfortunate Destinie, to bee deprived from the sight of your Royal person, which my heart with all loyall affection (inferiour to none) ever more attends, I live like one lost to himselfe, and without my dayes in torment of minde, untill it shall please your sacred Majestie to redeme mee from this exile, which unlesse it bee for my finnes, (upon the knees of my heart) I doe humbly beseech your Majestie to commiserate, and to shorten the same as speedily as may bee, since my time of banishment in this rebellious Kingdome (for better then a banishment I cannot esteeme my fortune, that deprives mee from beholding your Majesties Person) although I have not done as much as I desire in the charge I undergoe, yet to make it appeare that I have not been idle, (I thank God for it) I have now at length, by the meanes of the White Knight, gotten into my hands the bodie of James fits Thomas that Arch-traytour, and usurping Earle, whom for a present with the best convenience and safetie which I may finde, I will by some trustie Gentleman send unto your Majestie, whereby I hope this Province is made sure from any present defection. And now that my taske is ended, I doe in all humilitie beseech, that in your Princely commiseration my exile may end, protesting the same to bee a greater affliction to mee then I can well indure: for as my faith is undivided, and onely professed, (as by divine and humane Lawes the same is bound) in vassalage to your Majestie; so doth my heart covet nothing so much, as to bee evermore attendant on your sacred Person, accounting it a happinesse unto mee, to dye at your feet: not doubting but that your Majestie out of your princely and royall bountie, will enable me by some meanes or other to sustaine the rest of my dayes in your service; and that my fortune shall not be the worse in that I am not any importunate craver; Or yet in not using other arguments to moove your Majestie therunto, then

1601.

3. June.

this, Assai dimanda qui ben serve e face. So most humbly beseeching your Majesties pardon, in troubling you with these Lines, unworthy your divine eyes, doe kisse the shadowes of your Royall feet. From your Majesties Citie of Corke this third of Iune. 1601.

I may well tearme him a notorious Traytour, because hee was within one yeare before his apprehension, the most mightie and potent *Geraldine* that had been of any the Earles of Desmond, his predecessors: For it is certainly reported, that he had eight thousand men well armed under his commaund at one time, all which hee employed against his lawfull Sovereigne; and secondly, a notorious Traytour, because hee sought to bring a most infamous slander upon a most vertuous and renowned Prince, (his Queene and Mistresse) with his false suggestions unto forraine Princes; and notwithstanding that her Name was eternized with the shrill sounding Trumpet of triumphant Fame, for the meekest and mildest Prince that ever raigned, yet was not hee ashamed, (so farre had the rancour of malice corrupted his venomous heart) to inculcate into the Eares of the Pope, and Spanish King, that shee was more tyrannicall then *Pharaoh*, and more blood-thirstie then *Nero*: But because I may bee thought to faine these allegations, to aggravate his treasons, I will therefore (for satisfaction of the Reader) set downe the very words of two his Letters, bearing one date, which hee sent to the King of Spaine.

*A Letter from James fits Thomas to the King
of Spaine.*

Most mighty Monarch, I humbly salute your imperiall Majesty, giving your Highnesse to understand of our great misery, and violent order wherewith wee are of long time oppressed by the English Nation: Their government is such as *Pharaoh* himselfe never vsed the like; for they content not themselves with all temporall superiority, but by cruelty desire our blood, and perpetuall destruction, to blot out the whole remembrance of our posterity; as also our old Catholike Religion, and to sweare that the Queene of England is Supream of the Church. I referre the consideration hereof to your Majesties high judgement; for that *Nero* in his time was farre inferior to that Queene in cruelty. Wherefore, and for the respects thereof, high, mighty Potentate, my selfe, with my Followers and Retainers; And being also requested by the Bishops, Prelates, and religious men of my Countrey, haue drawn my sword, and proclaimed warres against them, for the recovery first of Christs Catho-

Catholike religion, and next for the maintenance of my owne right, which of long time hath beene wrongfully detained from mee and my father, who by right succession was lawfull Heire to the Earldome of Desmond; for hee was eldest Sonne to *James* my Grandfather, who was Earle of Desmond; and for that my Vncle *Gerald* (being the younger brother) tooke part with the wicked proceedings of the *Queene of England*, to further the unlawfull claime of supremacie, vsurped the name of Earle of Desmond in my fathers true title; yet notwithstanding hee had not long enjoyed his name of Earle, when the wicked English annoyed him, and prosecuted wars, that hee with the most part of those that held of his side, was slaine, and his Countrey thereby planted with Englishmen: And now by the just judgement and providence of God, I haue utterly rooted those malepart bowes out of the Orchard of my Countrey, and haue profited so much in my proceedings, that my dastardly enimies dare not shew their faces in any part of my Countrey, but having taken my Townes and Cities, for their refuge and strength, where they doe remaine (as yet were Prisoners) for want of meanes to assault them, as Cannon and Powder which my Countrey doth not yeeld. Having these wants most noble Potentate, I haue presumed with all humility to addresse these my Letters to your High Majestie, craving the same of your gracious clemencie and goodnesse, to assiste mee in this godly enterprise, with some helpe of such necessaries for the warres, as your Majestie shall thinke requisite; and (after the quiet of my Countrey) satisfaction shall bee truly made for the same, and my selfe in person with all my forces, shall bee ready to serue your Highnesse, in any Countrey your Majestie shall command me. And if your Majestie will vouchsafe to send me a competent number of Souldiers, I will place them in some of my Townes and Cities, to remaine in your gracious disposition, till such time as my abilitie shall make good, what your Majestie shall lend me in money and munition: and also your Majesties high Commission under the broad Seale for leading and conducting of these Souldiers, according to the prescript order and articles of martiall discipline, as your Majestie shall appoint me, and as the service of the Land shall require. I praise the Almighty God, I haue done by his goodnesse more then all my Predecessors; for I haue reclaimed all the Nobility of this part, under the dutifull obedience of Christs Church, and mine owne authority, and accordingly haue taken pledges, and corporall oathes, never to swarue from the same; and would haue sent them to your Majestie, by this Bearer, but that the Ship was not of sufficiencie and strength to carry so noble personages, and will send them whensoever your Highnesse please. So there resteth nothing to quiet this part
of

1601.

of the world; but your Majesties assistance, which I daily expect: Thus most mighty Monarch, I humbly take my leave, and doe kisse your Royall hands, beseeching the Almighty of your Majesties health and happinesse: From my Campe the fourteenth day of March, 1599.

Your Majesties most humble
at all command

James Desmond.

*An other Letter from James Fitz Thomas to the
King of Spaine.*

Your Majestie shall understand, that the bearer hereof *Captaine Andrew Roche*, hath beene alwayes in the service of the *Queene of England*, and hath performed her manifold services at Sea: whereby he had great preferment and credit, and being of late time conversant with Catholikes, and teachers of divine Instructions, that were sorry for his lewd life, made known unto him the danger wherein his soule was; so that by their godly perswasions, hee was at that time reclaimed, and subverted to bee a good Catholike, and to spend the residue of his life in the defence and service of the Church; since which time of reconciliation, hee was to repaire to your Majestie with his Ship and Goods, as is well known to your Highnesse Councell, who confiscated that Ship to your Majesties use; himselfe being at that time stricken with extreame sickness, that hee was not able to proceed in the voyage; and when his Company returned into Ireland, they reported that the Lantado wished rather his person then the Ship, which made him fearefull ever since to repaire thither, till hee should deserue his freedome by some worthy service to your Majestie.

The Heire apparant to the Crowne of England, had beene caried by him to your Highnesse, but that he was bewrayed by some of his owne men, and thereby was intercepted, and himselfe taken Prisoner, where he remained of long, till by the Providence of God, and the helpe of good friends, hee was conveyed into Ireland to mee in a small Boat; and leaving these occasions to your Imperiall Majesty, and being assured of his trust, faith, and confidence towards mee, haue committed this charge into his hands; the rather for that I understand your Royall Fleete is directed for England this yeare, to the end he may be a Leader and Conductor to them in the Coast of England and Ireland, being very expert in the knowledge thereof, and in
the

the whole art of Navigation. And thus with all humility I commit your Highnesse to the Almighty: From my Campe the fourteenth of March, 1599

Your Majesties most humble
at all command.

James Desmond.

Consider I beseech thee gentle Reader, into what proud arrogancie, and audacious insolency this Arch-traytor was elevated (like a Vapor in a Sunshine day) when blind fortune laught upon him; the Queene a Tyrant, the English all cowards, the Cities and walled Townes all his, and the Mounster Nobilitie subdued under his authority; was there ever Rebelle so farre transported with ambitious presumption, beyond the limits of reason? was it not sufficient for him like cursed *Shimei*, or blacke mouthed railing *Rabshakeh*, to revile the Lords annoynted, but he must challenge her territories, her Cities, her People, and her Nobilitie (whom shee and her ancestors had created) to be his owne, who had no portion nor inheritance in any part thereof, being the Impe of a borne Bastard. But surely I must perswade my selfe, all this was permitted by the unsearchable sapience of the alseeing Deity, who even as hee caused proud *Lucifer* to bee throne from the Chaire of highest Majestie, (whereunto hee presumed) into the lowest Dungeon of darke obscurity, for ever to bee tormented; so did hee suffer this aspiring *Absolon*, to magnifie himselfe in the height of vaine glory, *Vi lapsu graviore ruat*, that being throwen headlong downe from the Pinnacle of ambition, he might for ever bee poynted at as an exemplary mirror for all insolent Traytors.

Whilest hee remayned Prisoner in Shandon, the President thought good to send for him oftentimes, before himselfe and the Councell, and there to examine him upon such particulars, as they thought most materiall for the advancement of the present service. And amongst the rest, they questioned him concerning the originall causes and principall motiues, that induced this late rebellion in Mounster; hee answered that the foundation principally was religion, then the Vndertakers encroaching upon Gentlemens lands, the feare of English Inuries passing upon Irish mens liues, the taking notice of slight evidence upon such arraignements, the generall feare conceived of the safetie of their liues, by the example of the execution of *Redmond fits Gerald* and *Donoghe Mac Craghe*, and the great charge (which was yeerely exacted) for Her Majestie out of every Plough-land

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within

*The causes
of the rebel-
lion in
Mounster as
James fits
Thomas
alleged.*

1601.

Hussey's report of the causes of the rebellion in Monnster.

within the Province, called the composition rent; and because these his pretences, doe not much vary from the allegations (sumpted) by *Oliver Hussey*, a Schoole-master, a most pernicious member in this traiterous combination, I haue thought fit to interpose the same in this place. This *Hussey* therefore examined upon the same Interrogatories, answered as followeth.

First the Countrey was (much against their wils) driven to pay composition to the Queene, for three yeares upon certaine Covenants: These Covenants were not observed on Her Majesties part, nor yet the composition ceased at the determination of the said tearme: Wherefore they thought the Composition would not only bee continued, but also augmented from time to time, at the pleasure of their Superiours, till they should bee weary of their Lands. Many new and extraordinary wayes were sought out in concealments (and such like) to the great discomfort and feare of Landlords and Freeholders.

The extortions and unlawfull dealings of Sheriffs, and other like officers, to rob the Countrey-men of their goods; for they did use to keepe many Courts (for gaine) and not for Iustice, they did use to bring many Writs from Dublin, for very small causes, they did use to buy old caveling titles, to receiue bribes, for not going to poore Gentlemens houses, and other like inconveniences.

The continuall vexation by Proccesses from the spirituall Court, where by Fines and Bribes (to save mens consciences) they were greatly grieved, and specially by the High Commission.

The manner of execution of *Donogh Mac Craige*, and *Redmond fits Gerald*, and seeking of *Thomas fits Maurice* his blood, did greatly discomfort them, fearing that every of their liues were in like danger.

The severall examinations of these two (being both deeply engaged in the action) I haue therefore inserted into this present relation. First that the world may bee satisfied, upon what weake pretexts, and imaginary supposed conjectures the Rebellion was grounded: And therefore the former scandalous suggestions which Hell had devised, and the Popes damned Legat had forged against Her Majestie, were the more abominable. And secondly, that those Officers that should succeed in governing this kingdome, might carefully shun and warily avoid all Bribery, Corruption, and Partiality, that the exclayming mouths of these discontented people, may bee either altogether shut, or else opening the same, they may spue out nothing but their owne shame. But to proceed.

About the beginning of this Moneth of Iune, the President received gracious Letters from Her sacred Majestie, wherein she acknowledged


ledging her thankfulnesse for his services, and signified her pleasure unto him concerning base monies, and withall shee sent the Proclamation, and the Articles betweene her and Sir George Cary Knight, Treasurer of Ireland, touching the exchange for the alteration of the said monies, all which doe here ensue.

C H A P. IIII.

A Letter from Her Majesty to the Lord President concerning base Monies. A Proclamation concerning base Monies. Articles betweene Her Majestie and the Treasurer as Warres for Ireland, concerning base Monies.

A Letter from her Maiestie to the Lord President
concerning base Moneys.

Your loving Sovereigne,
ELIZABETH R.

 Rustie and welbeloved, Wee greet you well: Although We haue forborne when we intended to haue made knownen unto you by some expresse testimonie from Our selfe, Our acceptance of your Services, yet We haue given particular charge to Our Councell, that they should in Our Name make you perceiue our liking of your proceedings, in such sort, as you might not conceiue that either the report of them came not to our eares, or that you served a Prince not willing to acknowledge the good merits of her Servants. But now that cause is ministred unto vs, to giue charge vnto you of other matters specially concerning our service; We thought it convenient to incourage you to that which followeth, by thanks-giving for that which is past, and by assuring you by our owne Letters, that as you haue not deceived our expectation of your sufficiencie, or our trust reposed in your faith, So will not wee be wanting on our part, to manifest how acceptable these things are vnto vs, whensoever Wee finde them in

1601.

any one, whom Wee haue conferred trust in imployment. The matter that now Wee thinke meet to acquaint you with, is, that having found by long experience, that the vsing of sterling moneys in the payment of our Armie there, and for our other Services, doeth bring marveilous inconveniences both to that Realme, and to this; And that the wisdom of all our Progenitors (for the most part) did maintaine a difference betweene the Coynes of both Realmes, (that in Ireland being ever inferiour in goodnesse to that of this Realme) howsoever by error of late crept in, it hath beene otherwise tollerated to the infinite losse of this Kingdome, Our Moneyes being out of that Realme transported into forraine Countreyes, for lacke of Marchandise. We haue thought it reason to revieue the ancient course of our Progenitors in that matter of Moneyes, and haue caused a Coine proper for that Our realme of Ireland, to be stamped heere, of such a Standard as Wee finde to haue beene in use for the same, and doe now send a great quantitie thereof thither by Our Treasurer at Warres, to bee imployed for the payment of Our armie, and for other vses, and the same doe authorise by Our Proclamation, and decree all other Moneys. In the establishing of which course, as we doubt not but Our Deputie and Councell there, will as they are by Vs commanded, proceed according to such directions as wee haue given them: So because the Province (whereof you haue charge) is a place of most Traffique of any other of that Kingdome, and therefore in it, it is most likely that Marchants at the first shew of such an Inuocation, will for private respects bee most opposite: Wee haue thought it fit to giue you particular notice of this our purpose, and to require you to use all your authoritie and your judgement likewise toward our people there, as well of the Townes as others, to make this new course pleasing and well liking to them, upon such reasons as are contained in our Proclamation, publishing the same, and as you may gather touching the same out of such other matters as haue passed from vs to our Deputie and Councell there, or betwene vs and

our

our Treasurer of Ireland concerning this matter, whereof wee haue given order, that herewith Copies shall bee sent vnto you, by which you will be sufficiently instructed of apparant reasons to leade vs to doe it, although it be a matter which wee need not make gracious with any reason at all, being meerely dependant of our Prerogatiue, to alter the Standerd of our Moneys at our pleasure. Wherefore, though wee nothing doubt of your forwardnesse, to further whatsoever wee finde reason to command: Yet we require you in this thing, as a matter which wee would haue well founded in the first establishing, to giue all attention of it, as well by your owne actions, as by assisting Our Treasurer and his Deputies in the uttering of these newe Moneyes, and bringing in all others according to the course of Our Exchange, which by Our Proclamation you may perceiue that wee haue instituted to make the matter better accepted of Our people. Given vnder Our Signet at Our Manour of Greenwich this sixteenth day of May, one thousand sixe hundred and one, in the three and fourtieth yeere of Our Raigne.

*The Copie of the Proclamation for
publishing the new Money
for Ireland.*

THe Queenes most excellent Majestie, finding by the Records of both her Realmes of England and Ireland, that in the times of diuers her Progenitors, Kings of England and Ireland, it hath beene accustomed as a thing by them found convenient for the good of the loyall Subjects of both Realmes; that there should bee a difference betweene the Standerds of the monies allowed to bee currant, in each of her said Realmes; and knowing by many Lawes of this her Realme of England; and namely by one made in the third yeare, and another in the nineteenth yeare of Her Majesties Grandfather of famous memory King Henry the seventh, that the transportation of monies of the Coyne and Standard of England, into that his Realme of Ireland is severely forbidden under great penalties; perceiving also by experience in some part heretofore, but

A Proclamation concerning base monies.

1601.

more fully and apparantly now of late yeares, since the last Rebellions (which haue caused Her Majestie to send great summes of money into that Realme for the paiment of her Armie, & for other services) that a great part of such monies into that Realme sent, doe either come into the hands of the Rebels, by divers flights and cunninges of theirs, who by the use and meanes thereof, trafficking in forraine Countries, doe releue themselves with such warlicke provisions as they need; as with Powder, Lead, Match, Armour and Weapons of all sorts, and with Wines, Cloath, and other necessaries; without which they could not possibly so long subsist in their treasonable courses, and bring so huge Calamities to the rest of her good Subjects, and waste the whole Realme; or else the said sterling monies, aswell in respect of their goodnesse, being better then the monies of other Countries, is also for want of merchandize wherein to employ them; which that Countrey now specially since the Rebellion doth not yeeld, are partly by Merchants Strangers, and partly by the naturall Merchants of the Countrey (vsing trade in forraine Countries) transported from thence into the said Countries, to the inestimable losse and impoverishment aswell of that Realme of Ireland, as also chiefly of this Her Majesties Realme of England: Hath therefore in Her Majesties princely wisdom, entered into consideration with the advice of her Privie Councell, how these great inconveniences might be avoyded; and found after long and serious debating, that the readiest way to prevent the same, is to reduce the State of her Monies and Coynes, to the ancient course of her Progenitors, that is, to a difference in finenes, betweene the monies of this Realme of England, and that her Realme of Ireland: And for that purpose hath caused great quantities of moneys, according to the ancient Standard, which was in use for that Realme in the dayes of Her Majesties Father, Brother, and Sister, to bee coyned here into severall peeces of shillings, sixpences, and peeces of threepence, stamped with Her Highnesse Armes crowned and inscription of her vsuall stile, on the one side, and on the other with the Harpe crowned, being the Armes of that her Kingdome of Ireland with the inscription, *Posui deum Adjutorem meum*, and also certaine peeces of small moneyes of meere Copper of pence, halfe pence, and farthings, for the use of the poorer sort, stamped on each side as the other: And the same moneyes so coyned hath sent into her said Realme of Ireland thereto bee established, as the lawfull and currant moneyes of that Realme, and so to bee uttered and issued aswell to the Armies and Officers in payments to them, as also to all other her Subjects of that Realme and others there, abiding or thither resorting for trafficke, and intercourse of buying, selling, and all other manner of trading

trading amongst themselves; which sayd Coynes, as well of Silver of three ounces fine, as also of meere Copper for small Moneyes, her Majestie doeth hereby publish and make knowne to all men, to bee from thencefoorth, immediately after the publishing of this Proclamation, her Coyne of Moneyes established and authorized to bee lawfull and currant within that her Realme of Ireland, and proper to that Kingdome, and doth expressly will and command the same to bee so used, reputed, and taken of all her subjects of that Realme, and of all others conversing there; And doth expressly charge and command, that they, nor any of them, shall not after the day of the publishing heereof, refuse, reject, or denie to receive in payment of Wages, Fees, Stipend, or in payment of Debts, or in Bargaine, or for any other matter of Trade, Commerce or dealing betweene Man and Man, any of the said Moneyes of either kind, either mixt of Silver, or pure Copper, but that they shall receive and accept the same at such values and rates as they are coyned for, *viz.* shillings, for shillings, pieces of sixpence for sixpence, and so of all other the severall kinds of that Coyne respectively; Denouncing hereby to all such as shall be found wilfully, and obstinately to refuse the said Moneyes of this New Standerd, being tendered unto them in payments, or in any dealings betweene partie and partie, that they shall for that their contempt, receive such punishment, as by her Majesties Prerogative Royall, may be inflicted upon persons contemning publique Orders established for the universall good of that her Realme: And to the end the said Moneyes may the better haue their due course and passage among her Majesties subjects of that Realme, and the good intended to both the Realmes, the more speedily take place: Her Majestie doth hereby also publish and make knowne, that her pleasure is, that after the day of this present Proclamation, all other Moneyes heretofore established, tollerated, or used as lawfull or currant Moneyes within that Kingdome, shall bee decryed, annulled, and called downe, and no other Moneyes, of what Coyne, Nature, Mixture, Alloy, or Fineniesse, now used in that Realme of Ireland, bee they either Moneyes of her Majesties owne Coyne and stampe, currant here in her Realme of England, or if any her Predecessors, or of any forraine Realmes permitted heretofore to be currant there, shall bee any longer currant within her Realme of Ireland, nor offered, nor received by any person there inhabiting, or there conversing in any manner of dealing amongst men, but that all such Moneyes be from that day forward held and esteemed for Bullion onely, meet to bee mouken downe and brought into her Majesties Mint, or Exchange, there as heretofore is expressed; And although this open and publique notification of her Majesties pleasure, bee and ought to be to all
her

1601.

her Subjects, and others being in that her Realme, a sufficient declaration and warning, as well of the authorizing of the New Moneys of the New Standerd, now appoynted to be currant, and also the calling downe, and decrying of all other Moneys whatsoever, from any use there either publique or private: Yet her Highnesse being a Prince, that in her gracious disposition, doth ever affect to make all her Actions cleare and allowable, in their owne nature, rather then in the power of supream authoritie, intending in this cause to give to all persons such satisfaction as is reasonable. And in the dayes of Her Progenitors, when such Moneys were in use, was not offered, doth likewise heereby make knowne, that shee hath established an Exchange to bee had and maintained in convenient places, in both her Kingdomes of England and Ireland; as namely in Ireland, at *Dublin, Corke, Gallway, and Carrigfergus*; and in England, at *Londons, Bristow, and at Chester*, at which places shall bee from hencefoorth continually resident, Officers of her appoyntment, and in other places also of both the Realmes, where it shall bee found convenient for the ease of her Subjects; At which places, and by which Officers, all her Subjects of either her Realmes of England and Ireland, and all others resorting into her said Realme of Ireland, in trade and Marchandise, and otherwise, shall and may, from time to time, exchange and commute, as well Moneys currant of England, into Moneys of this new Standerd of Ireland; as also Moneys of this Standerd of Ireland, into Moneys of the Standerd of England, at their pleasure, in manner as is hereafter expressed.

First all persons being either Her Majesties Subjects, or the Subjects of any Prince or State, in amity with Her Majestie, who shall bring to any place of Exchange, within Ireland any monies of the Coyne of her Realme of England, or of the Coynes of any forraine Countries, or any plate or bullion, being of the Standard of England, or better, desiring to receiue for the same in England, now is currant of England, shall receiue from the Officer in Ireland a bill directed to such place of Exchange in England, where the partie shall desire to haue his payment: By which bill hee shall receiue of the Officer in England, not onely monies of England, valew for valew, by tale or by weight, of the Monies, Plate, or Bullion delivered in Ireland, but also an overplus of sixe pence English money upon every twentie shillings English, by him delivered, by tale, or of eightene pence English upon every pound weight of such Monies, Plate, or Bullion delivered by the partie by weight; and after the same rate for more or lesse, in quantity or number, delivered by weight or tale.

Item

Item, all persons being Her Majesties Subjects, or the Subjects of any Prince or State in amity with Her Majestie, which shall have in their hands any quantity or summe of the monies of this new Coyne appointed for Her Majesties Realme of Ireland, and shall be desirous to receive for the same in England, monies currant of England, and thereupon shall deliver to any of Her Majesties Officers of the Exchange in Ireland, such summes of money as hee is desirous so to exchange, hee shall receive of the said Officers in Ireland, a bill directed to such place of Exchange in England, as shall bee desired by the deliverer, by which Bill hee shall receive of the Officer in England, to whom the same is directed, the like summe of monies of England by tale, as by the Bill it shall appeare, he shall have delivered in Ireland wanting onely twelve pence in the pound: So as for every twentie shillings of the new Coyne of Ireland, delivered in Ireland, hee shall have in England nineteene shillings, currant monie of England, and after the same rate for more or lesse in quantity delivered in Ireland.

Item, if any such person having in his hands, within the Realme of Ireland monies currant of England, shall bee desirous to exchange the same there for monies now appointed to be currant in Ireland; the Officers of the Exchange there to whom hee shall bring any summe of English money to bee exchanged, shall deliver to him for every twentie shillings of English money received, one and twenty shillings of the Coyne of Ireland, and after that rate for more or lesse in quantitie received.

Item, if any person being Her Majesties Subject, or otherwise, having cause to resort into the Realme of Ireland, shall be desirous to exchange monies currant of England into monies currant of Ireland for his use there, and shall deliver to that end any English monies, to any of Her Majesties Officers of exchange here in England, the said Officers shall deliver unto the said person, a bill directed to such place of Exchange in Ireland, as the deliverer shall require, by which Bill the Officer of the Exchange in Ireland receiving the same, shall deliver to the Bringer thereof for every twenty shillings English, delivered in England, one and twenty shillings of the new Coyne of Ireland, in Ireland, and after the same rate for more or lesse in quantity delivered.

And whereas there are at this present, divers old Coynes of base allay within that Her Majesties Realme of Ireland, used and passed in payments betweene men, which being now decryed, adnulled, and called downe, Her Majestie doth thinke fit, to have the same brought in and reduced to one vniforme Coyne of this new Standard; Her Highnesse is therefore pleased that every person who shall have in

1601.

his hands any quantity of such base Coyne, and shall bring in the same to any of her Officers of her Exchange there in Ireland, that the Officer receiving the same, shall deliver to the Bringer, money for money, or vlew for vlew, of the monies of this new Standard, now appointed to bee currant in Ireland.

And forasmuch as this notorious inconvenience aforesaid, cannot bee prevented, without there bee a due observation of such Lawes of this Realme of England, as heretofore haue beene made, restraining the transporting of the monies currant in England into that Realme of Ireland, in *Specie*, wherein great disorder hath beene of late yeares committed, and thereby great inconveniences ensued; Her Majestie doth straightly charge and command, all Magistrates and Officers, to whom it shall appertaine, to see severe execution of such Lawes as doe prohibit the transportation of her Coyne of England into Ireland; and namely one Statute made in the nineteenth yeare of the raigne of Her Majesties Grandfather of famous memory King *Henry* the seventh. Her Majesties purpose being (by this Proclamation) to admonish all her Subjects of both her Realmes, and all others trading in her Realme of Ireland, that they shall from henceforth forbear all transportation of monies of England into Ireland, for that Her Majestie will cause the former Lawes (prohibiting the said transportation of money) to be so straightly looked into and executed, as the penalties thereof, shall fall heavy upon the Offenders against the same without any hope of remission.

The Copie of certaine Articles contained in the Indentures, betweene Her Majestie, and Sir George Cary, Treasurer of Ireland, touching the Exchange established upon the alteration of Monies.

Articles betweene her Majestie and the Treasurer at warres for Ireland concerning base Monies.

ITem, the said Sir *George Cary* doth covenant, &c. That hee shall and will maintaine for the better exercise of the said Exchange, according to her Majesties princely meaning, three Officers at the least within the Cities of London, Bristoll and Westchester, or so many, and in such convenient places as hee shall thinke meete, discrete persons to be there continually residing by themselves, or their sufficient deputies to attend the said Exchange, and to performe the same according to the establishment. And other officers also in other parts of this her Majesties Realme of England (if cause shall require) and likewise to place and maintaine at fower severall port Townes within her Majesties Realme of Ireland, *viz.* Dublin, Corke, Galway, and Carrigfergus, or at such of them as shall bee found requisit other

other officers who shall be there continually resident by themselves, or their sufficient deputies to attend her Majesties subjects for the exchange of their monies according to the establishment; and if cause shall require, other officers also or under ministers in other places of the said Realme of Ireland, for the ease of her Majesties subjects.

Item, the said Sir George Carie doth covenant, &c. to discharge and acquite her Majestie of all Fees, Allowances, and wages, needfull for any of the sayd Officers, or Vnder-ministers aboue mentioned, and them to maintaine, entertaine, and wage at his owne costs and charges, for and in consideration of a summe of two thousand pounds of the Moneys of this new Standerd of Ireland, mentioned in another Article of this Indenture, to bee by her Majestie allowed unto him for the Fee of himselfe, and all other Officers necessarie to bee had and used for and about this Exchange, as well in England as in Ireland; The sayd allowance of two thousand pound *per annum*, to take beginning, and to bee due unto him, from the first day of May now next ensuing the date hereof, and to continue during the time of the Exchange. And the Queenes Majestie our said Sovereigne Lady, doth covenant and agree to and with the sayd Sir George Carey, that hee as *governor* of her Highnesse sayd Exchange, shall haue full power, authoritie, and libertie, to make choyce of all Officers, and under-officers, needfull to bee had and imployed, for, and about the exercise and maintenance of his Exchange, as well within this her Highnesse Realme of England, as in Ireland, and them and every of them to nominate and place, and to them to assigne such Fees and entertainments as hee shall thinke convenient, and all and every the sayd Officers to remooue, alter, or displace, as often as to him shall be thought good, and others in their places and roomes to substitute without any interruption of her Highnesse, in or concerning the same.

Item, our said Sovereigne Lady doth covenant and agree, to and with the sayd Sir George Carey, and by these presents doth giue him power and authoritie, in and for performance of one breach of her Highnesse Proclamation aboue specified, whereby all persons are invited to bring in all manner of Sterling Moneys, or of any other Standerds, or like finenesse, or better, into her Exchange in Ireland, that hee the sayd Sir George Carey, shall and may allow to all bringers in of such Money, Plate, or Bullion, aboue the iust and true valur thereof, the summe of eightene pence currant money of England, upon every pound weight, or sixpence upon every twentie shillings by tale; the same to bee taken, default, and allowed by the sayd Sir George Carey, out of such profits as doe arise unto her Highnesse upon this Exchange.

1601.

And our Sovereigne Lady doeth covenant and agree, to and with the sayd Sir George Carey, and by these presents doeth warrant and authorise him, that to all her subjects of her Realmes of England and Ireland, and to all Strangers, Merchants, or others, being subjects of such Princes or States as are in amitie with her Highnesse, which shall bring to any place, for the Exchange appoynted within the Realme of Ireland, any Moneyes of this new Standerd of Ireland, and desire to receive for the same, moneyes currant of England heere within this Realme of England, That the sayd Sir George Carey, may deliver unto them and every of them here in England, moneyes currant of this her Realme, by tale, for tale, viz. twentie shillings sterling, for every twentie shillings of her new Coyne, detaining only, and rebating to her Highnesse use, twelue pence sterling upon every twentie shillings so to bee delivered for twentie shillings of her sayd new Coyne, and after the same rate for more or lesse in quantitie.

Item, our sayd Sovereigne Lady doeth covenant and agree, &c. That hee shall and may to all persons which within her Highnesse realme of Ireland, shall at any of the places for the Exchange appoynted, deliver to him or his Deputies, the value of twenty shillings sterling, in money, plate, or bullion, and desire to receive for the same, moneyes Irish of this new coyne, for every value of twenty shillings, the summe of one and twenty shillings eight pence Irish by tale, and after the same rate for more or lesse in quantitie.

And our Sovereigne Ladie, &c. That hee or his Assignes shall or may to all and every persons, which at any of the places for the Exchange appoynted, heere within this Realme of England, shall deliver any Moneyes, Plate, or Bullion of the Standerd of England, to the end to receive for the same, within the Realme of Ireland, moneyes of the new Coyne of that Realme, pay, or deliver unto them for the value of every twenty shillings sterling, one and twenty shillings Irish by the tale, and after that rate for more or lesse in quantitie.

Item, our said Sovereigne Lady, &c. That hee shall and may, to all and every persons, bringing into any place for the exchange appointed in Ireland, monies of base alloy, heretofore currant, or now used within the Realme, deliver by himselfe or his deputies, like quantities by weight of the monies of this new Coyne, as he or his deputies shall receive of any such old base monies by weight.

Item, our said Sovereigne Lady doth, &c. That she wil allow unto the said Sir Geo. Cary, or his Assignes for the charges of transportation of the monies of this new Coyne, from her Tower of London into her Majesties said Realme of Ireland, aswell to the Citie of Dublin,

as to

as to any other places where Exchanges are to be established, or payments to bee made for her service, after the rate of twentie pounds of this new Standard, upon every thousand pound of the same coyne, the same to bee allowed unto him upon his account, as her Majesties Treasurer at warres in Ireland.

Item, our said Sovtraigne Lady doth, &c. That whensoever and as often as any of the monies of this new Standard of Ireland, after their first uttering, in payment to her Highnesse Armie there, being brought backe againe to the Exchange to be converted in sterling, or otherwise shall by her Majesties commandement bee uttered againe for her Highnesse service in payment of her Armie, or otherwise: That so often her Highnesse will allow to the said Sir George Cary or his Assignes, after the rate of ten pounds of this new Standard, upon every thousand pounds of the same coyne by tale, the same to bee allowed unto him, upon his account as Treasurer of her Highnesse warres in Ireland.

Item, our said Sovereigne Lady doth, &c. That shee will allow unto the said Sir George Cary for all such summes of money, as shall by her Highnesse from time to time, bee sent or delivered out of her Exchequer, for the furnishing & maintenance of this Exchange after the rate of ~~ten~~ upon every thousand pounds by tale. The said Sir George Cary taking upon him the charges and expence, of conveying her Majesties said Treasure unto the places whete the same shall bee vsed for the exchange.

Item, our said Sovereigne Lady doth, &c. That all hazard and danger hapning in the transportation of this her Majesties monies, out of her Realme of England into Ireland, either by wrecke of Sea or tempest, or by violence of enemies, shall bee at the only perill of our said Sovereigne Lady her Heires and Successors, as heretofore it hath beene in like cases; the said Sir George Cary making prooffe, that hee his deputies or Assignes, having charge of the said transportation, haue vsed all such care, heed, and diligence, for the safe conveyance thereof, as they would or might haue done for the assurance of their owne goods, or as heedfull provident men use to doe for the safetie of their goods in like adventures.

Item, our sayd Sovereigne Lady doth, &c. That shee shall and will from time to time, furnish and deliver to the said Sir George Carey, or his Assignes, all such summes of money as shall bee requisite and needfull for Exchanging, and converting of this new Irish Coyne into moneys of the Standerd of England, according to her Majesties Proclamation, after the rate of one fourth part at the least, of such quantities of this Irish moneys, as her Majestie shall cause to be coyned from time to time, or after a greater rate (if it shall appeare

1601.

by experience) that a greater portion then a fourth part of the same shall be returned to the Exchange,

Item, our sayd Sovereigne Ladie doth, &c. That if at any time hereafter her Majestie shall thinke good to cease the Exchange, and not to continue the converting of Irish moneys into sterling, and that it shall happen, that at such time there shall bee remaining in the hands of the sayd Sir George Carey any quantities of Irish Monies, great or small, not issued for her Majesties service, that in such case her Highnesse will accept, and allow unto the said Sir George Cary upon his account all such summes of money at such rate, and valew as the same were delivered unto him, to bee issued in payment for her service.

And further, her Majestie doth covenant, &c. That for the defraying of all Wages, Fees, and Stipends, as well to him the said Sir George Cary as of the Exchanges, as also to all other Officers needfull to bee established for the exercise of the same, either within the Realme of England or in Ireland, wheresoever her Highnesse doth, and will, allow unto the said Sir George Cary the summe of two thousand pounds of the monies of this new Standard, by the yeare to bee taken unto him and stayed in his owne hands out of such profits, as upon the exchange doth arise unto her Majestie: The said allowance of two thousand pounds *per annum*, to take beginning the first day of May now next ensuing the date hereof, and to continue during all the time that the Exchange shall be upheld.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

A Regiment sent by the Lord President into Connaght. Intelligence of the Spanyards comming for Ireland, brought to the Lord President sundry wayes. James fits Thomas his report of Florence Mac Cartie. Dermond Mac Awlies report of the Counsell held in Vlistor for the Spanyards landing.

THE Affayres of Mounster thus digested, the President, according to the Lord Deputies directions, expedited (with munition and victuals) one thousand Foot into Connaght, under the command of Sir Francis Barkley.

The List of the Capitaines and Companies, were as followeth, viz.

Sir Francis Barkley,	100. Foot.
Sir Richard Percie,	150.
Sir Gerrard Harvie,	150.
Sir Edward fits Gerald,	100.
Sir John Dowdall,	100.
Captaine John Bostocke,	100.
Captaine George Kingsmill,	100.
Captaine George Blunt,	100.
Captaine William Power,	100.

Besides fiftie Horse under the command of Captaine Richard Greame; which Regiment was sent to giue countenance unto the service of Ballishanon, intended by Sir Henry Docwray, although the President was very loath to spare them at this time, for the rumour of Spanish preparations for Ireland, (which had been secretly whispered all this Spring) was now strongly conceited, and confidently beleevied by all the Irish; And moreover, certaine Advertisment hereof was daily brought unto the President from the Irish Merchants Factors in Spaine, from the Priests in Italy to the Irish Lords, from the English in France to their private friends, all of them agreeing in one; adde heereunto the constant Asseverations of James fits Thomas the titular Earle, then a condemned prisoner, who after his apprehension and condemnation, being often examined, was still confident of the Spanyards comming; and being demaunded his cause of knowledge, answered, That the Spanish Fryer Don Matheo de Oviedo, (whom they call Archbishop of Dublin) did assure him of the Kings pleasure therein, and to hasten the same, hee tooke his journey from Spaine in February last, leaving great store of plate and other riches for a pledge behind him.

And being farther examined concerning Florence Mac Carty, hee answered that the said Florence, did ever by sight (or otherwise) acquaint

A Regiment sent by the L. President into Connaght.

Intelligence of the Spanyards coming for Ireland brought the Lo. President sundry wayes

James fits Thomas his report of Flo. Mac Carty.

1601.

The report
which Der-
mond Mac
Awley made
of the
Councell
held in Vl-
ster about
the fittest
place for the
Spaniards
landing in
Ireland.

Meaning
Florence
Mac Carty.

quaint him with what the President wrote unto him, and did continually sweare, protest, and giue all outward assurance, never to desist in this action, but to persevere therein to the end; and that the Spaniards and Rebels of Ulster did build their principall hopes of Mounster, upon himselfe and *Florence Mac Carty*: all this was also verified by certaine intelligences, which the Lord Barry received from *Dermond Mac Awley* lately come from the North, the effect whereof was thus much: When the Spanish Arch-bishop was to returne into Spaine in February last, there was a Councell holden in Ulster by *Tyrone Odonnell*, the said Bishop, and all the chiefe Traytors of those parts, *John of Desmond*, *Lixnaw*, *Pierce Lacy*, *Donoghe Mac Cormock*, and this *Dermond Mac Awley*, being called thereupon, the chiefe matter debated in this consultation was, what place of Ireland was the most convenient, where the Spanish forces should make their arrivall. It was without much difficulty or gaine saying resolved, for all respects Mounster was the fittest Province to be invaded; then it remayned to consider what place in that Province they should first attempt; and concerning this point the Mounster men were required to deliver their opinions: *Pierce Lacy* began and urged certaine reasons, why hee thought it most requisite for them first to gaine Limerick, and plant there, because the Provinces of Connaught and Linster were neere at hand, to minister aide to the Spanish Armie, and Ulster was not farre distant, being also the place most remote from England, especially for shipping: All the rest being induced by these reasons to subscribe unto his opinion, *Donoghe Mac Cormock* stood up, and withstood this Councell, saying that *Mac Carty* (from whose mouth he said he spake it) upon mature deliberation, did advise their comming to Corke; for the taking of that place would bee of most importance, as well for the countenancing of the action (where the President most resided) as the magazins of victuals and munitions were placed there, and also it being a farre better outlet then the River of Limerick; the Citie weaker and sooner forced: And lastly in landing there, they should border upon *Barry*, *Roche*, *Cormock Mac Dermond*, and *Mac Carty Reughe*; all which for feare of their estates, were partially affected to the English, and by that meanes, either constraine them to conjoyne with them in the action, or else to make their Countrey and people a prey unto the Army. After long disputation the Councell of *Florence* delivered by *Donoghe Mac Cormock* was most applauded, and so they concluded to land the Spanish Armie in the River of Corke.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Florence Mac Cartie is by the Lord President committed to prison. A briefe Collection of Florence Mac Carties treasons and practises with the Rebels; not touching any thing formerly related.



VPON these and many other reasons (that shall hereafter be alleaged) the President thought that he could not possibly accomplish a service more acceptable to her Majestie, nor profitable for the State, and more available to divert the Spanish preparations, then to commit unto prison and safe custody the body of this *Florence*, which was accordingly effected about the beginning of Iune, one thousand sixe hundred and one; a man so pernicious and dangerous to the State, which had sundry wayes broken his severall protections; upon his apprehension (which was in Corke) the President tooke present order that search should bee made in the Pallace (his chiefe house in Desmond) and other places of his abroad, for all such Letters and writings, as could therein bee found, whereby was discovered such a Sea of rebellious and traiterous practises, as her Majestie and her honourable Councell (being acquainted therewith) thought good that hee should be sent into England with the Arch-traytor titular Earle of Desmond, *James fits Thomas*. The conduction of these two fire-brands of Mounster upon the fourteenth of August, 1601. was committed to the charge of Sir *Anthony Cooke*, who brought them to the Tower of London, where they yet remaine. But for as much as this *Florence*, hath sithence his commitment, insisted upon his Justification, complayning of hard measure offered him, by her Majestie and her Officers: I am therefore constrained (though much against my will) for satisfaction of all indifferent men, Welwillers, and confutation of all malicious Cavillers, to lay open briefly (as I may) his whole cariage and conversation, since his late landing within this kingdome, forbearing to insist upon such poynts, as haue already bin touched in this relation. Thou maiest bee pleased therefore to understand gentle Reader, that the rebels of Mounster being grown to such an exceeding strength as you haue heard; and amongst these *Donnell Mac Cartie*, *Florence* his base brother in Law (one of the chiefe) her Majestie thought good to diminish their forces, with sparing as much blood, and expending as little treasure as conveniently might bee; and therefore knowing that *Florence Mac Cartie* was better beloved in the Countrey then *Donnell*, having made many solemne vowes, and taken many voluntary oathes for his continued loyaltie, was dispatched into Ireland in the moneth of May, 1599.

X

and

*Florence
Mac Cartie
by the Lord
President
committed
to prison.*

*Here followeth
a briefe
collection of
Flor. Mac
Carties
treasons and
practises
with the Re-
bels, and con-
tinueth unto
the end of
the chapter
not touching
anything for-
merly rela-
ted.*

1601.

and to the end hee might bee the more encouraged, and better enabled to doe her Highnesse service, it pleased her Majestie to direct her favourable Letters to *Robert Earle of Essex* (then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland) authorising him to giue order for Letters Patents to bee made, containing an effectuall graunt to the said *Florence Mac Cartie*, and *Ellen* his wife, and to the Heires males of their bodies lawfully begotten, of all the Countrey of Desmond, and such other Lands, whereof hee had any estate of inheritance: but withall authorising the said Lord Lieutenant and Councell, to stay those Letters Patents in the Hamper, or deliver them (according as they should see cause) in the prooffe they should make of the behaviour of the said *Florence*: Now that yee may see in what dutifull manner hee requited this trust, in what gratefull manner this kindnesse, and in what religious manner these oathes; I will recite a part of the examination of *John Anias* taken before Sir *Nicholas Welsb*, and Iustice *Comerford*, which may explaine the same, the thirteenth of October, 1600.

The examination of
John Anias.

He saith, that in May last, *Florence Mac Cartie* sent one *Maur. More* to him, wishing him to repaire to his Lodging at *Corke*, and that *Florence* was desirous to be acquainted with him; whereupon hee came to *Florence*, and in *Florence* his Chamber, hee the said *Florence*, (and none other but they two being present) said that he understood that this Examine was an Enginer, and one that had skill in devising and erecting of Fortifications, and that he would willingly imploy him in the like. *Anias* demanding of *Florence*, what or where hee would haue his Workes rayfed? Hee answered, at *Dunkerran*, wherein hee might upon any occasion of extremitie defend himselfe, and *James fits Thomas* against the English, and also wherein hee might giue succour to such Spanyards as should come to their ayde, &c.

Collections
out of the
examination
of *Owen
Osulevan*.

Florence assumed the
title of *Mac
Carty More*

Owen Osulevan
preyed.

Whereby the indifferent Reader may perceiue with what prepared hatred, and prepened malice this Gallant was affected, even in this first scene of his devillish Tragedie; that there might bee no indecorum, his subsequent proceedings were in all poynts correspondent to these timely beginnings: For having now left *Corke*, and gotten footing in his (supposed) Countrey of Desmond, hee wrote severall Letters to the Gentlemen neere adjoyning, namely the *O Sulevan*, *Mac Finnin*, the two *Odonoghs*, and others, to assemble at a time and place appoynted, to create him *Mac Cartie More*; and who-soever he was that refused to come, he persecuted as his mortall enemy; and hereof *Owen Osulevan*, (eldest sonne to Sir *Owen Osulevan* deceased) had wofull experience: for upon his absence from his meeting, hee caused the *Bonoghs* (which hee had now entertained)

to prey and rob the said *Owen*, and some of his Tenants, taking one *John Oge* prisoner; and when the sayd *Owen* made suite unto him for release of the prisoner, hee answered, that hee would keepe him as his Pledge, to be true to him as *Mac Cartie More*, to follow his war, and keepe his peace. But when hee found that this course would not establish and secure unto him that Dignitie and high Title (after which hee so greedily gaped) then hee solicited *Tyrone* by frequent Letters, and importunate Messengers to come for Mounster, pretending many furtherances that thereby should arise to the Catholique cause, but desiring the same chiefly to his owne end, that hee might bee by him and the Romish Clergie saluted *Mac Cartie More*; and therefore *Tyrone* comming into the Province about the first day of March, *Florence* posted with all speed to his Campe, and the fourth of the same hee combined with him, and was sworne upon a Masse Booke, to bee true to *Tyrone*, and prosecute all hostilitie and cruell warre against the English; *Ex examinatione Owen Osulevan*. And to the intent it may appeare that this was no fained or counterfeit Narration of *Owen Osulevan*, you shall in part perceiue by his owne Letters written to *Donogh Moyle Mac Cartie*, upon this occasion: This *Donogh* (whether growne weary of the warrs, or for some other cause (I know not) determined to continue himselfe and his followers in subjection, and for the same cause had submitted himselfe to Sir *Warham St Ledger*, and Sir *Henry Power*, Commissioners appointed for the government of that Province, untill the comming of Sir *George Carew* to be President; *Florence Mac Cartie*, either to advance the Catholike cause, or else desirous that all his neighbours should run with him to the like excesse of ryot, joyning with *Owen Mac Eggan*, a Popish Priest, and most infamous rebell, and *Odovian*, sent Letters to the said *Donogh Mac Cartie*, as followeth.

He joyneth with Tyrone, and is confirmed by him Mac Cartie More.

A letter from Florence to Donogh Moyle Mac Cartie.

The Letter.

Cousen *Donogh*, wee haue us commended to your selfe, and to your brother *Florence*. I haue (I assure you) taken the paines to come hither to *Tyrone*, not so much for any danger of my owne, as to save the Countrey of Carbery from danger and destruction, which if it bee once destroyed, your living (in my opinion) will growe very scarce. These two Gentlemen, your Brother *Odovian*, and *Owen Mac Eggan*, are verie carefull with mee of your good. Therefore if ever you will bee ruled by us, or tender the wealth of your selfe and your Countrey, wee are heereby earnestly to request you, to come and meete us to morrowe at *Cloudghe*; and so requesting you not to fayle heereof in any

1601.

wife, to Gods keeping I commit you. *Oneales Campe* at Iniscare, *Martij 2. 1599.* subscribed

Your very loving Friends,
Florence Mac Cartie.
Owen Mac Eggan.
Donnell Odonevan.

Tyrone finding that *Florence* was not onely forward in his owne person but also a fartherer of others, making new Profelites the children of perdition, aswell as himselfe, by the consent of all the Popish Bishops, Fryers, and Iesuits, and all the Irish Nobilitie there assembled, created him *Mac Cartie More*, vsing in this creation all the Rites and Ceremonies accustomed amongst the ancient Irish.

Tyrone having left the Province in the latter end of March, this new *Mac Cartie More* did so well remember his vowes made to *Tyrone* (although hee quite forgot those that hee formerly made to her Majestie) as in the very next Moneth, namely in Aprill, 1600. he vsed all his policie, power and industrie, to defeat the Queenes forces, under the command of Captaine *Flower*, but because I have formerly touched his proceedings therein, I will not trouble the Reader againe with vaine tautologies, and needlesse repetitions.

In the Moneth of May, immediatly following, by the importunate mediation of the Earle of Thomond, and *Iohn fits Edmonds*, hee came to the President at Corke, but he had no sooner left the Towne but hee sent present word to the Arch-rebell *Iames fits Thomas*, aswell of his particular proceedings with the President, as of all such intelligence (as hee could possible understand) to giue impediment to the service, all which may appeare by a Letter remised from the said *Iames* unto him, the true Copie whereof here ensueth.

Iames fits Thomas his Letter unto him.

MY good Lord and Cosen, your Letters of the eighteenth of May, I received the five and twentieth of the same, wherein you relate the manner of your proceedings with the President at Corke, and also of his determination towards the West of my Countrey: I thanke God I prevented that which hee expected here, for all the good pledges of the Countrey are committed to *Castlemange*, for their constant behaviour in this our action; the President with his force is come to *Limerick*, and intended presently to draw towards *Askeiton*, where I purpose with my Armie to resist him, I pray you the better to further the service, and the more to coole the bloody desire of our Enemy; let mee intreate you to put

in

*He fought
with her
Majesties
forces.*

*He gave in-
telligence
unto Iames
fits Thomas.*

in effect, the meaning of my last Letters, by drawing your forces to joyne with mee here, which being done, I doubt not under God to performe service, that shall redound to the generall quiet of our Countrey, and so referring the due consideration hereof (to your Lordships carefull vsage) I commit you to the most Mighty: From the Campe at Adare this first of Iune, 1600.

Your very loving Cosen,

James Desmond

In the foresaid Moneth, the said *Florence* sent *Teg Obholloghan* and *Donoghe Offaly* to *Owen Osulevan*, vsing many strong Motiues and forcible perswasions to him, that hee should joyne with them (in action) against her Majestie, assuring him, that all the *Osulevans* would presently shew themselves publikely for the Catholike cause, if they might perceiue that hee would partake with them, and afterwards *James fits Thomas* being taken Prisoner by *Dermond O Conner* towards the latter end of this said Moneth, *Florence* came in person to his rescue unto Castle Lyshin.

*His farther
practises re-
lated by Ow-
en Osulevan.*

Also *Owen Osulevan* being with *Florence Mac Cartie* at the Pallace, heard him say, that hee had almost as willingly die, as come under the English government, and perswaded all those he spake with, to be obstinate in action, telling him how long Ireland had beene tyrannically governed by English men: All which *Osulevan* afore said did relate unto the President, and thereto tooke his corporall oath the one and twentieth of March, 1600.

*His malici-
ous speeches.*

In Iuly, hee taking upon him regall authority within Desmond, as *Mac Cartie More* sent first to *ne Donnell Ferrers* to bee Sherife of that Countrey, perswading him that it would be very beneficiall unto him, which the said *Donnell* refused, answering that hee would not take that authority upon him, except hee could shew him a warrant from the President, authorising him to make such election, as hee knew the like heretofore graunted to the Earle of Clancare in the times of trouble; whereupon he appointed another, named *Miariertagh Mac Teg* to the same office. *Ex Examinatione Donnell Ferrers.*

*He instituted
a Sherife of
his owne ma-
king in Des-
mond.*

In August, *Sir Charles Wilmot* first planted his Garisons in Kerry, and how glad this dissembling hypocrit was of his neighbourhood, besides his owne manifold Letters sent to *Sir Charles* (full of God damme him) if he were not heartily glad of his good successe here; you shall perceiue partly by the examination of the said *Ferrers*, in hac verba: When the President in August, 1600. setled Garisons in Kerry, *Florence* caused the Castle of Killorglan appertayning to

*The exami-
nation of
Donnell
Ferrers.*

1601.

Master *Jenkin Conway*, an Vndertaker, to bee burned, fearing lest Sir *Charles Wilmot* should plant himselfe there; and when as the Governour afterward placed this Examinat therein, hee sent some of his kerne and tooke all his prey, threatening to pull them all out by the heeles, having no other quarrell against him, but onely because hee repaired the same Castle: Hee also releevd the Knight of the Valley at his house of the Pallace: And after (the said *Florence* was protected by the President) hee releevd likewise *Thomas fits Maurice* the Barron of Lixnaw, and ceassed his Bonoghs in Desmond; but more plainly by examination of *James Welsh* taken the tenth of May, 1601. as followeth.

The examination of
James Welsh.

When *James fits Thomas* was in Kerry in September last, *Florence Mac Cartie* perswaded him to remaine there, promising him all the aide that hee could giue him, and being in his departure towards Arlogh, hee sent *Thomas Oge* after him, praying him to returne, and hee would bring him to the killing of Sir *Charles Wilmot*, and the Garison of Traley that was with him, &c.

And when hee saw that *James fits Thomas* would not follow his Councell, but would needs goe to take Arlogh Mountaines for his refuge; hee wrote a Letter in Irish (which the said *James Welsh* read) directed unto *Gabir Mac Shane Glaske Omulrian* in Ormond, desiring him to levie for him in those parts sixe hundred Foote, which if hee could not doe, then to procure *Redmond Burke* to get so many for him; and if hee failed, then to deale with Captaine *Tirrell*, and that hee would pay them upon Desmond. About this time also hee sent a traiterous message to the White Knight (by his daughter) *Mac Donogh*s wife, together with a cunning Letter, written in Irish and translated as followeth.

A Letter from Florence to the White Knight.

DAmnation, I cannot but commend mee heartily unto you, as bad as thou art; and doe also most heartily commend mee to your wife, and to your two Sonnes, I would bee very glad to speake with you for your good; and because I cannot speake with you my selfe, yet I would haue you in any wise credit your daughter Mistris *Mac Donaghe* concerning me; and to beleue from me, whom shee sends, or what shee sends you word of, by a trusty Messenger; I would haue you to determine about *Pierce Oge*, and that I may speake with you, I meane about *Gornetaberd*, or *Tullylease*, send word to *Pierce*, and *Deemond* of the day with him, and send mee word,

word, and I will come without all faile : In the meane time I leaue you to God, Pallace this seven and twentieth of August, 1600.

Your assured loving Friend.

Florence Mac Cartie.

This Letter was delivered, and expounded to the President by the White Knight *Pierce Oge* before mentioned, was *Pierce Lacy*, the message which hee sent by *Mac Donogh's* wife, was to reprove him for his submission to the Queene, and to incite him to enter againe into rebellion; and if hee would not bee advised by him, and himselfe not able to maintaine the action, that hee purposed to agree with *Donell Mac Cartie* his brother in Law, and to leaue the County of Desmond, and the Followers in his hands, and to imbarke himselfe into Spaine, to procure and hasten the long expected aide. In October, after many and infinite delatory excuses, and protracted delays, he submitted himselfe to the President, putting in such pledges as before you haue heard, and received a Protection for ten dayes, before the expiration, whereof hee earnestly laboured *Cormock Mac Dermot* about the mariage betwixt the Arch-rebell *Iames fits Thomas* and his Sister, promising to the said *Cormock*, all the Lands that hee had in Carbery, and undertaking that the said Earle should giue farther unto him, such portions of Lands as should bee to his owne content, so that he would consent to this mariage, and joyne in this wicked combination.

The next Moneth, diuers meanes were made to *Thomas Oge*, Constable of *Castlemange*, by the Governor of Kerry, and the young Earle of Desmond (lately come out of England) about the delivery of that Castle to her Majesties use; *Florence* receiving notice hereof, made many journies to the said *Thomas Oge*, urging him with forcible perswasions not to relinquish the said Castle to the English, promising that hee would undertake upon his owne charge and perill, to see him furnished with victuals (and all other necessities) from time to time, whereof hee should stand in need; and when hee perceived an inclination in the said *Thomas Oge* (notwithstanding his perswasions) to yeeld the Castle, hee assayed by a craftie wile, to haue conveyed away the two Sonnes of *Pierce Lacy*, which were held as pledges for *Iames fits Thomas* within that Castle; but the plot being frustrate (by meere accident) the children and Castle were within short time after delivered to the State.

When Sir *Charles Wilmot* came into Kerry with her Majesties forces, *Florence Mac Cartie* (as *Thomas Oge*, upon his examination confessed

*The message
he sent by
mistris Mac
Donogh.*

*He practised
a mariage
for Iames
fits Thomas.*

*His practise
to hinder the
rendring of
Castlemange,
& Pierce
Lacies
children to
her Maiesty.*

*The examination
of
Thomas
Oge.*

1601.

fessed) intreated *Iames fits Thomas* to make the warre there, whereunto hee assented: But *Iames* could not perswade the Bonoghs unto it; Also after that *Dermond O Conner* had enterprised the taking of *Iames fits Thomas*, hee did then promise him to enter into open action of Rebellion, and to that end he solicited *Dermond Mac Owen*, *Mac Awley*, *Okeefe*, *Mac Finnin*, *Owen Mac Teg Carty* and others. And when *Tyrone* was in Mounster, *Florence* desired him to make it knowne to the King of Spaine, that hee would serue him faithfully; for the assurance whereof, the said *Florence* wrote a Letter to the King, and gaue it to *Tyrone* to bee sent into Spaine: And also tooke his corporall oath to performe his promises; whereupon *Tyrone* stiled and confirmed him *Mac Carty More*; hee also told the said *Thomas Oge*, that if the Spaniards did not land by May next, hee would goe into the North, and from thence into Spaine. And after that *Iames fits Thomas* was broken, hee told this examinat, that if *Iames* could get Forces out of Ulster, the said *Florence* would joyne with him. Farther, *Florence* intised *Connocke Mac Dermond* to enter into rebellion, and marry his Sister to *Iames fits Thomas*, who should giue unto him Kerry, whereby that his eldest Sonne should marry *Cormocks* Daughter, and *Cormocks* eldest Sonne to marry his daughter, who in marriage with her would giue Carrigenesse with twelue Plow-lands; which marriage, hee proposed for their firmer vnion in their rebellious enterprize: And that hee had loaden a Barque with Irish commodities to bee sent beyond the Seas, which should returne him munition, &c. Many other treasonable actions, and traitorly speeches, acted and spoken by the said *Florence*; the same *Thomas Oge* related unto the Lord President, which for brevitie sake I haue omitted, which was taken at Moyallo by the President in Ianuary, 1600.

He recalls
his Son that
should haue
beene his
pledge, upon
advertisements from
Tyrone.

The President not holding himselfe sufficiently assured of *Florence* with his two pledges, his base brother and kinsman, still importuned the bringing of his eldest Sonne, according to his promise upon his first protection; hee having no pretext for his longer stay, sent to *Owen Mac Teg Mergagh* in Desmond to carry his said Sonne to Corke, there to bee left as a pledge for him; within a few dayes after this message sent, *Florence* receiving advertisement from *Tyrone*, of certaine Spaniards landed in the North, and hearing continuall rumors of Northern forces, to infest the Province, dispatched a Messenger to the said *Owen Mac Teg Mergagh* to make stay of his Sonne for a longer time; viz. untill hee might perceiue what would bee the issue of those preparations; but before the Messenger could come, the said *Owen* was with the child upon his way, and come to Corke, before the said Messenger overtooke him, but had not as yet delive-

1601.

delivered the child out of his owne custody; wherefore receiving this countermand, hee secretly conveyed the child out of the Citie, and returned with him againe into Desmond, where he was kept as before, untill *Florence* had seene that there was neither Irish nor Spaniards appeared to his aide, succour and comfort.

In the Moneth following, namely in Ianuary, hee sent divers Letters to *Tyrone* and other his fellow traytors in the North, and from them received severall answers, whereof some part chanced to come to our hands, which wee will here insert; and first there doth offer it selfe, one Letter written by *Donogh Mac Cormock* to the King of Spaine, in the name of *Florence Mac Cartie*, the tenor whereof was as followeth.

*He writeth
Letters to
the Traytors
in Vlsiter.*

*A Letter from Donoghe Mac Cormock in
the name of Florence to the King
of Spaine.*

HAVING received direction from the Earle of Clan-Care, I would not omit this opportunity; at the departure of the Archbishop of Dublin, and Don Martin de La Cerda, to make knowne to your Majestie, how the said Earle hath written to your Majestie by two or three wayes; but understanding that these Letters came not to your Royall hands, hee hath now againe written by me to your Majestie, making offer as well of his person and lands, as of his vassals and Subjects to your Royall service; humbly beseeching your Majestie to receiue favour, and aide him with your power and liberall hand, seeing there is no other that can and will assist us better against these Heretikes in this holy Emerprise: From Donegall the fift of Ianuary 1601.

*Your Majesties loyall Vassall
to kisse your Royall hands,*

Donoghe Cartie.

This Letter as it should seeme was originally written (and the Copie sent to *Florence*) by one *Thomas Shelton*, who wrote herewith other Letters unto him of his owne as followeth.

A Letter from Shelton to Florence Mac Carty.

MY honourable Lord, by direction of the Lord Archbishop of Dublin, and at the request of Mac Donogh (your agent here) I did write a Letter addressed to the King of Spaine, subscribed by him; In
T which

1601.

which was signified how by your direction, hee had made offer of your service to his Majestie; the Copie of which Letter goeth here inclosed: what the newes and hopes of Spaine are, the bearer will fully informe you. This only rests; that as I have ever desired to serve your Lordship, so finding now the opportunity of this Bearer, I would not omit so fit an occasion to kisse your honourable hands, and signify that respect I have ever borne towards you; God preserve and assist you in all your designs, that wee may live to see accomplished by you these things (whereof your noble beginnings give an assured hope.) Donegall January the sixth, sub.

Your most affectionate Friend.

Thomas Shelton.

Hee received also at the same time other Letters in Spanish (thus Englished) from the said Archbishop, subscribed, To the most Excellent Earle, Florence Mac Cartie.

A Letter from the Spanish Archbishop of Dublin,
to Florence Mac Cartie.

Right Honourable Lord, God is my witnesse, that after my arrivall in Ireland, having knowledge of your Lordships valour and learning, I had an extreame desire to see, communicate, and conferre with so principall a personage; but the danger of the way would not permit mee: I am now departing into Spaine, with grieve that I have not visited those parts; but I hope shortly to returne into this Kingdome, and into those parts to your satisfaction; and be assured, that I will performe with his Maiestie, the office that a Brother ought to doe, that he should send from Spaine. Because by letter I cannot speake any more, I leaue the rest untill sight. The Lord haue your Lordship in his keeping according to my desire. From Donegall the sixteenth of January, 1601.

Yo Mateo Arçobispo de Dublin.

After all this, namely in February next following, the said false-hearted Florence, wrote certaine Letters to O'Donnell, the contents whereof may be gathered by the answer, that the said O'Donnell remitted in Irish thereto, and therefore I have thought good to remember the same (translated) in this place.

He wrote to
O'Donnell.

O'Donnell

O Donnells Answer.

Our commendations to you Mac Cartie: We haue receiued the Letter you sent the fourteenth of October, and we sweare by our word, that you are no lesse grieved, for that you see us not then we our selues, and it was not more your minde to haue ayd then ours to send vnto you, if wee could for the great trouble it would bee to our selues, to intend you, and by your hand there was not many in Ireland more of the minde then mine owne person, to haue gone to visit you, had not the strangers neighboured upon my Countrey, and (as you know) my Countrey lying on the Sea, and they hauing the secrecie thereof to doe their endeavours, to conquer what they may vpon the same, which they would not doe vpon a Countrey not lying vpon the Sea: You shall receiue what Newes of Spaniards came to these parts by Iohn fits Thomas, and Donogh Mac Cormock, and whatsoever they brought with them, we impart with you, and doe provide for the same, men to send vnto you, if they may be had. Our Commendations to Patrick Condon, and to the rest of our friends in those parts.

Your very assured Friend,

Hugh Odonnell.

The Earle of Thomond, at the request of the Lord President, sent a Priest called Teg Mac Gillipatrick, as a Spie into Ulster, to learne what newes hee could get among the Rebels there, returned the one and twentieth of February, 1600, and came to the Lord President at Moyallo, reporting that at his being at Donegall, in the Christmas Holy dayes, Tirone, Odonnell, and most of the Northerne Captaines being there present, made a new combination to continue the Rebellion; at which assembly, the Spanish Archbishop of Dublin was present, then ready to depart for Spaine, with sixteene Irish Priests in his company: for the better assurance of their confederacie, the Sacrament was solemnely received by them all. At the same time, Teg Mac Gillipatrick (the Priest aforesaid) did see a Letter of Florence Mac Carties, lately sent to Tirone, by a Messenger of his owne, which hee heard read openly, the Contents whereof was, That hee protested hee was not fallen from them, but had made a peace with the Lo: President of Mounster, untill May next, and that then he was at libertie.

One Dermond Mac Cartie, a kinsman and dependant upon Florence, and by him (as is supposed) was sent into Spaine, where hee continued his Intelligencer many yeeres, and by the Spaniards cal-

The examination of Teg Mac Gillipatrick,

1601.

*A letter abstracted
written out
of Spaine from
Dermot
Mac Carty
unto Florence*

led *Don Dermotio Cartie*, wrote a Letter unto his Master *Florence*, dated at the Groyne the ninth of March, 1600. A long letter in Spanish, the materiall poynts whereof are thus abstracted and Englished:

That hee was glad to heare that his Lordship upon the fifteenth of December last, was landed at Corke, after his eleven yeeres restraint in England, whereof three of them in the Tower of London; that his Imprisonment was not for marrying of the Earle of *Clan Care*s daughter without leaue, as was pretended, but upon suspicion which the State had of his loyaltie, which he understood by Letters written from the Lord Deputie, and Treasurer of Ireland to the Queene, (which was intercepted and brought into Spaine) wherein it was suggested, that hee having so many kinsmen, friends, and followers, and himselfe (who was knowne to beare affection to Spaniards) it were fit hee were restrayned; and that this onely was the cause of his eleven yeeres restraint. Wherefore hee advised him, not to put any confidence in the English: for if they once againe lay hold upon him, they would never enlarge him.

Hee advised him to certifie his Majestie, how much hee was his Servant, what Townes and places hee could put into his handes, what number of men of warre hee could serue him withall; and if he could surprize Corke, he should bee well supplied by the King of Spaine.

That hee might send his Letters (written to the King) unto *Don Diego Brochero*, (who is a great favourer of the Irish Nation, and in great credit with the King) by which meanes they would bee safely delivered, as also his Letters unto him, for the solicitation of his businesse. That within three dayes hee might send him answere from the Groyne, which hee could not doe unto *Oneale*, and *O Donnell*, who were so farre off in the North of the Kingdome, and advised him to write unto them, that they in like manner should direct their Letters to *Don Diego Brochero*; but if he would not write unto him, hee would advise with *Don Diego*, and repaire himselfe unto him into Ireland.

Lastly, hee hoped that the King of Spaine would the next Spring send an Armie into Ireland.

It would bee too tedious to set downe at large all the manifest proofes of *Florence*'s juggling Treasons; wherefore I will for brevities sake, relate but a few more Abstracts of Letters and Examinations which heere ensue.

*Tirone wrote
to Florence.*

The thirteenth of May 1600. *Florence* received Letters from *Tirone*, wherein hee prayeth him, that hee would constantly persevere in the Catholike cause, as hee had promised, that aide should come

unto

unto him from the North by Lammass next : That he had written in his favour to the King of Spaine, commended his service, and prayed the King to giue him assistance.

Tyrone wrote unto both the *O'ulevans*, requiring them to giue obedience unto *Florence*; for hee had complained of them. *Tyrone* threatening the said *O'ulevans*, that if they did not obey him (as they ought) hee would with his forces come into Mounster to destroy them: Dated the thirtieth of October, 1599.

Tyrone to *Florence*, dated the seventeenth of Aprill, 1600. that according to the trust and confidence he had in him, and his Confederats in Mounster, they should fight valiantly against the English, whereunto they were bound in conscience and for their Countries good.

Another from *Tyrone* to *Florence Mac Cartie*, dated the second of May 1600. wherein hee signifieth unto him of the arrivall of the Popes Archbishop of Dublin: And of present aides from Spaine, he thanked God that the Earle of Ormond is taken, hee incited him to entertaine as many Bonoghs as hee can against their enemies; that hee hath acquainted the King of Spaine of his service, unto whom hee hath sent his Sonne *Henry Oneale*; and that hee would shortly send him aide.

Garret Liston of Skehanaghe in the County of Limerick Gentleman being examined upon oath said, that *Florence Mac Cartie* met with *James firs Thomas* at Belaghafenan two miles from Castle Mayne, where *James* challenged him for not coming unto him with his forces, to fight with the Lord President as he had promised, whom after hee had with smooth language pacified; hee protested solemnly, and tooke his oath in the presence of *James firs Thomas*, *Mac Awliffe*, *Thomas Oge*, *Muriertaghe Mac Shihis*, *John Vlicke* and this Examinat, that hee would continue with *James firs Thomas* in this action. And although *James* should giue over the rebellion (which hee termed a just warre) yet hee himselfe would keepe life in it, so long as hee could get any to follow him, &c. This examination was taken by the Lord President the twentieth of August, 1600.

Another from *Oneale* to *Florence* dated the sixth of February 1600. wherein hee exhorteth him to serue valiantly against the Pagan Beast; That before hee did write unto him againe hee should see trouble enough in England it selfe; and that yeare, May ensuing, the warres of Ireland would bee easie: And for that the cause of Mounster was left unto him, hee wished that no imbecillity should bee found in him, and that the time of helpe was neere.

Florence Mac Cartie's wife told Sir *Charles Wilmot*, that her husbands heart was malicious to the State, and that hee would never come in,

Tyrone wrote to the O'ulevans to obey Flor.

Tyrone to Florence.

Tyrone to Florence.

The examination of Garret Liston.

Tyrone to Florence.

His wives report to Sir Charles Wilmot.

1601.

*His Sisters
report of the
Lord Presi-
dent.*

but upon necessitie, and that all hee did intend, or make shew of to the President was but to gaine time.

Shilie wife to *Osulevan More*, and Sister to *Florence Mac Cartie*, in September, 1600. speaking with the Lord President, exclaimed upon her Brother, as the cause of her Husbands imprisonment with the Rebels, and praying his advise and helpe for his enlargement; hee told her there was no way to obtaine his liberty, but to giue his oath and promise, to enter into action of rebellion, and perswaded her to giue him that advise.

*The exami-
nation of
Thomas
Oge.*

Thomas Oge being examined, said that *Florence Mac Cartie* told him, upon the delivery of his first pledge; that if all the children living were in her Majesties hands for his loyaltie, or any other Follower, hee would loose no opportunity, if *Tyrone* were able to assist his enterprise with any sufficient forces, or if Spaniards did land.

*The exami-
nation of
James fits
Thomas.*

James fits Thomas upon the eighteenth of June, 1601. being examined by the Lord President, said that *Florence Mac Carty* did evermore acquaint him with all that passed betweene him and the President, and did continually sweare and protest, that hee would persevere in the action to the end; and that the principall hopes of the Spaniards and Ulster Rebels, were built upon the helpe & succour of himselfe, and *Florence Mac Carty*. And to what purposes hee employed himselfe in the times immediatly following, untill the time of his imprisonment, may bee gathered aswell by that which hath heretofore beene delivered, as by the examination of one *Gillernow Okelly*, a Connaght man, taken by Sir *Francis Barkley*, who being deposed, said that *Florence Mac Carty* sent his Letter and promise to *Tyrone*, to giue Bonnogh to *Redmond Burke*, and sixe hundred men upon Desmond and Carbery, and himselfe with one thousand more of his owne, would meete the said *Redmond Burke* in Arloghe; and at the same time hee saw foure and twentie Letters written by *Tyrone*, directed to *Florence*, and the Traytors in Mounster. You have already perceived that this cunning hypocriticall Traytor, hath written Letters to the Arch-traytors, *James fits Thomas*, *Tyrone*, and *Odonnell*; and besides hath sent, or at the least procured Letters to bee sent to the King of Spaine; moving and intreating him to invade her Majesties kingdome: And now for a perclose of all you shall behold, (*Ne quid desit ad summam impudentiam*) that hee might equall, if not exceed the most impudent and barbarous Traytor; his Letters sent to his holy Father the Pope, the contents whereof are as followeth.

*The exami-
nation of
Gillernow
Okelly.*

A Letter

A Letter from Tyrone, James fits Thomas, Florence Mac Carty, and Mac Donogh to the Pope.

Sanctissime Pater, cum superioribus annis Dei summi nutu & voluntate excitati ad recuperandum Hoc regnum ab Anglorum gravissimo jugo, qui & Religionem & Regionem vi & tyrannide multis seculis occupare, id nunc tandem post multa pericula exantlata, pro maiore parte excusimus, sanctitati vestre exponimus, quod prima nobis & precipua fuit cura perpetuoq; erit, statum Ecclesie, hic fere extinctum in integrum restituere & collapsum redintegrare, ita apud nos judicantes nostrarum partium esse vitam ipsam omnemque substantiam nostram in eo augendo impendere, id quod libentiori animo prestare conamur (ut non dicamus cogimur) quia nisi tempestive communi malo in utroque statu occurrerimus nobiscum deterius longe actum fuisset quam Turcæ solent agere, cum sibi subditis Christianis adeo, ut vel fugæ esset consulenda vel hic mors obeunda. Rebus itaque in angustias has redactis, ad quem maiore spe juraque accedere cuiusq; opem implorare possumus, ac debemus, quam ad te Pater spirituum in terris, ut filijs spiritualibus miserè adhuc afflictis jugoq; longe graviore & crudeliore quam Pharaonico attritis adsis. Quod nos speramus à pietate tua consecuturos exemplo omnium afflictorum, qui ad sedem tuam in talibus ærumnis accedentes opem atq; desideratorem exitum fuerunt consecuti. Ad te igitur communem omnium afflictorum, præsertim fidei causa laborantium pium & benevolum Patrem, tanquam ad unicum nostrum refugium & tutissimum asylum confugimus, fusi q; lachrimis humiliter petimus, ut nostros gemitus audiat, vota suscipiat, ac postulatus concedat, ut eorum ora obstruantur franganturq; vires qui oderunt Sion, ac impediunt diruta Ierusalem denuo reædificari Menia, ubi si nobis credere dignetur tua Sanctitas; Nunquam antecessores nostri ex tempore quo Regnum hoc in manus Anglorum derenerat, adjuutores fuerant quam nos sumus ad fidem à nostro Apostolo Sancto Patricio, traditam suscipiendum ad eamq; (proh dolor) in his partibus fere extinctam hætenus & pene sepultam excusso jam pro parte Anglorum jugo exsuscitandam, promovendam, augendam, & amplificandam, Quia nihil aliud in his votis habemus quam videre Dei gloriam & fidei orthodoxæ propugnationem: annuere itaq; dignetur vestra sanctitas nostris petitionibus, qui spretis honoribus & commodis quibuscunq; diem ulteriorem vivere non desideramus, quam videre Dei Ecclesiam toto orbe florentem: petimus autem inprimis, ut ad maiora fidei incrementa illis sedibus vacantibus in hoc Regno ij qui vita moribus & literatura sunt conspicui, quiq; in negotio fidei promovendo plurimum nobiscum laborant præficiantur, quosq; nobiscum Reverendissimus Corcagen' ac Cloanen' Episcopus nominavit ac commendavit tanquam idonei Pastores ad Dei gregem verbo et exemplo instruendum, ne indignis qui sine ordine & fortasse summâ cum

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1601.

authoritate & ambitione sese animarum curæ ingererent, nisi occurreretur aditus pateat. Quod ut petamus movemur propter summam animarum ja-cturam, quam ob Pastorum paucitatem in utraq; Monitione provincia qui undecim Episcopatus sub Metropoli Cassilensi complectitur: excipimus enim Reverend' Corcagen' & Cloaneum qui senio & labore jam pene est confectus, nostri potiuntur, & hoc eo confidentius petimus, quia qui electi consecrati, & ad nos dimissi fuerunt à vestra sacrosancta sede ad vacuas hijs in partibus sedes occupandas à nobis pro viribus in iisdem Dei gratia defendantur, ut gregibus sibi Commissis tuto invigilare queant. Insuper desideramus ut quemadmodum felicitis recordationis Pius Quintus, Pontifex Maximus contra Reginam Angliæ ejusq; fautores Bullam excommunicationis ediderat; Necnon Gregorius 13. eandem continuaverat, ac vim habere in bello Giraldinarum indicavit; similem quoq; sententiam ad hoc bellum promovendum, & ad felicem exitum deducendum, Sanctitas vestra emittere dignetur ac generatim sanctitati vestræ affectu quo possumus maximo regnum hoc vestrum à te solo post Deum dependens nosq; humiles tuos subditos una cum procuratoribus presentium latoribus quos pro nobis & nostro nomine deputamus, quiq; fuse & veraciter omnia quæ in hoc bello gessimus adjuti eorum opera & doctrina viva voce aperient plenius. Deprecantes ut Sancta vestra indubiam illis fidem dignetur adhibere eidem committimus & commendamus. Dat' in Castris nostris Catholicis 30. Martij 1600.

Sanctitatis vestræ Obedientissimi
filij & fidelissimi subditi,

Oneale. James Desmond.
Mac Cartie More.
Dermond Mac Cartie, alias
Mac Donogh.

Tyrone.
Ja. filius Thom.
Flor. Mac
Cartie.
Dermond
Mac Owen
Cartie.

I will not trouble the understanding Reader with any long Commentary upon this plaine Text; but onely will demand one question, whether that man which shall suggest, that her Majesties Subjects are in worse case then the Christians under the Turks, that her Majesties government is more tyrannicall then that of the Egyptian Pharaoh, that shall prefer a supplication into the Court of Rome, to have his annoynted Prince excommunicated as an Heretike, and deposed as an Vsurper; whether this man may bee adjudged to carie a loyall heart to that Prince, or deemed worthy to liue in that Common wealth. For my owne part I cannot suppose his leprosie like that of Naaman which may bee cleansed with washing seven times in Iordan; but like that of Gehazi, which will sticke to him and his posterity for ever, and that hee may ingeniously confesse with ever-
curfed

curſed Cain, *Peccata mea majora ſunt quam condonari queant*, my finnes are greater then can be forgiven; but fearing leſt this digreſſion will be as over tedious to thee in reading, as it hath bin unpleaſant to me in writing, I will now proceed in my purpoſed relation.

CHAP. VII.

Dermond Mac Owen, Teg Mac Dermond, and Moyle Mo Omaghon arreſted. Dermond Mac Owens answer to the Lord Preſident. The ſervices which the Mounſter Regiment performed in Connaght, under the conduct of Sir Francis Barkley.

THE Lord Preſident, notwithstanding all theſe intelligences of Spaniſh ſuccours, had conceived a good hope, that ſo ſoone as the preſent State of the Province ſhould bee known in Spaine; namely that the Chieftains were apprehended, and the reſt generally appeaſed, it would bee a good meanes to divert the intended preparations; and yet farther, to ſecure the Provincials (ſo farre as the wit of man could deviſe) he called a generall Seſſions of Goale delivery in Corke, to bee holden about the eight and twentieth of Iuly, whither all the Freeholders in that Countrey were to make their repaire, where hee intended to lay hold of all ſuch perſons, as had beene moſt pernicious in the former warres, and likely to proue moſt dangerous in after times; theſe were principally foure, *Dermond Mac Owen Cartie*, alias *Mac Donoghe*, that was a Partaker in the petition to the Popes ſanctitie; an other *Teg Mac Dermond Cartie*, brother to *Cormuck* Lord of Muſkerry, the third *Moil Mo Omaghon*, chiefe of that Sept of the *Omaghons* in *Kinalmekeghe*, and the fourth and laſt was *Dermond Moil Mac Cartie*, brother to *Florence Mac Cartie* ſo much ſpoken of. The three former making their apparance at the Seſſions, were apprehended and committed Priſoners to the gentleman Porter; the fourth knowing himſelfe guilty of many treacherous practiſes plotted by his brother *Florence*, durſt not adventure himſelfe within the Citie wals, but kept alooſe in Carbery till hee heard how the other ſped, and then conveyed himſelfe into the North amongſt his fellow Rebels.

I may not here omit to relate unto you a paſſage which paſſed betweene *Dermond Mac Owen* aforeſaid (the firſt of the foure afore-mentioned) and the Lord Preſident; when he was firſt taken in upon protection, did ſweare and proteſt that he would remaine a good Subject; but (ſaid the Preſident) what if the Spaniards invade Ireland, what would you doe then? your Lordſhip puts mee (ſaid

Z

hee)

*Dermond
Mac Owen
Teg Mac
Dermond
Moil Mo
Omaghon
arreſted.*

*Dermond
Moil Mac
Cartie fled,*

*The answer
of Dermond
Mac Owen
to the Lord
Preſident.*

1601.

he) to a hard question; for if that should happen, let not then your Lordship trust me or the Lords *Barry* and *Roche*, or any other whatsoever, that you have best conceit of, for if you doe, you will bee deceived; this was plaine dealing, and in divers it proved true, as hereafter you shall heare.

Vpon the determination of these Sessions aforesaid, namely in the beginning of August, the President dispatched his Letters to the Lord Deputie, and the Councell at Dublin, signifying the restraint of these men, and the reasons inducing him thereunto; for they all (being men of turbulent spirits, discontented minds, and ill affected to the English government) could not but proue very dangerous to the State in these doubtfull times, forraine invasions being daily expected; and although they had lately submitted themselves, yet was it sufficiently made knowne unto him, aswell by the confession of the condemned titularie Earle, as from other of good credit, that it proceeded not from any loyall or dutifull disposition, but by the necessitie of the time being constrained, and by the Popish Priests being licensed, they were contented for a time to liue in subjection, being no longer able to hold out in rebellion: But yet notwithstanding, hee determined to proceed, either in the retayning or releasing of them, as hee should be directed by their graver wisdomes: The Lord Deputie and Councell approved of his proceedings, referring the farther pursuite of these affaires, together with all other matters within his government to his owne discretion.

9. August.

*The services
which the
Mounster
Regiment
performed
in Connaght
under the
conduct of
Sir Francis
Barkley.*

You haue formerly heard how Sir *Francis Barkley* was sent with Regiment into Connaght: and although I doe confine my selfe to speake chiefly of the services of Mounster, yet this Regiment being still upon the List of Mounster, I doe not thinke that I shall erre in setting downe of any accident of note which it performed. The ninth of August, Sir *Francis* with his Troopes lodged at *Alphine* in the County of *Roscoman*; the morning following was darke and misty, *Odonnell*, *Orwyrke*, *Tirrell*, and the traytorly Confederats, being fiftene hundred Foote and three hundred Horse, quartering not farre from us, presented themselves close to our Campe; Sir *Francis Barkley* finding that his store of munition was but weake, resolved not to fight, but the Enemy growing bold upon our slacknesse, pressed so boldly upon us, as we were forced to draw out; for two houres there was a hot skirmish, wherein our men served exceeding well, forcing them to retire to their quarter: Of our side there was lost a Gentleman of Captaine *Kingsmills* Company, and foure and twentie hurt: Of the Enemy not so few as eightie slaine and hurt.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Sixe thousand men demanded by the Lord President to bee sent into Mounster to withstand the intended invasion of Spaine. The Lord Presidents opinion sent to the Lords of the Councell, of the likeliest place where the Spaniards would attempt to land their Forces in Ireland. The effect of the Lords of the Councels answer to the Lord President. A branch of the Lord Presidents Letter to Master Secretary Cecill. A Letter from Master Secretary Cecill to the Lord President. The intelligence had of the Spanish fleete comming for Ireland, and by him sent to the Lord President. A branch of Master Secretary Cecils Letter to the Lord President.



THE Lord President from time to time, certified aswell the Lords of her Majesties privie Councell in England, as the Lord Deputie and Councell at Dublin, of all such intelligences as hee received, and probabilities as hee conceived of the Spanish preparations: yet long it was before hee could induce them, to conceit any such thing: But now at the last, even as a vehement and violent Tempest, sometimes resoundeth in the aire for a good space before it falleth, and the neerer it approacheth, the more palpably and senseably is perceived; such was this tempestuous storme of the Spaniards intended invasion, which was now so vniuersally seconded from all places, that it was generally expected both in England and Ireland; and for this cause the President did earnestly sollicit the Councell of England that sixe thousand men might bee levied for this service; whereof two thousand to bee sent presently for Waterford, and the rest to bee in a readinesse at an houres warning, to make speedy repaire to the Sea-coast; upon the first notice of this invasion.

The President also thought fit to deliver his opinion to the Lords of the Councell, what places within the Province were most likely for the Spaniards to attempt, & most necessary for her Majestie both in pollicie and honour to defend: for to prevent their descent in any place, (where themselves thought meete) was by him deemed impossible. But it was to bee presumed, that they would attempt such a place, as should bee honourable for them to gaine, and disadvantageous for her Majestie to loose; And therefore hee thought that their descent (most likely) would be at Limerick, Waterford, or Corke; as for the other Townes, they were neither worth their labour to winne, nor her Majesties charges to defend: Limericke was farre seated within the land, neither could they disimboge from thence without an Easterly winde, (which beeing rare) it was not likely that they would hazzard their Fleet upon such disadvantage: Waterford (though weake and commodious for them) it was so

Sixe thousand men demanded by the Lo. President to be sent into Mounster, to withstand the intended invasion from Spaine.

The Lo. Presidents opinion sent to the Lords of the Councell of the likeliest place which the Spaniards would attempt to land their forces.

1691.

neere to England, and especially lying so conveniently for her Majesties Forces, within that Kingdome, the Deputie on the one side, and the President on the other, being so neere at hand, as it was not likely that they would land there: Corke therefore hee supposed to bee most convenient for them to assaile, and most necessary for her Majestie to defend for these reasons: First, because those that had beene the greatest dealers about this Invasion in Spaine, namely one *Dermond Mac Cartie*, a neere kinsman to *Florence*, called by the Spaniards, *Don Dermutio*, did advise (as aforesaid) *Florence*, by Letters, (which were intercepted) to surprise Corke; Secondly, the said *Florence* did advise the Spanish Archbishop, by his Agent *Donogh Mac Cormack*, (as you have heard) that Corke was the fittest place for this designe; Whereunto both *Tyrone* and all the Northerne Rebels did subscribe. Lastly, her Majesties Magazines of Victualls, Munition, and Treasure residing there in great quantities, could not without infinite trouble, and great danger be remooved: for besides, if they should be removed, either to Limrick or Waterford, neither of those were altogether secure, yet it would give an apparant testimony of feare, conceived of their comming, which would not onely amaze the best affected subjects, through the Province, but give occasion to the rest generally to revolt: upon these reasons the President thought fit to assemble all the forces within the Province, (which was then but 1300 Foote, and 200 Horse in List) unto Corke or the places neere adjoyning, for the manning and making good of that Citie, which in it selfe, by the naturall situation thereof, was very weake, and of small defence.

The effect of
the Lords of
the Coun-
cels answer
to the Lord
President.

The Lords by his Lettets understanding his resolution, by their Letters dated the twentieth of Iuly (which hee received in August following) wrote unto him to this effect; that they would presently send unto him 2000 Foote for his supply: That they would not direct him what he should doe if the Spaniards landed, leaving it to his owne judgement, as occasion should be offered; laying farther, that where by his own Letters they perceived, (whereunto all mens judgement did agree with him) that Corke was a weake towne, & not terrible against a powerfull enemy, they thought fit to give him this generall rule, that in case he should see such forces arrive, applying themselves to a place of weake defence, (which in his judgement must in the end be carried, that nothing can be more pernicious to her Majesties cause, and therefore he should not doe well to venture his small Forces, where they, with Her Majesties provisions, were sure to be lost, howsoever he might peradventure thinke to dispute it for some few dayes: But the President to make good his resolution, answered their Lordships, and maintaining the same (as by his Letters of the

sixth

1601.

*A branch of
the L. Presi-
dents Letter
to M. Secre-
tary Cecil.*

sixth of August may appeare) wherewith the Lords rested satisfied, and left him to his owne judgement; wherein it seemes hee did not erre, for their intention of landing at Corke proved true, (as hereafter shall appeare) whereof for farther testimony of the same, all the Letters which were sent from Spaine to *Don Ioande Aquila*, after his landing in Ireland, were directed to Corke, which is an evident argument, that Corke was their designe, and that in Spaine it was conceived that *Don Iuan* was possessed of it, and also at the same time he wrote to M. Secretarie *Cecil* upon the same subject, his very words were as followeth. The resolution I held, I still hold, which is to defend and keepe Corke, the reasons (in my Letters to the Lords) I have at large discoursed, if Her Majestie shall relinquish any of her walled Cities, (as I am advised to doe) all will be lost, and a generall revolt will insue, wherfore it were better to put somewhat in hazard, then apparantly to lose all: The towne I know to be infinite weake, but many handes is a strong defence, and when the 2000 aides shall come, the enemy shall find it a tough piece of worke to gaine it: To remoove the Queenes Magazines, of victualls, Munition, and treasure, (as some doe advise) into the Countrey, I know no place capable of it, nor yet is there any meanes of carriage (especially in this Harvest time) to convey it away betweene this and Michaelmas, and to send it by sea, must be either to Waterford or Limricke, (which as farre as I know) may proue no lesse dangerous then at Corke, no man certainly knowing where the Enemy will make his discent: But if the worst should happen, that the Towne must bee lost, the treasure (at least) shall be saved, and the rest, the Enemy shall never enjoy. The raising of Shandon is to no purpose, for every Hill and Ditch (neere the Towne) commands the Citie no lesse then it, the defences of earth (which by my directions are in making) are onely made to winne time; and I have so provided, that the charge of the workemen is borne by the Towne and Countrey, the Queenes expences is no more, but the use of her Shovels, Spades, Pickaxes and Whildebarrowes, &c.

Now wee may see how true a Prophet the President was, that the Spaniards would invade Ireland; but like unto *Cassandra* untill this time could never bee beleevd, which proceeded out of the defects (which both the Lords in England, and the Lord Deputie of Ireland) had of good intelligence, whereof the President was better stored then either of them: of the undoubted likelihood of their comming; Sir *Robert Cecil* her Majesties Secretary wrote to the President as followeth.

1601.

*A Letter from Master Secretary Cecill to the
Lord President.*

Sir George Carew, on Wednesday last, certaine Pinnaces of her Majesties met with a fleete of Spaniards, to the number of fiftie saile, whereof seventeene are men of warre, the rest are transporting Ships, as by this Note inclosed doth appeare, which my Intelligencer sent me at their going out. These Ships cannot bee but for Ireland, from which Coast the storme kept them, unlesse it should bee said, that the King will land them in the Low-countries, which I will never beleue hee durst adventure, knowing how long wee haue expected them; and haue fourteene good ships out, which if you compare with the note inclosed of his, you shall find that wee might be ashamed to suffer his Fleete to land so quietly, and our Fleete in the taile of them; but (which is more certaine) to confirme my opinion ever for Ireland, this proportion is fit for Ireland, there it may worke mischief; and besides, that they which met them, saw them set their course from the mouth of the sleeue (where they were on wednesday) just for Ireland, and (as I verily thinke) they will fall for Limerick; for in Spaine it was advertised me, that their Rendezvous was for the Blaskys, which you know is on that Coast, about the Dingle or the Ventrey: Lastly, if they had meant to haue come hither, they would haue beene here before this time, being on wednesday at Silley, and the wind having beene South-west since faire. If therefore they bee not in Ireland, they are certainly put Roomer with Spaine againe; but that I dare not hope. Now Sir, what my Lord Deputy and you shall doe there, is not our parts to tell you, onely wee desire you to propound us possible things, and then shall you haue them; two thousand wee haue sent already into Mounster, at least the want of wind hinders them, in the imbarquing Ports: if we know once where they are landed, then must you also tell us, where you will haue us send you: for if you looke for our supplies to come to you, in the West side of Mounster, or South parts, then can we put them by Sea more properly, and land neerer the parts of Accon, then to send them to Dublin, or to Corke, but all this to you must bee referred, to whom I wish as great happinesse as I wish to my owne heart: And so I end from the Court at Windfore this twelfth of August, 1601.

Your loving and assured Friend,

Robert Cecill.

From

From Lisbona the five and twentieth of Iuly, 1601.

Here at Lisbon, there are stayed about two hundred Sailes of Ships; out of which number, five and fourtie onely are selected for transportation of Souldiers.

The number of Souldiers are sixe thousand, whereof three thousand are here kept aboard the ships, lest they should runne away; the other three thousand are a comming from Andaluzia and those parts, in a fleete of ships and gallies, under the conduct of the *Adelantados* sonne unto Lisbon.

The ships which carie the Souldiers are of the burthen of one hundred, one hundred and fiftie, and not aboue two hundred Tuns: The Spaniards doe refuse greater ships of the East Countries, which are stayed at Lisbon, and make choise of the smallest Vessels they haue for their purpose.

Of their five and fourtie Saile of ships, seventeene saile onely are fitted for men of warre, whereof eleaven of them are but small ships, the other sixe are Gallions; the Saint *Paul*, the Saint *Peter*, the Saint *Andrew*, and three smaller Gallions of the Kings, whose names I know not.

For the manning of their ships, fiftene hundred Sailors were sent hither out of Biskay.

The Marques of S.^r *Croce*, goeth Admirall in the Saint *Paul*, *Sibiero* alias *Seriago* Viceadmirall in the Saint *Peter*, they make account to bee ready by the last of Iuly, and ride with their yards a Crosse.

The two ships of *Dunkerke* (which haue remayned long at Lisbon) doe make ready to come away with the Fleete.

By this Letter it appeares that they in England now were awake, and confident of the Spanish invasion, untill which time (notwithstanding, the Presidents daily calling upon them for Men, Munition, and Victuals) they gaue a deafe eare; also hee received an other of the same date, a fragment whereof I thinke it not unnecessary to relate, as well to shew the assurance which was held in England of the invasion, as the tender care her Majesties principall Secretary had of the President, and of the deare affection he bare him.

My deere *George*, now will I omit all the petty particulars of many things; because the great storme (which I presume is fallen upon Mounster) drownes all my petty cares, and wounds my soule for care of you; of whom I know not what to expect, but as a lost child; for though I know you are not so mad as to runne to the enemies mouthes, with a dozen persons in comparison; yet I am desperately affraid that the Provincials should betray you; even those I meane that must or will seeme to be principally about you; &c.

CHAP.

1601.

The intelligence M. Secretary Cecill had of the Spanish fleete comming for Ireland, and by him sent to the Lord President.

A branch of M. Secretarie Cecills Letter to the Lord President, dated the 12. of August. 1601.

1601.

CHAP. IX.

The crosse Accidents which hapned to make the Lord Deputy to be offended with the Lord President. The Lord Deputies Letter to the Lord President. A satisfactory Letter from the Lord Deputy to the Lord President.

The crosse accident which hapned, to make the Lord Deputy to be offended with the Lord President.



As is formerly related, Sir Francis Barkley being in the Province of Connaght with one thousand Foote and fiftie Horse of the List of Mounster; when the President sent him thither, among other instructions which hee gaue unto Sir Francis, was that hee should not (upon any direction) goe out of that Province, untill hee first heard from him; the reason which moved him to insert this clause into his instructions, was the confident assurance hee had of the Spanish invasion: But yet to prevent the worst, lest the Lord Deputy might peradventure command him to march into Vlster, or Linster; hee presently dispatched a Letter to the Lord Deputy, signifying unto him, what direction hee had given unto Barkley, and the reasons that moved him unto it, beseeching his Lordship to allow thereof: But see the mischiefe, before the Presidents Letters came to the Lord Deputies hands, hee had sent Captaine Henry Cosby with a peremptory commandement to Sir Francis Barkley, to march to Ballisheman in Vlster: Sir Francis being perplexed what course to take, at last resolved to obey his instructions, hoping that the Lord President would bee able to make his peace with the Lord Deputy; but so slow and negligent was the Presidents Messenger (which afterwards was excused by sicknesse) as the Lord Deputy had received Sir Francis Barklies refusall, before hee had knowledge of the Presidents Letters: whereupon hee stormed at the President, and dispatched presently his Letters to the Lords of the Councell, complayning of the President, not sparing to tell them, that rather then hee would undergoe so great an indignity (by any man that served underneath him) hee would quit his government: And at the same time it fell out so crossely, that another accident did no lesse moue the Deputy to bee enraged then the former; for of the two thousand supplies which were to come into Mounster, the President (to giue contentment to many worthy men, that without charge had followed him in the former services) had obtayned from the Lords in England, that sixe hundred of them should bee bestowed upon such as he should make choise of, to bee their Captaines; this added to that aforementioned, did so much increase his Lordships indignation to the President, (whereunto many ill disposed, to increase the flame gaue fuell) as his Lordship wrote this ensuing Letter to the President.

The

*The Lord Deputies Letter to the Lord**President.*

MY Lord, as I haue hitherto borne you as much affection, and as truely as ever I did professe it unto you; and I protest rejoiced in all your good successes as mine owne; so must you giue mee leaue, since I presume I haue so just cause, to challenge you of unkindnesse and wrong, in writing into England, that in preferring your Followers, Sir *Henry Dockwray* hath had more power from me then your selfe; and consequently, to sollicite the Queene to haue the nomination of some Captaines in this kingdome: for the first I could haue wished you would haue beene better advised, because upon mine honour, hee never without my speciall warrant, did appoint but one, who I after displaced, and I doe not remember that ever since our comming over, I haue denyed any thing, which you haue recommended unto me, with the marke of your owne desire to obtaine it; and in your Province I haue not given any place (as I thinke) but at your instance. For the other, I thinke it is the first example, that ever any under an other Generall, desired or obtained the like suite. And although I will not speake injuriously of your deserts, nor modestly of mine owne; yet this disgrace cannot make me beleue, that I haue deserved worse then any that haue beene Generals before me: But since it is the Queenes pleasure, I must endure it, and you choose a fit time to obtaine that or any thing else against me: Yet I will concurre with you in the service, as long as it shall please her Majestie to employ us here: but afterward, I doubt not but to giue you satisfaction that I am not worthy of this wrong: The Councell and my selfe upon occasion of extraordinary consequence, sent for some of the Companies of Mounster out of Connaght, when wee heard you were to be supplied with two thousand out of England, but wee received from them a flat deniall to come, and the copie of your Letter to warrant them therein. If you haue any authority from the Queene to countermand mine, you may very well justify it, but it is more then you haue vowed to me to haue, when I (before my comming over) protested unto you, that if you had, I would rather serue the Queene in prison, then here. My Lord these are great disgraces to me, and so conceived, and I thinke justly, by all that know it, which is and will be very shortly all Ireland. My allegiance, and owne honour are now engaged with all my burthens, to goe on in this worke, otherwayes no feare should make mee suffer thus much; and what I doe, it is onely loue doth moue me unto it: For I know you are deare to one, whom I am bound to respect with

1601.

extraordinary affection. And so my Lord I wish you well, and will omit nothing (while I am in this kingdome) to giue you the best contentment I can, and continue as,

Your assured Friend

Mountrie.

In this meane time, before these stormes came to the Presidents knowledge (for yet hee had not received the Lord Deputies sharpe Letter, hoping that the time of the Spaniards coming, would admit Sir Francis his Regiment some longer absence, sent him word to march to Ballishenan, or elsewhere (as it pleased the Deputie) and withall by his Letters, he acquainted his Lordship of his directions, and beseeched his Lordship to haue a care of Mounster, which hee was no way able (his places of Garison guarded) with his small forces remayning, to confront *Terrill*, and the Ulster aides, then ready to enter into it, much lesse to defend the Cities of Corke, Limerick, and Waterford against the Spaniards, whose arrivall hee daily expected: After this second dispatch to the Lord Deputie, the President received his Lordships thundering Letters; but when the Lord Deputie by his answer saw, how much hee was mistaken, and had well considered upon what good ground the Presidents instructions were given to Sir *Francis Barkley*, and also that he had retrenched the same before hee knew that his Lordship had sent for them: And that although hee had gotten the favour to bestow sixe of the Companies that came out of England, hee knew that they could stand no longer then hee pleased, and so left them to be disposed of at his will, he not onely blamed himselfe, but wrote a satisfactory, kindly unto him, which to shew the good nature of that Noble-man, I thinke I should doe him wrong if I did not relate it.

*A satisfactory Letter from the Lord Deputie to
the Lord President.*

MY Lord, if my Letter did expresse some more then ordinary passion, I will now desire you, if you haue any opinion of my judgement or honesty, to beleue mee, that at that time I had so much reason to bee so moved, as I presume, when I next speake with you, I shall induce you to confesse, that my expostulation did neither proceed from undervaluing you, or overvaluing my selfe, private respect to my owne ends, vanity in desire of preheminences, nor lightnesse, or evill nature in quitting slightly so worthy a friend; and if I can farther perswade you by the effect it tooke with me, I protest the miserable tragedie of those I held here my dearest friends,
the

the unkindnesse I tooke by their shewing themselves my most mortall enemies, the danger that I knew they brought my fortune into, nor any thing which hath beene much, that hath hapned to me since my comming into this kingdome, did ever so much moue me, as this, and the circumstances that did accompany it; the which being unfit to be trusted either to paper, or at the least to this passage; I will reserue for my owne defence till I speake with you, or may send a more safe and assured Messenger unto you, and so leaue my case; *Sub iudice*, but in the meane time absolue you from any wrong or unkindnesse you haue done me, with this assurance, that the desire you shew to giue me satisfaction, hath, and shall increase that affection I haue borne you; and in the world you shall not find for ever hereafter a more iust, and sure friend and this much for your owne sake, but for his unto whom I know you are so deare, I am so much in my heart a servant to the worthinesse that hee hath shewed in his kindnesse unto me; that if hee should desire me, to traile a Pike under a farre meaner friend unto him then you; I would doe it willingly, because my fortune doth otherwayes so little enable me, to shew my thankfulness unto him, and this I doe not write out of my base observation of his fortune; but upon my Christianity, I doe acknowledge him to haue deserved more of mee, then all the world besides, and I doe truely thinke him to be the most honourable man, that ever (in this unworthy world) my fortune was to haue any thing to doe withall. And therefore noble Lord, of all these things I will write as I haue read in my dunses of Logicke, *Sustine pro nunc*: Onely I beseech you dispose of the Companies, and all things else to your liking, which shall bee (I assure you) to mine, but to the great trouble I haue in hand, I must confesse, was never more puffed in my Councils, for many iust respects; but especially by an intelligence I haue received this day: And if I would like *Diogenes*, take a Candle in my hand, to seeke a wise man in this kingdome, unto whose judgement I would trust to assise mine (in the case in question) I know not where I should find any except it be you; and therefore if it be possible, send me word, where I may speake with you presently, though I come as farre or farther then Kilkenny, for I would faine resolve with you of all, and joyntly with you make a present dispatch into England; I pray dispatch a speedy Messenger, though it be a Horseman, and I will leane all things so, as I will be prepared to goe on a suddaine, and so I commit you to God, whom I beseech to send us a happy meeting: The fift of September, 1601.

Your most assured Friend

Mountioye.

1601.

What an opinion of wisdome and worthinesse the President had now gayned by his painefull and politique proceedings, I cannot but remember, the same being acknowledged by so many and worthy persons of her Maiesties Privie Councell: for if that bee *vera laus* which proceedeth à *viro laudato*; or if that rule of *Aristotle* be true, *viz.* That thing is justly to bee preferred, *quod à pluribus & sapientissimis approbatur*, then may I without flattery conclude, that his deserts were Honourable, and his wisdome was in such great esteeme, as his Counsailes were so well allowed of the Lords of the Councell, as never doubt was made of them, and all things concerning that Province was left to his discretion, as occasions with their circumstances hapned.

Lastly, the Lord Deputie, whose judgement was second to none for the prosecution of the warre in Ireland, being now mightily distracted betwixt the Northren prosecutions, and the Spanish preparations, did write to the President, that there was no man, that could so well assist him in this dolefull case, and upon whose judgement he would so much rely (in all that kingdome) as upon his, and therefore requested him earnestly, to repaire speedily to Kilkenny, (neereto his Province) for so farre would hee come to meete him.

CHAP. X.

Intelligence of the Spanish invasion. Two thousand Foote sent to the Lord President. The Spanish Fleete discovered at Sea by Capitaine Loue, whereof the Lord President advertised the Lord Deputy. The Lord President makes a Journey to the Lord Deputy. The Lord Deputy and the Lord President meete at Leighlin. Sir Charles Wilmot advertiseth the Lord President of the discovery of the Spanish fleete; at the mouth of the Haven of Corke. The Spaniards land at Kinsale. A Proclamation made in Kinsale by Don Iuan de Aquila, to give contentment to the Inhabitants. A list of the Captaines in the Spanish Army. Don Iuan his Certificate into Spaine after his landing at Kinsale.



HE President addressed himselfe forthwith to attend his Lordship, but was suddainely stopped by a double occasion. First Sir Francis Barkley being at Galway with one thousand Foote, and fiftie Horse of the Mounster forces, sent him certaine word, that a Spanish ship was landed at Sleigo, which brought assured newes that fixe thousand men were assembled in Spaine ready to bee imbarqued, and with the first wind to come for Ireland, which caused him to recall the said Sir Francis Barkley againe into Mounster, and Sir Charles Wilmot from Kerry, and to take order for the two thousand supplies, that were now landed out of England, and before he could fully deter-

*Intelligence
of the Span-
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*Two thou-
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M^cCarte's Reges Companies

THE ARMY OF THE KINGE OF
Spaine Comanded by DON Iohn de Aguilã.
besieged in the towne of Kinsale by the forces of
her victorious and Sacred Ma^{ty}, vnder the Comand
of Charles Lord Mountiory, her Ma^{ty}s lieutenant
generall of her Kingdome of Irland.

The Siege began the 17th daye of October 1601 and
ended the 9th of Januarye followinge.

Banden Flu:

the Earle of Thomonds first Campe
+ Regiments

TYRONE AND O'DONNELL wth
an Army of 6000 Irish & Don Alonso
del Campo wth a Regiment of Spaniards
Comminge to raise the Siege of
Kinsale, were overthrowne neere
the said Towne, by the Lord
Deputie and part of her Ma^{ty}s forces
the 24 December. 1601

S^r William Godolphin wth
S^r Lord Deputies & S^r
Lord Presidents Horse

S^r Henry Folliott Regiment

S^r Henry Power & the
Squadron volant

The Marshall, the
Lt. of Clonrickard &
S^r Henry & S^r Horse
Chapaine & Entury

S^r Oliver & John Regent

The Lt. Deputie
Chapaine & Entury

The Rire of the
Rebells where all
the Spaniards were
broken by our
Horse.

The vanguard of S^r
Rebells runne away
wth out any Struck
Strikes

Tyrone & O'Donnell & S^r Rebells
Horse running a waye

Here S^r Spaniards made a little stand to gather
up their forces, but were forced to retire



determine these affaires, there arrived one Captaine *Thomas Loue* at Corke Haven, in the West of Ireland, who sent him word by Letter dated the thirteenth of September, that hee had beene upon the Coast of Spaine in a small man of warre, and had discryed five and fourtie saile of the Spanish fleet at Sea, to the north of Cape-finister, standing to the Northward, by which hee conjectured, that they shaped their course for Ireland; whereupon the President sent a speedy dispatch to the Lord Deputie, being then at Kilkenny, certifying his Lordship, by what suddaine occurrents hee was diverted from his intended journey, where receiving notice thereof (having for a short time reposed himselfe there) returned towards Dublin: These rumors being now noyed throughout all Ireland, every man was in daily expectation of the Spanish fleet, and no sooner could there a ship appeare upon the Coast, but presently it was supposed to be a Spaniard; but there none appeared before the seventeenth of the same Moneth, which the Lord President perceiving, and that the winds still were contrary, and the weather very stormy and tempestuous, remembring how earnestly the Deputie solicited his Company, for causes very important, appoynting Sir *Charles Wilmot* Governour of Corke; and having set all things in good order as the time would permit; notwithstanding the indisposition of his body being very much distempered, at that time with long and weary journies, made towards the Deputie, and through weaknesse not able to passe beyond Leighlin, there hee stayed, advertising the Lord Deputie (who was then at Rheban of his being there, which was the nineteenth of September: His Lordship being very glad of his comming, when hee least expected his Company repayed unto him; after congratulations, his Lordship consulted with the President, about such services as hee thought most necessary at that time, in which consultation they spent some houres; and that night they went to Kilkenny, both of them being lodged by the Earle of Ormond in his house. The morrow being the twentieth of that moneth of September, towards night, the Sovereigne of Kinsale sent a Messenger to Sir *Charles Wilmot* then in Corke, with Letters importing that there was a fleet of five and fourtie ships discovered from the old head of Kinsale, and that they were past the river of Kinsale, bearing towards the harbour of Corke; the Inhabitants likewise at Corke Harbour, brought him word that the said fleet was discovered afore that Havens mouth, and ready as they thought to put into it: Sir *Charles* incontinently dispatched a Horseman with Letters to the President who came unto him the three and twentieth, and also sendeth for all the forces of the Province, and Gentlemen of the Countrey, to repaire unto him. The Spaniards being close at the

1601.

13. Septem.

The Spanish fleet discovered at Sea by Captaine Loue, whereof the Lord President advertised the Lo. Deputy.

Sept. 17.

The Lord President takes his Journey towards the Lo. Deputy.

19. Sept.

The Lord Deputie and the L. President meet at Leighlin.

20. Sept.

23. Sept.
Sir Charles Wilmot advertiseth the L. President of the discovery of the Spanish fleet at the mouth of the Haven of Corke.

1601.

23. Sept.

The Spaniards land at Kinsale.

Havens mouth, the wind suddainely scanted, whereupon they tack-
ed about, and made for Kinsale. Within the Towne Captaine
William Saxeys Company lay then in garison; but because the Towne
was of small strength, unable to withstand so powerfull an Enemy,
order was given to Sir *Charles Wilmot* that they should quit the same,
and retraite to Corke. Vpon the three and twentieth of this in-
stant, the Enemy landed their forces in the haven of Kinsale, and
marched with five and twentie Colours towards the Towne; upon
their approach the Townsmen not being able to make resistance
(if they had beene willing thereunto) set open their Gates, and
permitted them, without impeachment or contradiction to enter
the Towne: The Sovereigne with his white rod in his hand, going
to billet, and cease them in severall houses, more ready then if they
had beene the Queenes forces.

To encourage them to persevere, to banish feare, and to winne
their loue by gentle and mild vsage, *Don Iuan de Aquila*, the Spanish
Generall, promised this which insueth, published the same, and con-
firmed it with his hand and Seale, which is thus Englished.

*A Proclamation made in Kinsale by Don Iuan de Aquila,
to giue contentment to the Inhabitants
of Kinsale.*

V Ee *Don Iuan de Aquila*, Generall of the Armie to *Phi-
lip King of Spaine*; by these presents doe promise, that
all the Inhabitants of the Towne of Kinsale, shall re-
ceiue no injury by any of our retinew, but rather shall bee vsed as
our brethren and friends, and that it shall bee lawfull for any of the
Inhabitants that list to transport, without any molestation in body
or goods, and as much as shall remaine, likewise without any hurt.

Don Iuan de Aquila.

For testimony, that the forces which the said Spanish Generall,
were no lesse, but rather more then is reported; I thought it not
impertinent for the Readers better satisfaction, to set downe the
names of all the Commanders, Officers, and Captaines that landed
with him at Kinsale, and afterward.

THE

The names of the Spanish
Commanders and Cap-
taines.

Don Iuan de Aquila Maestro del Campo General.
Don Francisco de Padilla maestro del Campo.
Antonio Centeno maestro del Campo.
Capitan Don Pedro Morijon.
Captaine Francisco de Pinuoll.
Captaine Pedro Munnez de Xaer.
Captaine Miguel Caxa de Cuellar.
Captaine Andres Leal.
Captaine Don Luis de Vela.
Captaine Don Gomez de Vargas.
Captaine Don Pedro Zuazo.
Captaine Saint Vincente.
Captaine Don Gasser de Guevarra.
Captaine Diego Gonzales Sigler.
Captaine Marcos de Porras.
Captaine Cascarro.
Captaine Don Philippo de Camonde.
Captaine Pedro de Chauves.
Captaine Don Diego de Vierzina.
Captaine Luis de Carrera.
Captaine Francisco de Muniofa.
Captaine Pedro Enriques de Tejada.
Captaine Don Christouall de Ayala.
Captaine Iuan Ymonez de Carata.
Captaine Alonso de Zaramelle.
Captaine Don Pedro de O Campo.
Captaine Luis Diaz de Navarra.
Captaine Alonso de Motina.
Captaine Diego Palomeque.
Captaine Maldonado.
Captaine Iosepho Escobar.
Captaine Antonio de Tuso Italiano.
Captaine Orlando Italiano.
Captaine Christouall de Cardenosa.
Captaine Y quariel Maestro Miguel Briena.
Captaine Diego de La Villa.
Captaine Hernando Borragan.
Captaine De O Campo.

*A List of
the Cap-
taines of the
Spanish Ar-
my.*

1601.

Captaine Francisco Ruiz de Vellasco.
 Captaine Pedro de Saavedra.
 Captaine Graneros.
 Captaine Andreas de Arve.
 Captaine Alborno.
 Captaine Martin Ruyz Sarjento Mayor.
 Captaine Luis de Aquila Sarjento Mayor.
 Pedro Lopes de Soto Veador T Contador de la infanteria.
 Iuan Ocho a Devasterra Contador de La Artilleria.
 Diego Ruyz de Salazar Pagador.

After that *Don Iuan* was landed and settled in the Towne of Kinsale, by the shipping which returned, hee sent into Spaine a relation of his present estate, which is as followeth, translated out of the Originall under his owne hand.

A Discourse of the estate wherein Don Iuan de Aquila doth remaine, with the appointment of such things as hee advertiseth to be needfull for his succour, and good effect of his voyage; translated out of a Spanish discourse.

Stil novo.

*Don Iuan
his Certifi-
cate into
Spaine after
his landing
in Kinsale.*

ON the first of October hee arrived at the Haven of Kinsale, and the day following, *Don Iuan* landed all his Souldiers; whereof framing two Squadrons, hee marched towards the said Towne, out of which there issued fiftie Foote and fourtie Horse, who leaving the place free, went towards the Towne of Corke; the persons of better sort going with them, with all their goods; whereupon there were presently sent in two Companies, and the day following entered all the rest of the Armie, and lodged there, to the end to shelter the Troopes and munitions under covert, although with great straightnesse, the place contayning not about two hundred houses.

The seat and foundation of Kinsale is in a side of a River, invironed with hils, and without any kind of defense, in so much as *Don Iuan* is of the mind, if the Enemy should come (to quarter himselfe neere his front) to try his fortune, because otherwise hee should not be able to make good the place.

There were disembarked two Field-Pieces, and two Demie-Cannons, leaving the rest of the Artillerie unlanded, not having Munition sufficient for so much Artillery, for that the Powder and Match which remaines is little, and the greater quantitie came wet, as well as not to be encombred with so much Artillerie, without Horses to draw it, since that with the next succors may be sent Munition enough.

There

There is in the middle of the Haven of Quinsale, a certaine (almost an) Island, on the which it seemeth good to *Don Iuan* to haue a Fort made, to secure and defend the Haven; yet is there no convenient place to doe it: for on the part that lookes towards the place, an Arme of the Sea divides it from the land, continued somewhat upwards into the land, without having Pinnaces, Boats, or other meanes to crosse it: and for that the Towne Quinsale is of so great a Seat, and open in so many parts, and so weake, that it is needfull to haue halfe the Troupes in guard at least, whensoever they should bee forced to draw out to some good effect, which notwithstanding would not bee in good securitie, the place (almost an Island) not having sufficient water, nor is there any place of those adjacent, that yeeldeth meanes to fortifie it, so that it is necessary to goe elsewhere for it, having here nothing to make Cisterns nor Pinnases for a passage, or to bring bavins and faggots, the River being somewhat farther upwards into the land.

Hee sent to tell *Don Diego Brochero*, that because the way remayned so ill, hee should assise him before hee went, in causing to be disimbarqued the Bisquet, and afterwards, that all the boats should make three or foure voyages for bavins or gabions, whereof hee had great need; the River as is aforesaid, being somewhat farre aboue, hee answered that hee could not attend to this, or disimbarque the Biskets which came in the hulke, which were there, but to returne presently, and so with great haste caused the munitions to bee landed, which they left upon the shore, without account or reason; the Accounter and Steward of the Artillery remayning, which would not undertake to account for it; and such was the haste, that on the durt and Ooes of the shore they were ill handled, and wet, as if the Enemy had beene already playing with their Artillery on their ships. So soone as *Don Iuan* had lodged himselfe in the place, hee dispatched to the Earles severall times, advising them of his arrivall; yet in nine dayes that passed untill I was dispatched into Spaine, they received no answer: There is from Kinsale to the place where the Earles abide seventie five Leagues; the naturals of the Countrey report the forces of the Earles to bee much lesse then was given out to us, and that the Enemy doth hold them in with forts: The enemies haue drawen together all their Cartell and Corne, and with their Cavallerie breake the Mills, and because wee haue no Horse, they presume to come every day up to our Wals, not being able to avoid or hinder it; notwithstanding our sallies against them, insomuch that from without, wee receiue neither flesh nor any other thing, except some few Cowes from the poore people of the place, which they sell the rather unto us, because wee pay them what they demand, yet within few

Bb

dayes

Tyronne.
Odonnell.

1601.

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 Captaine Pedro de Saavedra.
 Captaine Graneros.
 Captaine Andreas de Arve.
 Captaine Alborno.
 Captaine Martin Ruyz Sarjento Mayor.
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The seat and foundation of Kinsale is in a side of a River, invironed with hils, and without any kind of defense, in so much as *Don Iuan* is of the mind, if the Enemy should come (to quarter himselfe neere his front) to try his fortune, because otherwise hee should not bee able to make good the place.

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Bb

dayes

*Tyrone.
Odonnell.*

1601.

dayes there would bee no flesh had, by reason of the English, who haue engrossed and gathered the Crets together, and burned the houses of the naturals.

Don Iuan doth procure to draw from the Countrey people, by loue and rewards all that he can; yet withall this, findeth no assistance from them, neither dare they declare themselues, and the greater part haue no will, seeing the small forces which haue beene landed, but seeing that there are more, they will bee still comming, and some of them receiue pay, it is very requisite to pay them and arme them; because till now many of them are past to the Enemy: Since the writing of this by *Don Iuan de Aquila*, there came a spy from Corke, where the Enemy doth joyne together, who saith that the Viceroy had already together more then foure thousand Foote and foure or fise hundred Horse, and that the Queene of England had received advertisement of the comming of the Spaniards into Ireland, whereupon were great preparations made for the expulsiue them; the Souldiers which were disimbarqued, marched to the number of three thousand and foure hundred; besides those which came in a hulke, now arrived three Leagues from hence, but making a squadron of them, there was a lesse number found, so that it is thought fit to take the first muster with much rigour, taking note of the boyes, and such besides of the rest as are *Befognies*, who not knowing the use of their Peece, nor how to discharge them, are drawen out to exercise their Armes dayly, many fall sicke, and are already more then one hundred: It is fit that the succour which his Majesty meaneth to send, should bee dispatched with speed, because the Enemy may not haue power to engage the places which *Don Iuan* hath designed to fortifie: It should bee a matter of great importance, and the whole for Horse, by reason of the difference of the Cavallerie, which commeth out of England and that of the Earles, for all that can bee leaved in Ireland, or that they haue are small Horses, and the Souldiers are unarmed, which doe onely fight with halfe Pikes, and Saddles without stirrups.

Of powder and matches as is aforesaid, there is small store, so that it is necessary to send some good quantitie together with Lead, because there passed but little.

Bisquet and some wine is necessary for the sustenance of our Troopes, because there came not such a quantitie of Bisquet as his Majestie commanded, and was not more then for two Moneths or little more.

It is likewise convenient, that there come a great summe of monie, for it imports much to pay well, for want whereof, there rise no disorders, that of friends wee gaine not enemies.

That

That others may come in the place of the Accounter, and overseer that brought us to the Groyne.

It is convenient to send two Doctors, because there is none in the regiment of Spaniards.

Likewise that an Auditor Generall bee sent to serve here, because there is none.

It behooveth also to send Carpenters and Smiths, or Farriers being very necessary.

And that his Majestie bee served, that there might remaine here three or foure ships to giue advise of whatsoever shall succeed, there being none left here at this present.

The next day after *Don Iuan* was landed, *Sir Charles Wilmot* sent Captaine *Francis Slingsby* with his foote Company, and *Sir Anthony Cooks* Horse, with directions to take the best view hee could of their fleete and forces, who at his comming thither, found them possessed both of the Towne of Kinsale, and of the Castle of Rincorran neere adjoyning unto it; and to bid him welcome, they drew forth a Company or two of Foote, and a skirmish for a little space was entertayned, wherein there were some hurt, but none slaine; Captaine *Slingsby* having performed his directions returned to Corke.

CHAP. XI.

Second Letters from Sir Charles Wilmot of the arrivall of the Spaniards in Kinsale. Debate in Councell what was meetest for the Lord Deputy to doe. The Lord Deputy assented to the Lord Presidents advise. The Lord Presidents providence. A dispatch into England of the Spaniards arrivall. The Lord Deputy goeth with the Lord President into Mounster. None of the Provincials of Mounster did adbere to the Spaniards at their first landing. The report of a Master of a Scotts Barque concerning the strength of the Spaniard. Captaine Flower sent to view Kinsale. Direction given for the burning of the Corne neere Kinsale. A Letter from the Archbishop of Dublin, and Don Iuan de Aquila unto Tyrone and O Donnell. The Lord Deputy and Lord President &c. went to view the Towne of Kinsale. The Lord Deputy with the Army marched towards Kinsale.



At the instant when *Sir Charles Wilmots* Letters of the Spaniards arrivall came to Kilkenny, which was upon the three and twentieth of September, as afore mentioned; the Lord Deputie, the Earle of Ormond, the Lord President, *Sir Richard Wingfielde* Marshall of the Army of Ireland, and *Sir Robert Gardiner* the chiefe Iustice, were in Councell, advising what course was fittest to take if the Spaniards should land: But now *Sir Charles Wilmots* Letters gaue them cause to advise what should be done, they being landed, & to confirme the

1601.

Second Letters from Sir Charles Wilmot of the arrivall of the Spaniards at Kinsale.

It was debated in Councell upon the receipt of the Letters aforesaid, what was meetest for the Lord Deputy to doe.

The Lord President differs in opinion from the rest.

The Lord Deputy assented to the Lo. Presidents advise.

The providence of the Lord President.

24. Sept.

same; while they were in Councell, second Letters came from Sir Charles Wilmot, and the Major of Corke, that the Spaniards had quitted the harbour of Corke, and were all at an Anchor in the haven of Kinsale: The question was then, what the Lord Deputy should doe: The Earle of Ormond, the Marshall, and the chiefe Justice were of opinion, that hee should doe well to hasten to Dublin, and there to assemble his forces together; and whilest they were drawing to a head, to giue order for supplies, of victuals and munitions to bee sent to Corke; and that the President should presently bee dispatched into the Province, to defend the Citie of Corke, untill the Lord Deputie came to his reliefe, wherein all expedition was to bee vsed; for their reasons were, that if the Lord Deputie presented himselfe in the Province with small forces, it would encourage the Enemy, and put distrust and feare in the Provincials, which were either well affected or neutrals.

The Presidents advise was opposite to theirs, beseeching the Lord Deputy to goe presently into Mounster, although hee had no more then his Page with him; for said he, if the Provincials shall see that you turne your backe towards them, they will conceiue it proceeds of want of force, and then undoubtedly a generall revolt will ensue, but when they shall see you personally amongst them, that doubt will be removed; and besides, the Armie (now disperfed) will make more haste after you, then they would doe if you attended their comming to Dublin.

The Lord Deputy inclined to the Presidents Councell, but said he, what should I doe there, not being able to mainetaine the Armie with victuals for the space of a weeke, nor to furnish it with munitions, of both which there is no remaine in the Magazines in Dublin: The President willed him to take no care for those wants, for hee would furnish him, and the whole Armie for two or three moneths, which indeed hee was able to doe, for hee had spared the expence of victuals, not consuming so much as a Bisquet, for more then sixe moneths, giving the Souldiers money, and having beene evermore confident of the Spaniards arrivall, had procured good supplies of munitions, which were frugally and sparingly issued: The Lord Deputy like unto one that was overjoyed with such unexpected provisions, rose from his Chaire, embraced the President, and said, that if hee had not beene more then provident, that himselfe did not know what to haue done, and that his honour had beene indangered, and ascribed to him what hee well deserved.

In conclusion the foure and twentieth, the Marshall Sir Henry Davers, and Sir John Barkley were dispatched into Linster and to Armaghe, to assemble the Army, and to bring it withall possible expedition

pedition into Mounster, and Letters were dispatched to Sir Charles Wilmot to bee well upon his guard, and dispatches sent into England by Captaine *Iohn Roberts* of the Spaniards arrivall: All things being thus ordered, doubt was made how the Lord Deputy could be conveyed safely to Corke, being attended by no other then his household servants in that dangerous time, which was satisfied by the President, who had then with him there one hundred Horse, and for the furnishing of the Lord Deputies house at Corke, with stufte and vtensils hee undertooke the care. The same day the Lord Deputy and President, Sir *Robert Gardiner* departed from Kilkenny, and the same night they lodged at Kilkenian the Lord *Dunboynes* house, the next night at Clonmell, the sixe and twentieth at Glanogher the Lord *Robes* house, and the next day following they came to Corke.

Now are wee come to siege of Kinsale, a place ordayned, wherein the honour and safetie of Queene *Elizabeth*, the reputation of the English nation, the cause of Religion, and the Crowne of Ireland must bee by Armes disputed; for upon the successes of this siege, as these great and important consequences depended: And here the malice of Rome and Spaine (if they had prevailed) would not haue ceased, for their purposes did extend it selfe; (Ireland having beene conquered) to make it their bridge to haue invaded England, the conquest and ruine whereof was the maine marke, whereat they aimed.

It was generally expected, that upon the first landing of the Spaniards, that the greatest part of Mounster would haue presently relapsed, and haue declared themselves Spanish; but the President had so well established the Province, by the apprehending of all the Principals which hee mistrusted, and by taking good pledges of the rest; that when the Lord Deputy came to Corke, hee presented unto him all the men of living, and quality in the Province, who stood firme untill the comming of supplies to Castlehaven, as hereafter you shall heare.

The eight and twentieth the Lord President brought the master of a Scottish barke to the Lord Deputy which came from Lisbon, who confidently reported, that the Spaniards (when they were embarked for Ireland) were sixe thousand strong: And the same day we heard that none of the Irish had repaired to Kinsale (to tender their service to the Spaniards) but onely some dependants of *Florence Mac Carries*, and that *Don Iohn* and his Captaines were much grieved that *Florence* was sent prisoner into England, of whose restraint they understood nothing untill they were arrived: And also wee were advertised, that at Kinsale five and thirtie ships arrived wth *Don Iohn*, and that the rest of his fleete were driven into Baltimore, having in them seven hundred Souldiers, and that they brought with

1601.

A dispatch into England of the Spaniards arrivall.

The Lord Deputy goeth with the Lord President into Mounster.

26. Sept.

Not any of the Provincials of Mounster adhered to the Spaniards at the first landing.

28. Sept.

The report of the master of a Scottish barque concerning the strength of the Spaniards.

1601.

them fixeene hundred Saddles, hoping (as they were promised) to find horses in Ireland, and a great surplus of Armes to furnish the Irish; and the Companies with *Don Iohn*, for most part were old Souldiers taken from the garisons of Italy, and the *Terceras*, and that there was but a few *Befognies* among them.

28. Sept.

*Captaine
Flower sent
to view Kin-
sale, where
he skirmish-
ed with the
Spaniards.*

*The Corne
neere adioy-
ning to Kin-
sale burnt by
direction.*

The same day *Captaine George Flower* (Sergeant Major of the Province of Mounster) was sent with certaine Companies to view the Towne of Kinsale, to see what countenance the Enemy did hold, hee no sooner approached the Towne, but the Spaniards sallied, our men beate them into the Towne, and were so eager in pursuit, as they came to the Port, and would haue set fire unto it, if *Flower* had not drawen them off; in this skirmish wee had some men hurt, and the Enemy both slaine and hurt: Also the same day, certaine Companies were directed to march into Kinsale, to burne and spoyle all the corne in that Countrey, and within fiue miles of Kinsale, and to command all the Inhabitants in those parts, to bring their Cattle on this side the river of Awneboy and Corke, whereby the Enemy should want reliefe neere unto them.

To hasten the comming of *Tyrone* and *Odonnell*, the Spanish Archbishop of Dublin, and *Don Iuan de Aquila* wrote unto them as followeth.

A Letter from the Archbishop of Dublin, and
Don Iuan de Aquila, unto *Tyrone*
and *Odonnell*.

Pervenimus in Kinsale, cum classe & exercitu, Regis nostri Philippi; expectamus vestras excellentias qualibet hora, veniant ergo quam velociter potuerint, portantes equos, quibus maxime indigemus, & jam alia via scripsimus, non dico plura. valete.

Frater Matheus Archiepiscopus Dublinens.

Stilo novo.

A Qui estamos guardando a vnestras Senorias illustrissimas Como largamente otra via hemos escritos, A Dios. 12. Octob. 1601.

Don Iuan de Aquila,

Excellentissimis Dominis

Don Oneale and Odonnell.

This

This day the Lord Deputie, the Lord President and Councell, with divers others went to Kinsale to take a view thereof, and found at their comming thither that the shipping had newly left the harbour, and were under saile for Spaine, so as they saw nothing was further to bee done till the comming of the forces.

The third of October Sir *William Fortescu* with his Company of Foot, and Sir *Beniamin Berry* with the Lord deputies came to Corke.

The Marshall (who was sent from Kilkenny to draw Companies out of the Pale) came this day with Sir *George Bouchier* to Corke, where at that time remained the Lord Deputie, the Lord President, Sir *Robert Gardiner*, and Sir *Nicholas Walsb*, Councillors, expecting them and others; Sir *Iohn Barkley* came that day also.

The Companies came to Corke, that Sir *Iohn Barkley* had brought with him.

Sir *Henrie Davers*, who was sent for the Forces about Armaghe, came to Corke with Sir *Henry Folliet*, capitaine Blany and diuers other Captaines.

Master *Marshall* and Sir *Iohn Barkley* with some Horse and Foote went to Kinsale, to view a fit place to encampe in.

The Companies that Sir *Henry Davers* went for, came this day to Corke. Some Horse and Foot sent forth to keepe the Spanyards from Victuals.

Two Frenchmen were voluntarily taken, that ranne away from the Spanyards, who confessed their numbers to be three thousand five hundred, besides those that were not yet come in.

It was resolved to take the field, but no great Ordnance came yet to enable us thereunto.

The weather fell out so rainy, as it was unfit to rise.

The Lord Deputie left Corke, and encamped with the Armie at a place called Owneboy, five miles from Kinsale; the Artillery, Munition, and Victuals which were to come from Dublin was not yet arrived; yet was it thought fit, (being thereof supplied by the Presidents store) to take the field, rather then the Countrie should discover those wants, and so fall away.

1601.
29 Septemb.
The Lo. De-
puty &c. went
to view the
Towne of
Kinsale.

3. October.

8. October.

9. October.

10. October.

11. October.

12. October.

13. October.

14. 15. October.

16. October.
The Lo. De-
puty with the
army march-
ed toward
Kinsale.

1601.

CHAP. XII.

The Lord President requireth the Townes of Mounster to send Companies of Foot to the Campe. Don Iuan de Aquila his Declaration in answer of a Proclamation published by the Lord Deputy and Councell. The Army encamped at Knockrobyn neere Kynsale. The enemy attempted to disturbe our Quarter, but were repulsed. A skirmish betweene vs and the Spanyard. Captaine Button arrived with Munition and Victuals. A Skirmish in the night, wherein twenty of the Spanyards were slayne. The Army encamped close to Kynsale. A prey of Cowes taken from the Spanyards.

The L. President required the towns of Mounster to send Companies of foot to the Camp.



HE Lord President (in his providence) before the Army was ready to march to Kinsale, acquainted the Lord Deputy, (which hee well approoved) that hee had sent to the Cities and great Townes of Mounster, that every of them, (according to their proportions) should send Companies of Foot from their severall Corporations, to strengthen her Majesties Army, which they accordingly (but with some grudging) did performe. This he did, not for any opinion he had to receive fruit by their services, but their being in the Campe, was a good Pledge upon the Townes (in these doubtfull times) for their better loyalties, the Lord Deputy not being able to spare any Companies to secure them.

The Lord Deputy and Councell, before the Armie marched from Corke, doubting (as they had good cause) that the Priests would leave no practises unattempted, that might animate or confirme the Irish in their Rebellion, thought it necessary to give notice to the world, how uniuersall the pretended causes were, that the Irish had taken Armes against their true annoynted Sovereigne; and also how unjustly the same was maintained by the Pope and the King of Spaine, which by Proclamation was divulged in the Citie of Corke; In answer whereof Don Iuan de Aquila (as soone as it came to his eares) did likewise Proclaime this Declaration, or Apologie in Kinsale, and dispersed Copies thereof into sundry places, the tenour whereof ensueth.

Don Iuan de Aquila his Declaration in answer of a Proclamation published by the Lord Deputy and Councell, translated out of the Latine.

Don Iuan de Aquila, Generall of the Warre, and the Catholique King of Spaines chiefe Commander in Gods warre, which is made in Ireland for defence of the Faith: To all the Irish Catholiques living in Kinsale, the Citie of Corke, and in all other Villages, Cities and Castles, wisheth health in him who is the true happinesse. There

There is come unto our eares a Proclamation, or certaine Libell made in the Citie of Corke, in the Name of the Deputie; which because it conteineth many untruths, and such things as offend the eares of honest men, lest they may leade and seduce the mindes of simple men into errours, and turne them from the truth, I am compelled to shew their falsehood, to lay open the trueth, and in fewe words to signifie the pretence and intention of our most Excellent King *Philip*, in this Warre, which is with the Apostolique Authoritie, to be administred by us: and (to speake the truth) I could very easily retort vpon them those reproaches which they object to us, and make them lose the pleasure which they haue taken in ill speaking, by hearing of the like; Notwithstanding, we will not (like unto weake and unarmed women) goe to reproachings: but setting these things aside, answer to those that are objected with sound truth and Christian modestie.

First of all, yee saie that wee would leade away the pretended Subjects of the Queene of England from their obedience, to bring them under our yoke, which is a very untruth; for wee endeavour not to perswade any body, that hee should deny due obedience (according to the word of God) to his Prince. But yee know well that for many yeares since, *Elizabeth* was deprived of her kingdome, and all her Subjects absolved from their fidelity by the Pope, unto whom, hee that reigneth in the heavens, the King of Kings, hath committed all power, that hee should roote up, destroy, plant, and build in such sort, that hee may punish temporall Kings (if it shall be good for the spirituall building) even to their deposing, which thing hath beene done in the kingdomes of England and Ireland, by many Popes, viz. by *Pius quintus*, *Gregory* the thirteenth, and now by *Element* the eighth as it is well known. Whose Bulls are extant amongst us; (I speake to Catholikes, not to froward Heretikes, who haue fallen from the faith of the (Romane Church) seeing they are blind Leaders of the blind, and such as know not the grounds of the truth, it is no marvell that they doe also disagree from us in this thing. But our brethren the Catholikes, walking in the purenesse of the faith, and yeelding to the Catholike Church (which is the very Pillar of the truth) will easily understand all those things. Therefore it remaineth that the Irish (which adhere to us) doe worke with us nothing that is against Gods Lawes, or their due obedience, nay that which they doe is according to Gods word, and the obedience which they owe the Pope.

Secondly, yee affirme that wee Spaniards goe about to winne the Irish with allurements, and fauored flatteries (which is a thing farre from our nature) and that wee doe it but for a while; that after wee

1601.

have drawen the minds of simple men unto us, wee might afterwards (exercising our cruelty towards them) shew our bloody nature: O the immortall God! who doth not wonder at your bitter and unexpressible cruelty, & your boldnesse shewed in these words: For who is it that doth not know the great cruelty which you English haue exercised, and cease not to exercise towards the miserable Irish: You I say goe about to take from their soules the Catholike faith which their fathers held, in which consists eternall life; truly you are farre more cruell then Beares and Lyons, which take away the temporall life, for you would deprive them of the eternall and spirituall life. Who is it that hath demolished all the temporalities of this most flourishing kingdome except the English? looke upon this and bee ashamed: whereas on the other side wee commiserating the condition of the Catholikes here, haue left our most sweet and happy Countrey Spaine, that is replenished with all good things; and being stirred with their cryes, which pierce the heavens, having reached to the eares of the Pope, and our King *Philip*: They haue (being moved with pitie) at last resolved to send unto you Souldiers, Silver, Gold, and Armes with a most liberall hand, not to the end they might (according as they saie) exercise cruelty towards you, O Irish Catholikes, but that you may bee happily reduced (being snatched out of the jayves of the divell, and free from their tyranny) unto your owne pristine ingenuitie, and that you may freely professe the Catholike faith: Therefore my most beloved, seeing that which you haue so many yeares before desired and begged for, with prayers and teares; and that now, even now, the Pope Christs Vicar on earth, doth command you to take Armes for the defence of your faith: I admonish, exhort, and beseech you all; all I say unto whom these Letters shall come; that as soone as possibly you can, you come to us with your friends and weapons; whosoever shall doe this, shall find us prepared, and wee will communicate unto them, those things which wee possesse: And whosoever shall (despising our wholesome counsell) doe otherwise, and remaine in the obedience of the English, wee will persecute him as an Heretike, and a hatefull Enemy of the Church even unto death.

17. Oct.
The Army
encamped at
Knock-robin
neere Kin-
sale.

The Army rose and marched within halfe a mile of Kinsale, where they encamped under a hill (having not meanes to entrench) called Knock Robbin. Captain *Morgan* came out of England, and *Jolly* the Master Gunner from Waterford, whither some shipping was come from Dublin, with part of the provisions, but enforced to stay there, the wind being Southerly; some few shot offered to disquiet the Campe, but were soone beaten backe with very little disturbance.

The

The Army lay still there, many places viewed to sit downe fitly before the Towne, but the Artillery not yet come, no place was agreed upon.

An other offer made by the Enemy to disturbe the Campe that night, much greater then the former; but being readily answered, were soone repelled without hurt on our side.

Wee lay still there expecting the Provisions, some slight skirmishes in viewing of the Towne: Sir *John Barkley* was this night appointed to giue an Allarme to the Towne, who beat in all the guards (without the Towne) into their trenches.

This night one thousand of the Spanyards, (or as some that came from them say, fifteene hundred) were come to the top of the Hill neere the Campe, to cut off some of the Scouts or Guards, or to attempt somewhat upon that Quarter; but being discovered by a partie of ours, (not much exceeding two hundred that were of purpose sent out to lye betweene the Towne and our Campe, commaunded by Sir *John Barkley*, who had with him Captaine *Morris*) they set upon them, killed foure dead in the place, diuers hurt, tooke some Armes, and other good spoyle, and beat them backe to the Towne, without losse of any one of our men, and not aboue three hurt.

Cormocke Mac Dermond, chiefe Lord of a Countrey called Muskery, comming with his Countrey rising out, to shew them to the Lord Deputie, was in his returne directed to march hard by the Spaniards trenches, which they had made upon the Hill without the Towne for their guards, which hee was willed to doe, the rather that the Spanyards might see the Irish serue on our sides. For this purpose were good seconds appoynted, yet out of sight of the Enemies: The Irish at the first went on well, & beat the Spaniards from their ground to the Towneward, but according to their custome soone fell off; by which meanes a Horseman (called *Courcy*) of the Lord Presidents, who had charged two Spaniards upon some advantage, was ingaged, and unhorsed before hee espyed himselfe in danger; which Sir *William Godolphin* seeing, who had the command of the Lord Deputies Troupe, charged one way upon their whole Numbers, and Captaine *Henry Barkley*, Cornet of the same Troupe, another way at the same instant, and (notwithstanding their many Shot) drave them out of their Trenches, rescuing the Horseman and horse, and to the marvell of all the beholders, (considering the multitude of shot made at them, even upon the edge of the trench) came off without hurt, saue onely one horse killed, and one man slightly shot: of the enemies were killed foure, left dead in the place, and diuers seene caried off, besides many other hurt.

Captaine *Thomas Button*, who had the waisting of the victuals with

1601.
18. Octob.

19. Octob.

20. Octob.
The enemy attempted to disturbe our quarter, but were repulsed

21. Octob.
A skirmish betweene vs and the Spaniards.

22. Octob.

1601.

*Capt. Button
arrived with
munition &
viſtuall.*

with Munition from Dublin with the Queenes Pinnace, the Moone, arrived at Corke, and came to the Lord Deputie at the Campe, ſignifying the reſt of the Shipping was comming from Dublin, that had layen at Waterford: He was that night ſent away to bring his Ship about into the Harbour of Kinſale, and with Captaine Wardſhip, which was directed to accompany him, whom wee were inforced to make uſe of before to guard that Viſtuall and Munition in Oyſter Haven, which wee had brought with us from Corke; they were willed to trie if they could annoy the Caſtle of Rincorran, ſeated cloſe upon the Harbour, and poſſeſſed by the Spanyards. But after they had ſpent many ſhott upon the Caſtle, and found they did them little hurt, their Ordnance being but ſmall, they lay ſtill onely to keepe the Harbour, that neither the Caſtle nor the Towne might be relieved by water, which was the chiefe cauſe of their ſending thither, and which Captaine Thomas Button, notwithstanding many attempts made by the Spanyards and Natiues, very valiantly to his high commendations performed.

23. Octob.
*More Munition
and
viſtuall arrived.*

Wee had Newes of the ſhipping that came after Captaine Button from Waterford, that they were put into the Harbour at Corke, who preſently had direction to worke about to another Creak, called Oyſter Haven, lying betwene Corke and Kinſale, from whence they might more commodiouſly unlade their Artillery and provisions, for the ſpeedy uſe of the Army.

24. Octob.

Wee reſolved to riſe and lye before the Towne; but the ſhipping being not yet come about with the Artillery, and other neceſſaries, that day was ſpent in diſpatching into England, and making all things fit to remooue. This night Captaine Blaynie, and Captaine Flower were ſent out with five hundred Foote upon Diſcovery that the Spanyards were drawne out of the Towne, and to lay readie for them, if they had come towards our Quarter, but they came not on.

25. Octob.

*A ſkirmiſh
in the night,
wherin 20 of
the Spanyards
were ſlaine.*

The Army was ready to riſe, but the weather falling out very fowle, direction was given to diſlodge: ſoute naturall Spaniards came this day from the Enemy, chooſing rather to put themſelves upon the mercy of the State, then to liue under the tyrannye of their owne Commanders, who the next day were ſent to Corke. This night Sir Iohn Barkley went out with ſome three hundred Foote, having with him Captaine Flower, Captaine Morriu, and Captaine Boſtock, out of theſe were choſen ſixtie Pikes and Targets, to be the better undiscovered, who fell into their trenches, beate them to the Towne, and fell into the Gate with them, they killed and hurt aboue twentie of the Spaniards, betwene the Inner and the owter Gate, and returned having but three hurt.

The

The Army dislodged early, and encamped on a hill on the North side before Kinsale called the Spittle, somewhat more then musket shot from the Towne, and there intrenched strongly: when we sate downe, wee discovered that the Spaniards had gotten a prey of two or three hundred Cowes, and many sheepe, which were (in an Iland as it seemed) upon the Southside of the Towne beyond the water, which wee could not come at, but by sending eight or nine miles about, where there was a necke of Land to goe into it; Captaine Taffe being sent with Horse and Foot, used such expedition in that businessse, as hee attayned the place before night, and by hote skirmish recovered the prey, saue onely some two hundred Cowes that the Spanyards had killed, although they were under the guard of a Castle, called Castle Ny Parke, which the Spanyards had manned to defend those Cattle.

1601.
26. Octob.
*The Armie
encamped close
to Kinsale.
A prey of
Kine taken
from the
Spaniards.*

CHAP. XIII.

The Castle of Rincorran guarded by the Spaniards, besieged, and the Spaniards repulsed. The Castle of Rincorran battered by the Lord President. A remarkable skirmish betwene us and the Spaniards that attempted to releue Rincorran. The Lord Awdley, Sir Oliver Saint-Iohn, and Sir Garret Harvy hurt. A Spanish Commander taken prisoner. The Enemy demanded a parley, but the Lord President refused to treat with the Messenger. The Commander parlied, but his offers were not accepted. The Enemy endeavoured to make an escape, wherein many were slaine and taken prisoners. Sir Oliver Saint-Iohn sent from the Lord Deputy with direction to the Lord President. The reasons that induced the Lord President to receive the Spaniards that were in Rincorran to mercy. The agreement betwene the Lord President, and the Spanish Commander that was in Rincorran.



He attended all that day for the landing of the Artillery, and perfected the intrenchment about the Armie; which was left unperfected the day before through the extreame fowlenesse of the weather; and at night Sir Iohn Barkley, Sir William Godolphin, and Captaine Bodly were sent to view the most commodious place to plant the Artillery, for the battering of the Castle of Rincorran, which was situated upon the River of Kinsale, something more then a quarter of a mile from the Towne, very convenient to forbid our shipping to ride neere the same, wherein Don Iohn de Aquila the Spanish Generall, had placed a Captaine with one hundred and fiftie Souldiers, whom hee promised to releue if they were assayed, or bring them off in boats.

The two Culverings were landed, and all meanes vsed to mount them, but it could not bee done till the next day, so ill was every thing fitted, by reason there had beene no use of them of a long time.

27. Octob.

*The castle of
Rincorran
guarded by
the Spaniards*

28. Octob.

1601.
29. Octob.
The Spaniards repul-
sed.

30. Octob.
The Castle
of Rincor-
ran besieged.

The Spani-
ards repulsed
by Sir Rich-
ard Percy.

31. Octob.
The castle of
Rancorran
battered by
the Lo. Pre-
sident.

A faire
escape.

These two Peeces were mounted, and all things put in a readinesse to batter the next day, the Spaniards in the Towne discovering our purpose, did that night assaye to releue the Castle by Boats, and were valiantly repelled by Captaine *Button*, with shot out of his ship.

The two Culverings began to play upon the Castle of Rincorran, but within two or three shot the carriage of the better Culvering brake, and about two of the clock in the afternoone, the other received a flawe, and by that meanes made unserviceable, so all that could bee done that day, was to mount the whole Culvering upon her carriage.

The same day they gaue an Alarme to our Campe, drawing Artillery out of the Towne, and with it played into our Campe, kild two neere the Lord Deputies tent with a Demy Cannon shot, and through the next tent to it, brake two Hogsheds of the Lord Deputies beere, and every shot that was made fell still in the Lord Deputies quarter neere his owne tent. *Don Iuan de Aquila* perceiving the Castle would bee distressed, attempted to releue it by Boats, but Sir *Richard Percy* beate them off, who had the command of the Lord Presidents regiment, that this night was appointed to guard.

The Culvering in the morning began to play, and about nine of the clock, the Demy Culvering was mounted, which after a few shot brake her Axeltree; before three she was remounted, and by that time a Cannon likewise planted, and all the three Peeces without intermission played: The Lord President misliking the manner of the making of the battery, not being constantly made upon one place, but upon the Spikes of the Castle, requested the Lord Deputie to leaue that service to his care, whereunto he easily assented.

To shew that hee was well experienced in the profession of a Cannonier, wherein hee had beene (by reason of his employments) long practised, he performed the office of a Master-gunner, making some shot, and that the Artillery might play as well by night as day, himselfe did take and score out his ground-markes, and with his Quadrant tooke the true leuell, so as the want of day-light was no hindrance; but in doing thereof hee fairely escaped two Musket shott: for as hee was standing at the Breech of a Cannon busie about his worke, the one lighted upon the muzzle of the Peece, the other upon the Carriage close to the Trunnions; While wee were busie attending the Battery, five hundred of the principall men drew out of Kinsale, with shew to goe to relieue Rincorran by land, toward a guard wee kept betweene Rincorran and the Towne, leaving a great grosse for the seconds under the walles, and under that colour to gaine a safe passage for their Boates thither; whereupon out of the Regiments (being then in Armes in the Campe) divers broken

broken Companies drew that way, among which Sir *Oliver Saint-John* sent Captaine *Roe* his Lieutenant Colonell, and Sir *Arthur Savages* Lieutenant with one hundred men, and seeing them likely to draw on a round Skirmish, tooke thirtie Shott of his owne Company, and went up to them, where hee found Captaine *Roe*, and *Carbery*, (Lieutenant to Captaine *Thomas Butler*) skirmishing with Shot, the Enemy being hard by them with some two hundred men, and another grosse neere towards the Towne to second them. The Lord *Audley* who drew some of his Regiment out of the Campe, was then comming up; as soone as Sir *Oliver Saint-John* came where the skirmish was, hee saw the Enemies drawing up to give a charge, comming close with their Pikes, whom they presently encountred, and beat them backe towards their seconds, and made them retreat apace; Notwithstanding they played upon them with their small shott out of every house in that quarter of the Towne, being full of Towers and Castles.

In this Charge, Sir *Oliver* received on his Target and Body divers thrusts with the Pike, whereof one gaue him a very small hurt in the thigh; he killed a Leader, and one other with his owne hands. The Lord *Audley* comming up to the charge, was shot through the thigh, Sir *Garret Harvie* hurt in the hand, and his horse killed under him, Captaine *Butlers* Lieutenant was slaine, and foure other, Sir *Arthur Savages* Lieutenant shot through the Body, and thirtie other hurt; the Enemy left ten or eleuen dead in the place, besides those that were hurt, which in all likelihood were many, by reason of the neernesse of the shot; and as one reporteth, (that came the next day from Kinsale, and had bin in the Ghesthouse amongst them) 70 were brought thither hurt, wherof eight dyed that night. In this skirmish was taken prisoner *Iuan Hortensio de Contreras*, that had been Sergeant Major of the forces in Brittany, and divers very good Armes, and Rapiers gotten from the Spaniards.

All this while the three Peeces played upon the Castle, untill sixe of the clock at night, at which time they in the Castle sounded the Drum, and prayed admission of parley, which the Lord President, (whom the Lord Deputie had left there, himselfe returning to take care of the Campe) accepted, there came with their Drum an Irish man borne in Corke, who prayed in the name of the rest, that they might bee licensed to depart to Kinsale with their Armes, bag and baggage; this being denyed by the Lord President (who would not conclude with any, but the Commander of the place) hee returned the Messenger, willing him to tell the Commander that no other but himselfe should bee heard, and that hee had no commission to grant them any other composition then to yeeld to her Majesties mercy:

Then

1601.

A remarkable skirmish betweene us and the Spaniards that attempted to relieue Rinconan.

The Lord Audley, Sir Oliver Saint-John and Sir Garret Harvie hurt.

A Spanish Commander taken prisoner

The Enemy demands a parley, but the Lo. President refused to treat with the messenger.

1601.

A second messenger likewise refused.

The Commander parlied with the Lord President, but his offer rejected.

A parley the fourth time demanded and rejected.

The Enemy endeavored to make an escape, wherein many were slain & taken prisoners.

Dermond Mac Cartie alias Don Dermutio taken prisoner.

Sir Oliver Saint-Iohn sent from the Lord Deputy with direction to the Lord President.

The reasons that induced the Lord Deputy to receive the Spaniards at Rincorran to mercy.

Then immediatly they sent the Drum againe, and with him a Sergeant called *Pedro de Herodiaz quacola* whom the Lord President refused to speake withall, upon whose returne the Commander himselve called *Bartholomeo Paez de Clavijo an Alfero*, came to the Lord President, but not agreeing upon the conditions, for hee still insisted to depart with their Armes to Kinsale (being put safe into the Castle) the battery began afresh, and the Defendants bestowed thicker volleys of shot then at any time before; at length about two of the clock, when they found the weake estate the Castle was growen into by furie of the battery, they sounded againe their Drumme for an other parley, which not being accepted, many of them endeavored to escape under the Rocke close to the water side, which being espied by us, our men ran presently close to the Castle wals, and if the Lord President had not forbidden them (although the breach was not sufficiently assaultable) they would haue entered the house; of those which attempted to escape, there were three and twentie Spaniards taken; and of this Countrey birth a great multitude of Churles, women and children, there was likewise slain of the Spaniards towards thirtie; all this while the Enemy shot not a shot, but as men amazed lay still; of the Irish there was not a man taken that bare weapon, all of them being good Guids escaped, onely one *Dermond Mac Cartie*, by them called *Don Dermutio* was taken, who was then a penfioner to the King of Spaine, and heretofore a servant to *Florence Mac Cartie*.

A good while before day, the Lord Deputie sent Sir *Oliver Saint-Iohn* to the President, to signifie his pleasure unto him; which was if they would render themselues, hee should accept of their offer, excepting the Irish; not long after Sir *Oliver Saint-Iohn* was departed (that no error might bee committed;) towards the morning the Lord President went to the Lord Deputie, to make relation of that nights proceeding, and upon deliberation, it was thought convenient, if the Spaniards would quit their Armes and render the place, with promise of life onely to bee sent into Spaine, that they should bee received to mercy; the consideration whereof grew upon these reasons; the one because in forcing a breach, it was likely many good men should bee lost, and also to intice others that are in Kinsale to leaue the place (wherein they felt misery) by the example of this mercifull dealing with those of Rincorran, but especially because expedition in the taking of this Castle had many important consequences.

About one houre after day, the Commander sent word to the Lord President that hee would render the place, and quit all their Armes, so as they might bee sent to Kinsale, which being refused, hee intreated onely that himselve might hold his Armes, and bee sent to Kinsale,

1601.

*The agree-
ment betweene
the L. Presi-
dent, and the
Spanish Co-
mander of
Kincorran.*

Kinsale, which also being denied, hee resolutely determined to bury himselfe in the Castle, and not to yeeld: his Company seeing his obstinacie, did threaten him to cast him out of the breach, so as they might bee received to mercy; in the end it was concluded that all his people should bee disarmed in the house, which was done by Capitaine Roger Harvie, Capitaine of the Guards that night, and himselfe to weare his sword untill hee came to the President, and then render it unto him, which being performed upon his knees, they were brought prisoners into the Campe, and from thence immediatly sent unto Corke.

The last of October, the President received a gracious Letter from her Majestie, all written with her owne hand, it was short, but yet therein is liuely expressed in what a thankfull sort his service was accepted, the true Copie whereof here ensueth.

CHAP. XIII.

Her Majesties Letter to the Lord President. A supply of Munition and victuals. A resolution in Councell that Forces should be sent to encounter O Donnell. The Lord President of a contrary opinion, and his reasons. The reasons why this service was imposed upon the Lord President. The Lord President marcheth towards O Donnell. O Donnell lodgeth neare the Holy Crosse, and the strength of his Quarter. O Donnell by the meanes of a great Frost, passed over the Mountaine of Shemphelim, whereby hee escaped from fighting with the Lord President. O Donnells battie March. The principall men that were in O Donnells Army. The principall men in Tyrones Army.

Her Maiesties Letter unto the Lo. President.

MY faithfull George, if ever more service of worth were performed in shorter space, then you haue done, Wee are deceived; among many eye-witnesses, Wee haue received the fruit thereof, and bid you faithfully credit, that what so Wit, Courage, or Care may doe, Wee truely finde, they haue beene all truely acted in all your Charge, and for the same beleue, that it shall neither bee vnremembred, nor unrewarded: And in meane while beleue, my Helpe nor Prayers shall never faile you.

Your Soueraigne that best regards you,

ELIZ. R.

Dd

The

1601.
2. Novemb.

The second of November the Ordnance was drawne from Rincorran to the Campe.

3. Novem.

The third, the Spanish Sergeant Major which had been taken prisoner upon the last of October, and the *Alferes*, which rendred him selfe upon condition of life at Rincorran, obtained licence to write to *Don Iuan*, and one of our Drummes was sent to carry their Letters.

5. Nov.
A supply of
munition &
victuals.
6. Nov.

The fifth, four Barques with Munitions and Victuals from Dublin, arrived in the Haven of Kinsale.

The sixth, upon certaine knowledge that *Tyrone* and *Odonnell* were drawing towards Mounster, the trenches of the Campe were made deeper and higher.

7. Nov.

It was concluded
in Councell
that forces
should be
sent to encounter
Odonnell.

The seventh, the Lord Deputie having Intelligence, that *Odonnell* with a great part of the Northren Forces was advanced neere unto the Province, to joyne with the Spanyards, and that *Tyrone* was but a fewe dayes journeyes short of him, it was debated in Councell, whether it were necessary that Forces should bee sent towards him, to divert his intention: It was agreed by the greater part, that two or three Regiments of Foot, and some Horse should be employed in that service. The President was of a contrary opinion, alledging for instance, that *Tyrone* at his late being in Mounster, at whose returne the Earle of *Ormond* having good Especials, and very desirous to fight with him, yet could never haue sight of him, or of any of his company; and the reasons (sayd he) are very apparant, for they are sure to haue the Countrey to friend, to giue them howeerly intelligence of our lodging and marches, and they are so light footed, as if they once get the start of us, be it never so little, wee shall hardly or never overtake them. Notwithstanding these reasons, it was concluded that Forces should be sent; and for so much as the Countrey would bee more willing to giue assistance to the Lord President, then to any other; as also because hee was best acquainted with the passages, and places of advantage, to giue *Odonnell* impediment: Hee was commaunded with his owne Regiment, and Sir *Charles Wilmots*, which were in List two thousand one hundred and fiftie, but not by pole aboue one thousand, and three hundred and fiftie Horse in List, which were by pole two hundred and fiftie) to undertake the Service; and for his better strength Sir *Christopher Saint-Laurence* (who with his Regiment was comming into Mounster, and was to meet him upon the way) should joyne with him, and also the Rising out of the Countrey. The President in Obedience, though without hope to meete with an Enemy, that hath no will to hazard his Troupes in fight, (for so hee conceived of *Odonnell*) the seventh of November left the Campe, and never ceased travelling untill with

The Lo. President
was of
a contrary
opinion, and
his reasons.

Thereasons
why this service
was imposed upon
the Lord
President.

The Lo. President
marcheth
towards
Odonnell.

long

long and weary Marches hee came to Ardmaile in the Countie of Tipperary. Odonnell with his sharking Troupes, lodging not farre from the Holy Crosse, their Campes not being distant the one from the other aboute foure miles: But the Countrey stood so partially affected to the Traytors, as by no promise of reward, or other satisfaction could they bee induced to drawe any draught upon them: by reason whereof, (but with great disadvantage) no probable attempt of good successe could bee made upon them, being lodged (as they were) in a strong Fastnesse of Bogg and Wood, which was on every quarter plashed: For avoyding of confusion, I must aske some pardon of the Reader, to continue the Discourse of the Presidents Journey, untill I speake any more of the siege at Kinsale: Odonnell on the other side fearing our forces, (which were encreased by a Regiment of Foot, and some Horse, which Sir Christopher Saint-Lawrence brought with him, durst not enter farther into the Countrey, because hee could not avoyd us, and at that time hee had no other way to passe; for the Mountaine of Slewphelin (which in Summer time is a good ground to passe over) was by reason of great raines, so wett and boggye, as that no Carriage or Horse could passe it.

This Mountaine is in the county of Typperarie, towards the Shennan, and from thence to come into the county of Limerick, the passage is through a straight, neere to the Abbey of Ownby, which Abbey, from the place where Odonnell incamped in Omaghers Countrey, is at the least twentie Irish miles, having (as wee thought by lodging where wee did) prevented his passage, there hapned a great frost, the like whereof hath beene seldome scene in Ireland, and the Enemy being desirous to avoid us, taking the advantage of the time, rose in the night and marched over the Mountaine aforesaid; whereof as soone as wee were advertised, wee likewise rose from Cashell, whither wee were drawen (mistrusting that they would take the advantage of the frost) fower houres before day, in hope to crosse him before hee should passe the Abbey of Ownby, supposing that it had not beene possible for him to haue marched farther (with his cariage) without resting: The next morning by eleaven of the clock wee were hard by the Abbey, but then wee understood that Odonnell made no stay there, but hastned to a house of the Countesse of Kildares called Crome, twelue miles from the Abby of Ownby, so as his march from Omaghers Countrey to Crome (by the way which hee tooke) without any rest was aboute two and thirtie Irish miles, the greatest march with cariage (whereof hee left much upon the way) that hath beene heard of: To overtake him wee marched the same day from Cashell to Kilmallock, more then twentie Irish miles, but our labour was lost: The morning following, Odonnell with

1601.

Odonnell lodged neere to the Holy Crosse.

The strength of his quarter.

Odonnell by the means of a great frost passed over the mountaine of Slewphelin whereby hee escaped from fighting with the Lord President.

Odonnells hasty march to escape the Lord President.

1601.

all his forces rose from Crome, and lodged that night in the straight of Connelloghe, where hee rested a few dayes to refresh his tired and subrated Troopes: The President seeing that this lightfooted Generall could not bee overtaken, thought it meet to hasten to the Campe at Kinsale to prevent his comming thither, wherein wee used such expedition, as (if he had done his uttermost) we were sure to be there before him, or inforce him to fight with us, for wee tooke the next direct way, and he for his safety (to avoid us) marched a farther way about through Dowalla, and Muskry, which was very troublesome to passe with Horse and Baggage: the time of our returne to the Campe was the five and twentieth of the same Moneth: In our retreat towards Kinsale, betweene Kilmallock and Moyallo, we overtooke the Earle of Clanricard (with his Regiment) marching towards the Campe, and also betweene Moyallo and Corke, wee met with the Earle of Thomond, who was sent by the Lord Deputy with his Troope of Horse to follow the President.

The principall men that were in O'donnells armie.

There came into Mounster with O'donnell, these principall Gentlemen of Vlster and Connaght, viz. Orwrke, Mac Swiny ne Doa, Odogherry, Oboyle, the two Mac Donoghes, Mac Dermond, Okellie, Obirne, O Conner Roes two sonnes, O'donnells two brothers, Donnell O Conner Sligoes brother, the two Oflares, William Burke brother to Redmond, and Hughe Mostian, besides of Mounster men, the Lord of Lixnaw, John firs Thomas, brother to the counterfeit Earle of Desmond, the Knight of the Valley, Dermond moyle Mac Cartie, brother to Florence, and many others: his whole number consisted neere unto foure thousand Foote and three hundred Horse; this was related unto the President by one James Welsh, who was with O'donnell, when he fled the incountering of the Presidents forces; hee also affirmed that Tyrone had in his Armie, Mac Genis, Mac Guire, Mac Maghon, Randell Mac Lorly, Oneale, and all the chieffes of Vlster with their forces.

The principall men in Tyrones armie.

CHAP

CHAP. XV.

A part of Don Dermutio his Examination concerning a practise for the taking or killing of the Lord President. A Sally made by the enemy in Kinsale. A Spanish Captaine slaine. Master Hopton dyed of a hurt. The Earle of Thomond landed at Castlehaven with supplies of Horse and Foot. Supplies of Horse and Foot landed at Waterford. The Queenes Fleet, and supplies of Foot with munitions, &c. arrived at Cowke. Castle Ny Parke attempted to be taken by us, but the Enterprise fayled. A Councell of Warre called by the Lord Deputy.

THE dangerous hazard which the President was in, in this journey I may not omit to relate, aswell for the perill hee ranne, as for his temper; in not seeming to see that which hee perfectly knew, and despising it; for *Dermond Mac Cartie* called by the Spaniards *Don Dermutio*, taken as you have heard at the siege of Rincorran, (being examined by the Councell) confessed to them, that *Cormuck Mac Dermond* Lord of Muskery, had intelligence with *Don Iohn*; and certaine presents had beene mutually given and received, and that the said *Cormuck* had undertaken, and faithfully promised, to deliver up the President to *Don Iohn* alive or dead; the President was himselfe present at this examination, which notwithstanding, hee tooke the said *Cormuck*, and ten Horsemen his Followers along with him; rode with him, ate and dranke with him, and many times had private conference with him; not seeming to take notice of any treacherous intent; besides his Army consisting of three thousand or thereabouts, what with Countrey risings out, and under Captaines in pay, two thousand of these were of Irish birth, no lesse affected to the Rebels then to themselves; and I can well assure the Reader upon good grounds, that if our forces had received any disaster, they would all have turned Turkes, and cut the throats of their owne Commanders.

The eighth, certaine Ships to the number of thirteene, were discovered, passing by Kinsale to the Westward, but afterward it proved to be the Supplies sent out of ENGLAND with the Earle of Thomond.

The Spaniard by that time had gotten knowledge of the departure of a good part of our Forces, and thereupon supposing us to be much weakened, (as it cannot be denied but we were) and inferior to them in the Towne in bodies of men, they drew out (about noone) the most part of their Forces, and anon after sent some three-score Shott and Pike to the foot of the hill close by our Campe, leaving their Trenches very well lyned for their seconds: Some of ours were presently drawen out to entertaine the skirmish with

D d 3

those

A part of Don Dermutio his examination concerning a practise for the taking or killing of the L. President.

8. Nov.

10. Nov.
A Sally made by the Enemy.

1601.

those that came up, and another strong party was sent out towards Rincorran, who from the Bushie hill played in flanke upon their trenches, and beate them from the same; so as they that were first sent out close to our Campe, being beaten backe by our shot, and thinking to find the seconds they left behind them, were disappoynted by the quitting of their trenches, and by that meanes driven to follow the rest to the succour of the Towne; our men following them with much furie, hurt and killed divers, amongst whom they brought off the body of a Sergeant, and possessed the enemies trenches, the which the Enemy (being re-enforced) made many attempts to regaine, but were repulsed and beaten backe into the Towne; we heard by divers that *Don John* committed the Sergeant Major (who commanded then in chiefe) presently after the fight, and threatened to take off his head, commended highly the valor of our men, and cryed shame upon the cowardise of his owne, who he said had beene the terror of all nations, but now had lost that reputation, and he gave straight commandement upon paine of death (which hee caused to be set upon the Towne gates) that from thenceforth no man should come off from any service, untill hee should be fetcht off by his Officer, though his powder were spent or his Peece broken, but make good his place with his sword; Captaine *Soto*, one of their best Commanders was that day slaine, for whom they made very great moane, and some twentie more besides were hurt, which could not but bee many; on our side onely some ten hurt and three killed; among whom Master *Hopton* a Gentleman of the Lord Deputies, was sore hurt, and since dyed thereof: If this skirmish had not bin readily and resolutely answered on our part, the Spaniards had then discovered the smalnesse of our numbers, and would no doubt haue so plyed us with continuall sallies, as wee should hardly haue beene able to continue the siege.

A Spanish
Captaine
slaine.

Mr. Hopton
dyed of a
hurt.

The Earle of
Thomond lan-
ded at Castle
haven with
supplies of
horse & foot.

11. Novemb.
Supplies of
horse & foot
landed at
Waterford.

The Queens
fleet, and sup-
plies of foot
with muniti-
ons &c. arri-
ved at Corke

The same day wee had Newes of the Earle of *Thomonds* landing at Castlehaven, with one hundred horse, and one thousand foot of Supplies out of England in thirteene Ships, which by violence of foule weather had beene driven to the westermost part of Ireland, and with great difficultie recovered Castlehaven aforesaid, from whence the fifth day following hee came with Horse and Foot to the Campe at Kinsale; The next day being the eleventh, wee were advertised that Sir *Anthony Cooke*, and *Patrick Arthur* were landed at Waterford with two thousand foot, and some horse.

The twelfth, Sir *Richard Levison*, Admirall, and Sir *Amias Preston*, Vice-Admirall of the Queenes Fleet for Ireland, with ten Shippes of Warre, arrived at Corke with two thousand Foot, besides Munitions, Cannoniers, Carpenters, Wheele-wrights, Smithes, &c. presently

presently the Lord Deputie sent them direction to come for Kinsale.

The thirteenth, nothing was done either by us or the enemy.

The Queenes Ships with much difficultie recovered the harbour of Kinsale, the Admirall Sir *Richard Levison*, and the Vice-Admirall Sir *Amias Preston*, came to the Lord Deputies Campe: That day and the next day, the two thousand Land-forces were put on shoare, and before that wee had certaine newes of the arrivall of the other Forces from *Barstable*, and *Bristol*, at *Waterford*, and *Casthaven*: but they were not then come to the Campe, nor in many dayes after.

The Lord Deputie comming from aboard the Ships, a great shot was made at him from the Towne, from whence they might discerne him in the head of a Troupe, and yet missed him very little.

Some of the Queenes Ships (having direction) began to play upon a Castle in the Island, called *Castle Ny Parke*, held fit next to bee taken, to invest the Towne on that side; they brake off some part of the top, but finding that they did it no greater hurt, they left shooting, and the rather because that day and the two next proved so extreame stormie and foule, as the Ordnance could not bee landed, nor any thing else well done; yet out of an extraordinary desire to effect somewhat, the seventeenth being the most happy day of her Majesties Coronation, which wee meant to haue solemnized with some extraordinary Adventure, if the weather would haue suffered us to looke abroad: wee sent at night when the storme was somewhat appeased, the Sergeant Major, and Captaine *Bodly*, with some foure hundred Foot, to discover the ground of *Castle Ny Parke*, and to see whether it might be carried with the Pickaxe, which was accordingly attempted; but the Engine wee had gotten to defend our men while they were at worke, being not so strong as it should haue beene, they within the Castle hauing store of very great stones on the top, tumbled them downe so fast as brake it, so as they returned with the losse of two men, and proceeded no further in that course.

The same day, the Lord Deputie called a Councell of warre, wherein it was propounded, that now that her Majestie had plentifully furnished us with men, munition, and victuals, we wereto consider of our owne strength, and the best way either to attempt the Towne or to continue the siege, we were also to consider of the force of the Enemy within Kinsale, and what aides they were like to haue out of the Countrey, and of all other commodities, or incommodities that were to happen on either side: The conclusion and resolution was, that wee should invest the Towne with all celerity, to keepe it short of reliefe, and before the making of a breach to breake

1601.

13. Novem.

14. Nov.

15. Nov.

A faire escape.

16. Nov.

17. Nov.

Castle ny Parke misapprehended to bee taken by us, but the enterprise fayled.

A Councell of Warre called by the L. Deputie.

1601.

break their houses, that they might find no safetie in them, and thereby to bee exposed to the like incommoditie of cold and raine as wee felt in the Campe; in doing whereof it was conceived that many would bee slaine, and indanger the destroying their magazines of powder and victuals; for if presently we should make a breach and attempt it by assault, there was no difference, betweene a weak place (stored with bodies of men) and a strong fortified Towne; besides the Enemy had ground sufficient (if a breach were made) to cast up new earth workes, which would put us to more toyle and losse of men then an old stone wall; and (in the opinion of all the chieft of the Armie) it was concluded, that wee could not doe the Enemy a greater pleasure, or unto our selues a greater disadvantage, then to seeke to carie it by a breach, before the forces in the Towne, either by sword or sicknesse were weakned.

CHAP. XVI.

The Earle of Thomond with his supplies came to the Campe. Castle ny Parke rendered by the Spaniards. A Spanish Captaine wounded whereof he dyed. A brave Act of a private Souldier. Approaches made neerer to the Towne. The Lord President with the Earles of Thomond and Claricard returned to the Campe. A sally made by the Spaniards.

The Earle of Thomond with his supplies came to the Campe.



THE Earle of Thomond also with one thousand Foote, and one hundred Horse (having beene by force of weather driven farre to the Westward, and with much difficultie had recovered Castle-haven) came thence by Sea to the port of Kinsale: The Lord Deputie to refresh his men and horses, sent them to Corke, for in their healths they were impaired; and that evening some Spaniards fled from Kinsale, and voluntarily came to our Campe.

19. Nov.

A Demy Cannon was unshipped as soone as it was calme, and placed on this side the water, which played most part of that day upon that Castle, and brake many places; but made no breach that was assaultable: In the night they of the Towne attempted to releue the Castle by boat, but were repelled by Captaine *Tolkern*, and Captaine *Ward*, who lay with their Pinnaces betweene the Iland and the Towne.

20. Nov. Castle Ny Parke rendered by the Spaniards.

The Demy Cannon played againe, and a Cannon then landed and placed by it (with some Ordnance also out of the Ship) though they served to small purpose; about noone one hundred men were sent with Captaine *Torke* and Captaine *Smith*, to view if the breach were assaultable, and though they found it was not, yet the Spaniards with-

within being no longer able to endure the fury of the shot, hung out a signe for parley, (upon the first shew of our men) and yeelded themselves and the Castle upon promise of their liues onely; which being accepted, they brought them presently to the Campe, being in number seventene: Before the Castle was yeelded, the Spaniards in the Towne made divers shot at Captaine *Tolkernes* Pinnacle, with a piece of Ordnance which they mounted a day or two before close to the gate of the Towne, but did no hurt at all unto her; the Pinnacle warping neerer to the other side under the hill, and at last rode safely without danger of the shott: The same day a Platforme was made upon a ground of advantage, (not farre from the Campe) that commanded one part of the Towne, that under the favour thereof wee might the better make our neerer Approaches, which at that time wee could hardly haue done, by reason of the great extreame frost, and a Demy-cannon mounted vpon it, with which some shot was made at the Towne, and a Sentinell taken anon after affirmed, that the first Piece shot off went through the house that *Don Iohn* was in, and did otherwise great hurt.

An other Cannon was brought up, and planted by the Demy-cannon, which the night before was brought from the Ship, and this day the Lord Deputie went over into the Iland, to view how from thence the Towne might be best annoyed and invested.

Also the Prisoners which were taken at Castle Parke, were sent to Corke, with direction to the Major, to send them, and all the former prisoners into England, the Sergeant Major, and the Commanders of Rincorran, and Castle Ny Parke excepted; and this day a great number of Irish women and children were put out of Kinsale, to trie their fortunes in the Countrey.

Foure other Peeces were planted by the Cannon and Demy Cannon, which altogether played into the Towne; one of those shott killed foure men in the Market place, and stricke off a Captaines legge, called *Don Iohn de Saint-Iohn*, who is since dead of the hurt.

That Evening one *Iames Grace*, an Irishman, ran out of Kinsale, assuring the Lo: Deputie that *Don Iohn* at his landing was five thousand men, and that hee was yet three thousand strong; that hee had foure Peeces of Ordnance well mounted; that the Irish which were with him were so much affrighted with our Artillery, as *Don Iohn* had much to doe to hold them, whose departure, (if it should happen) would be a great want unto him, for by them hee received ease and comfort; and that *Don Iohns* house where hee lodged, had been shot through with a great shot.

The sixe Peeces began againe about ten a'clocke to batter upon the Towne, and so continued till night, in which time, and in all

21. Nov.

22. Nov.
A Spanisb
captain woun-
ded whereof
he dyed.

23. Nov.

1601.

*A brave act
of a private
Souldier.*

*Approaches
made neerer
to the towne.*

24. Nov.

*25. Nov.
The L. Presi-
dent with the
Earles of
Thomond &
Clanricard,
returned to
the Campe.*

*A sally made
by the Spa-
niards.*

26. Nov.

mens judgements, as by report of the Prisoners wee tooke, they did great hurt to the Towne. This day, while the Lord Deputie, the Marshall, and the Sergeant Major were viewing the ground where the Approaches were intended, a private Souldiour of Sir Francis Barkleyes, in the face of the Guards, attempting to steale, (as hee had done divers times before) a Spanish Sentinell, who was seconded with foure that hee saw not, fought with them all five, whereof one of them was the Sergeant Major, whom he had almost taken, and when he had found he could doe no good upon them all, hee came off without other hurt, then the cutting of his hand a little with the breaking of a thrust, which one of them made at him, and hurt the Sergeant Major. The Lord Deputie this night began to make his approaches neerer the towne, and for that purpose caused some 1000 Foot to be drawne out by Sir John Barkley, Sir Benjamin Berry, and Captaine Bodley, who continued the worke all night, and although the ground were extreame hard, (by reason of the frost) and the night very light, yet they brought the worke to very good perfection; the Enemy played all the night upon them with great Volleyes, but hurt but three men, neither in the Trenches, nor in divers Sallies they made, in the one whereof a Squadron of our new men beat them backe to the gates: In the Euening his Lordship sent direction to Sir Richard Levison to land three Culverings this night, and to plant them in the Iland, about Castle Ny Parke, that from thence they might likewise make Battery upon the Towne, and Sir Richard drewe in the Admirall, and Vice-Admirall betweene the Towne and the Iland, from whence they did great hurt in the Towne the next day.

All the Artillery still played; but because the shot from the ships did but little hurt, (saue onely upon the base Towne) the Lord Deputie gaue direction to make very few shot, except it were at the high Towne. In the afternoone, the Lord President, the Earles of Thomond, and Clanricard, Sir Thomas Burke, and divers others returned to the Campe, Odonnell with his force being stollen by them; This night direction was given to haue a Plat-forme made for the Artillery, upon the trench which was made on Munday night; somewhat after midnight the Spaniards made a sudden salley, with purpose to force that trench, but were quickly repelled by Sir Francis Barkley, who commanded there that night.

The Companies that went with the Lord President returned, and with them two other Regiments of the Earle of Clanricards, and Sir Christopher Saint-Lawrence: the Regiments were that night quartered by themselves, upon the West side of Kinsale to invest the Towne, and keepe the Spaniards and Odonnell from joyning. This night the
three

three Culverings from the Iland were planted on the poynt of the hil, neere the water, on this side behind the last trenches; This morning the Spaniards played with a Demy Cannon (from the Towne) upon the Admirall, which was twice shot, and the Viceadmirall once; they riding both close by the Towne, and shot being made from those ships, they dismounted the Spaniards Peece within, and hurt their chiefe Gunner, so as it played no more.

Betimes in the morning those three Peeces from the poynt of the Hill, neere the water played upon the Towne, doing great hurt, by reason they were so neere planted, but because the day fell out extreame windy and rainy, they were enforced to leaue, and spent the rest of the day in drawing downe some other Peeces, that were planted upon the first platforme.

1601.

27. Nov.

CHAP. XVII.

The Towne of Kinsale summoned, and Don Iuan his Answer. The Spaniards beaten out of their trenches. The Marshall went to view the Towne, to discover a fit place to batter. A skirmish enterpayned for the viewing of the breach. An intrenchment made on the West side of the Towne. A bold attempt of a Sergeant of ours, wherein he was slaine. A Soldier slaine standing betweene the Lord Deputy and Lord President. The great sally made by the Enemy with a furious charge, both upon the platforme where the battery was placed, and upon a new entrenchment on the West side of the towne; the Enemy repulsed and beaten. The Enemy gained our entrenchment on the West side of the towne. The entrenchment recovered from the Enemy. The losse in the Enemies part, and on our part.

IN the morning a Trumpeter was sent to summon Kinsale, who was not suffered to enter into the Towne, but receiving his answer at the Gate, viz. that they held the Towne first for Christ, and next for the King of Spaine, & so would defend it, *Contra tutti inimici*: upon his returne with this answer, the Lord Deputie gaue direction to beginne the battery with all the Artillery; who continued in shooting upon the Gate till towards night, and brake a great part thereof, during the time the Ordnance played; Sir Christopher Saint-Laurence drew out from the other Campe some Foote, and gaue upon the Spaniards trenches, which they possessed (with great numbers;) at the other end of the Towne being enforced to goe thereunto, through the furie of the shot, which they could not endure in that part of the Towne, where the Ordnance played, at his first giving upon them, hee beate them out of the trenches, following them to the very Gate of the Towne, and killed some of them returning, without losse on our side saue onely some hurt.

28. Nov.

The towne of Kinsale summoned, and Don Iuan his answer.

The Spaniards beaten out of their trenches.

1601.
29. Nov.

30. Nov.

The Marshall went to view the Towne, to discover a fit place to batter.

1. Decemb.

A skirmish entertayned for the viewing of the breach.

An entrenchment made on the West side of the Towne.

2. Decemb.

All the Artillery still played, and brake downe most part of the Gate, and some part of a new worke made before the Gate.

The Marshall taking some fiftie shot, went to the wall of the Towne to view, which was the best place to make a breach, and found the wall close to the Gate on the right hand to bee the fittest; after he had taken view, and made a slight skirmish with the Spaniards, hee returned without any losse, saving some three hurt, and caused the Artillery to beate upon that place, who played upon it (without any intermission) and brake downe before night, a very great part of the wall, which the Enemy attempted to make up in the night, but were beaten from it by our Guards, who played upon them most part of the night: A Spaniard ran away this day from Kinsale, who reported to the Lord Deputie, that our Artillery had killed divers Captaines in the Towne, besides private Souldiers.

Resolved in Councell (and by the Councell of warre) that some Foote should be drawen out of the Campe to giue the Spaniards a bravadoe, and to view whether the breach was assaultable, and to cause the Spaniards to shew themselves, that our Artillery might the better play upon them; whereupon two thousand Foote commanded by Sir *Iohn Barkley* and Captaine *Blaynie* were presently put in Armes, and drawen neere the wals of the Towne, who entertayned a very hot skirmish with the Spaniards, that had lodged themselves in a trench close to the breach without the Towne; during the continuance of this skirmish, our Artillery played upon those that shewed themselves, either on the breach or in the trench, and killed many of them, besides such as were killed and hurt by our small shot; after an houres fight (or thereabouts) when full view was taken, in what manner the breach was, and found not to bee assaultable, our men were drawen off with little or no hurt on our side, saving some three hurt, and Captaine *Guests* horse killed under him, who before killed two or three with his owne hands: This night the Marshall, Sir *Iohn Barkley*, Captaine *Blaynie*, and Captaine *Bodly* (the Lord Deputie leaving the President in the Campe, being almost all night present) drew out five and twentie of every Company, and intrenched themselves on a Hill, on the West side of the Towne, within lesse then halfe Callivers shot of the same, and cast up a small fort, to lodge some Foote to serue as seconds for the Artillery (that was to be planted) not farre from it; our men being at worke, the Spaniards about midnight began to play upon them from the wals, and from a trench, they possessed close to the West gate, and so continued very hotly till the morning; our men (that guarded the Pioners) playing likewise upon them, and divers hurt and killed on either side.

Our men continued still in that worke, and brought the same before

1601.

fore night to very good perfection, though the Spanyards (from their high Castles, and other places of the Towne) sought to annoy them what they could. While our men were thus at worke, a Sergeant of Captaine *Blaynies* drew out some seven or eight shott, and suddenly fell into a trench (that the Spaniards possessed) close to the towne, wherein were some nine or ten Spaniards, of which the Sergeant killed two with his owne hands, and the rest every man one; Not being contented therewith, he attempted to giue upon another Trench possessed by the Spanyards some good distance from it, but in going on, the Sergeant was shott through the body, and his company in bringing him off had two hurt, and returned without any more losse.

A bold attempt of a Sergeant of ours, wherein he was slain

The same day the Lord Deputie, and the Lord President came to see the new Worke, and as they were discoursing very neere together, a Musket shot from the Towne passed betweene them, and brake the backe bone of a Souldier that stood close by them, whereof hee dyed.

A Soldier slain standing betweene the Lo. Deputie, and the Lord President.

This night the Trenches where the Cannon was planted, being manned with the Lord Deputies Company, (commanded by Captaine *James Blunt*) Sir *Thomas Burkes*, commaunded by his Lieutenant, Sir *Benjamin Berries*, commanded by his Lieutenant, Captaine *Rotheram* himselfe, and Captaine *Hobbie*, Captaine *Muses* commanded by his Lieutenant, and Captaine *Roger Harvie* commanding in chiefe, being Captaine of the Watch: in a fort on the West neere the Towne betweene the two Campes, that was made the morning before, being manned by Captaine *Flower*, with Sir *Arthur Sarages* Company, Sir *Iohn Dowdalls* Company, Captaine *Dillon*, Captaine *Spencer*, Captaine *Masterfons* Lieutenant, and Sir *William Warrens* Lieutenant, with certaine Squadrons out of the Earle of *Thomonds* Quarter, who stood in guard without the Trenches: The Enemy sallied about eight of the clocke in the night (being extreame darke and raynie) with about two thousand men, and first gaue slightly towards the new Trenches upon the West side, and presently after with a great grosse upon the trench of the Cannon, continuing their resolution to force it with exceeding fury, having brought with them tooles of diuers sorts, to pull downe the Gabions and Trenches, and Spikes to cloy the Artillery: The Allarme being taken in the Camp, the Marshall with Sir *Iohn Barkley*, and Sir *William Fortescue*, Sir *Francis Rusb*, and Captaine *Roe*, with some five or sixe hundred sallied presently towards the Cannon for their seconds, and Sir *Benjamin Berry* fell out with some hundred directly towards the Port of the Towne next to the Campe, to whose seconds the Lord Deputie sent Sir *Oliver Saint-Iohn*: Vpon the arrivall of the Marshall with

The great sally made by the enemy, wherein they gaue a furious assault, both upon the platforme where the battery was placed, & upon a newe entrenchment on the West side of the Towne.

1601.

The enemy
repulsed and
beaten.

The Enemy
gayned our
entrench-
ment on the
west side of
the Towne.

The en-
trenchment
recovered
from the E-
nemy.

The losse on
the Enemies
part.

The losse on
our part.

his Forces the enemy brake, and our men did execution upon them; Sir *Benjamin Berry* fell directly upon the Enemies seconds, whom he presently charged and brake, killed many of them, and tooke the Commander of that body, being an ancient Captaine of chiefe account with the enemy. At the same time the enemy gaue upon our new Trenches, and continued the attempt a long time with great fury, till Captaine *Flower* sallying out, and beating backe part of their forces, the enemy entred before his returne, and were possessed of the Trenches, in which time Sir *William Godolphin* gaue many charges, for the seconding of our men, which continued fight in the field untill the Earle of *Clanricard*, (being sent for their second) with Captaine *Shipwith*, Captaine *Slingsby*, Captaine *Clare*, Captaine *Boise*, and Captaine *Thomas Burke*, with some sixtie men, for the rest of his Regiment was not advanced, so farre charged a grosse of the Enemies without the fort, brake them, and did execution upon them towards the Towne, and returning entered the fort againe (which the Enemy abandoned) with little resistance, and made it good till hee was releved: In this sally the Enemy left behind them aboue sixscore dead bodies, besides such as were killed neere the Towne, and wee tooke nine prisoners, of whom there was a Captaine, a Sergeant, and a Drum; but since wee heard out of the Towne that they lost dead aboue two hundred of their best men, and two Captaines, and two Alferoes, and the Sergeant Major, being the second Commander to *Don Iohn*, and *Don Carloes Carty*, and aboue two hundred hurt; of our part were hurt Captaine *Flower*, Captaine *Shipwith* (slightly in the face) the Earle of *Clanricards* Lieutenant, Captaine *Dillon* killed, Captaine *Spencer*, Captaine *Flowers* Lieutenant, and some five and twentie private Souldiers; the Enemy at the Cannon, cloyed a Demy Culvering, which being a little crased was left without the fort, but the next morning it was made serviceable againe. There were some of them killed upon the Cannon, and upon the powder, and the trenches (in some places) filled with their dead bodies, and in that attempt (of the Cannon onely) seventy two dead bodies (were left in the place) of the best men the Spaniards had, whereof many of them were found with Spikes and Hammers, to cloy the Cannon: The Captaines, Officers, and Souldiers that defended the Cannon acquitted themselves singularly well.

CHAP

CHAP. XVIII.

A supply of Spaniards landed at Castle-haven. A Councell of warre held. Good service done by a Scottish man Odonnell joyned with the Spaniards at Castle-haven. All the Irish in the West of Mounster, and some of the English race, revolted and adbered to the Spaniards. Sundry Castles rendred by the Irish into the Spaniards hands. Divers of the Irish had Companies in pay given them by Don Iuan. The Castle of Carigfoile taken and the Ward murdered. Tyrones Army discovered neere to our Campe.

Intelligence sent to the Lord Deputie, that sixe Spanish ships were put into Castle-haven, and that sixe more were sent with them from the Groyne, but in comming were severed by tempest, and no certaintie what is become of them; in these were said to bee two thousand Spaniards, come with great store of Ordnance and munition, and that two thousand more were comming presently after.

A confirmation of the Spaniards being at Castlehaven, and that they were landed, whereupon it was resolved in Councell, that our Campe should bee strengthened, and the Artillery better intrenched and guarded, and to leaue battering: the other Campe to rise and sit downe close by the Towne, betweene the North and the West gate, adding one Regiment more to it, and all the Horse to be drawen in to our Campe; a Drum was sent to *Don Iohn*, to offer him to bury his dead bodies, which hee tooke thankfully, praying that we would bury them, and that hee would doe the like for any of ours, if they hapned in his power. And this day *Sir Charles Wilmot* with his Regiment, was commanded for the better strengthening of the Earle of Thomonds quarter, to rise out of the Lord Deputies Campe and lodge there. *Sir Richard Levison*, with a good part of the Fleete with towing got out of the harbour, to seeke the Spanish fleete at Castle-haven, to take them if hee could, or otherwise to distresse them as much as hee might.

A Scottishman that had some eightie of those Spaniards aboard, put into Kinsale harbour in the morning, and getting a boat, acquainted *Sir Amias Preston* (the Viceadmirall) therewith, and put them into his hands; whereupon the said Scottishman, and foure of the chiefe Spaniards (being Officers) were brought to the Lord Deputy, and examined before his Lordship, the Lord President, and divers others of the Councell, their examinations were sent into England; the Ships were heard to be in fight that day. This day our Ordnance was drawen from the old platformes into our Campe, the better to intend

3. Decemb.

A supply of Spaniards landed at Castlehaven.

4. Decemb.

A Councell of warre held.

5. Decemb.

6. Decemb.

Good service done by a Scottishman.

1601.

Odonnell joyned with the Spaniards at Castlehaven

intend the service of the Field, and to place them more commodiously towards the West side of the Towne, if wee should see cause. Nevves came this Evening, that *Odonnell* was joyned with the Spaniards landed at Castle-haven, and that *Tirone* with his Force was very neere vs.

The same day, the Ditches and Trenches of the Lord Deputies Campe, and the Earle of *Thomonds* Quarter, were cast deeper and higher, and it was resolved, that two small Forts should bee rayfed betweene the Earle of *Thomonds* Quarter, and the water side, so that the Towne might bee wholly invested, to forbid any accesse to or from it.

All the Irishry in the West of Mounster and some of the English race revolted and adhered to the Spaniards.

Vntill this time none of the Provincials of *Mounster*, that had beene either protected or pardoned, relapsed; but now upon the comming of these seconds to Castlehaven, Sir *Finnin Odriscall*, and all the *Odriscalls*, Sir *Owen Mac Carties* sonnes, and almost all the *Carties* in *Carbrie*, *Donnell Osulevan Beare*, *Osulevans Mores* eldest son, *Donnell Mac Cartie*, the Earle of *Clan-Cares* base sonne, with all the *Carties* of *Desmond*, *Iohn O Conner Kerry*, the Knight of *Kerry*, all the protected and pardoned men in *Kerry* and *Desmond*, and all else from *Kinsale* and *Limericke* westwards, joyned with *Odonnell* and the Spaniards; whereat little wonder is to bee made, considering what power Religion and Gold hath in the hearts of men; both which the Spaniards brought with them into Ireland. The supplies of Spaniards were but seven hundred, but more were promised to follow; which mooved the wavering Irish to conceiue, that now the time was come for their deliverance from the English Government; whereupon they cast themselues into the Spaniards armes, and for testimonie of their truths, *Donogh Odrischall* delivered unto them his Castle at Castle-haven, which commanded the Harbour, Sir *Finnin Odrischall*, (who never in the course of his whole life had beene tainted with the least spot of disloyaltie) rendred unto them his Castle of *Donnesbed* at *Baltimore*, and his Castle of *Donnelong*, in the Iland of *Inisberkan*, betweene which Castles all entrances into that Haven was debarred; and *Donnell Osulevan* surrendred unto them his strong Castle of *Dunboy*, which absolutely commaunds *Beare Haven*; these three Harbours, beeing without all exception the best in the West of *Mounster*: For the guard of those places *Don Iohn* assigned, that one hundred of the late supplies should remaine at Castle-haven, with a Magazine of Victualls and Munition, and eight Peeces of Ordnance; unto *Donnesbed* and *Donnelong* hee sent one hundred Foot, fiftie for each of the Castles, and two Peeces of Artillerie; and unto *Dunboy* hee also sent one hundred Foot, and ten great Peeces: And to confirme these revoltors by liberality

Sundry Castles rendred by the Irish into the Spaniards hands

berality unto his Master the King of Spaine, hee bestowed upon *Donnell Osulevan* two hundred foote in the Kings pay, unto *Donoghe Moyle Mac Cartie*, sonne to *Sir Owen Mac Cartie Reughe* one hundred, upon *Finin Mac Cartie* his brother one hundred and twentie, and upon *Phelim Mac Cartie* one hundred, and to *Odovand* one hundred; in all fixe hundred and twentie in the Kings entertainment, and upon others hee bestowed certaine summes of money. About this time also (not many dayes after this defection) *John O Conner Kerry*, found the meanes to betray the Castle of Carrigfoyle which was his, and then guarded for her Majestie by a Sergeant, and twelue Souldiers of Captaine *Saxies* company.

The other Campe strengthened their trenches, and a resolution to make two small forts beyond the Campe Westward, wholly to invest the Towne, the forts and the Campe one to flanke another.

The Artillery was planted in severall places of the Campe, for the best defence thereof, and a fort almost made neere the Towne, a slight skirmish towards night, wherein *Sir Francis Barklies* Ancient, and some other were hurt: In the evening the rebels Horse were descried about two miles off, and (after supper) all the Army drawen into Armes, upon notice (given us by the skout) that the rebels were discovered.

1601.
Divers of
the Irish had
Companies
in pay given
unto them by
Don Iuan.

The Castle
of Carrig-
foyle taken
and the
Ward mur-
dered.

7. Decemb.

8. Decemb.
Tyrones Ar-
my discove-
red neere to
our Campe.

CHAP. XIX.

A brieve report of the good service done by Sir Richard Levison, upon the Spanish fleet at Castle-haven. A Letter from Don Iuan de Aquila to Tyrone and Odonnell. A Letter from Don Iuan to Captaine Iuan de Albornes y Andrada. A Letter from Odonnell Osulevan Beare to the King of Spaine.

THIS night late, *Sir Richard Levison* returned into the harbour of Kinsale, and the next day came to the Lord Deputie, unto whom hee imparted, that the sixth day, with the Warrespit, the Defiance, the Swiftsure, the Marlin, one Merchant, and a Carvill, he arrived at Castle-haven about ten of the clock in the forenoone, before foure a clock the same day, one ship of the Enemy was suncke, the Spanish Admirall with nine foote water in hold droue to the shore upon the rocks, the Viceadmirall with two others droue likewise a ground, most of the Spaniards quitting their ships; the seventh of December the wind being extreemely at South-east, hee rode still at Castle-haven, the night following, with wind at West-South-west, hee warped out with the ships, the eighth at night hee returned as aforesaid.

9. Decemb.
A briefere-
port of the
good service
done by Sir
Richard
Levison up-
on the Span-
ish fleet at
Castlehaven

1601.

Since wee are informed by the Lord *Courfie*, that they are all sunck but one ship, and great harme done both to their provisions and men.

The Spaniards after their comming to Castle-haven, understanding the Queenes fleete was at Kinsale, expecting their comming thither, to make themselves as strong as they could, landed five Peeces of Ordnance which they planted close by the water side for the securing the harbour; but Sir *Richard Levison* did so ply the shipping, that hee suncke and driue a shore as is related, and having effected as much as might be done by Sea, was willing to haue left the harbour and returne to Kinsale; but the wind being contrary, hee was not able to get forth, but was forced to ride foure and twentie houres within the play of those five Peeces of Ordnance, and received in that time about three hundred shot, through Hulke, Mast and Tackle being by no industry able to avoid it, untill some calmer weather came, where by the helpe of some warpes layed forth by their boats, not without great danger and some losse, hee came to set saile and returned for Kinsale. All the shot were made particularly at his ship, except some few at a Pinnacle of the Queenes, wherein Captaine *Flemming* was Commander.

All the time spent upon the nine ten and eleaven, was in erecting the two forts formerly resolved upon, also in casting up of trenches, betweene the Earle of Thomonds quarter, and the said forts, being more then thirtie score in length, and making of trenches neere to the Lord Deputies Campe: The Spaniards as well to interrupt, as to view our workes, made certaine light sallies, but they were easily beaten backe without any hurt on our side.

12. Decem.

The twelfth, the Enemy sallied againe, but altogether fruitlesse.

13. Decem.

The thirteenth, the weather fell out to be extreame fowle and stormy; and because of *Tyrones* drawing neere with all his forces, it was thought meet, not to attempt any thing of great moment, more then the removing of some Peeces of Ordnance, to a new platforme made on the West side of the Towne close unto it, to play upon the Castles, which might most hinder our workes, when wee should resolve to make a breach.

14. Decem.

The fourteenth fowle weather, wherein nothing was performed.

15. Decem.

The fifteenth, our Artillery on the West side of the Towne did much annoy the enemy, in breaking downe the houses, wherein many were slaine.

16. Decem.

The sixteenth, the Ordnance played into the Towne, as the day before.

17. Decem.

The seventeenth, fowle and stormy weather; neverthelesse at night the Enemy sallied, and brake downe a new platforme which wee had made.

The

The eighteenth the Cannon (as in former dayes) played into the Towne, and annoyed the Enemy very much: And the same day, a Letter was intercepted, written from Don Iohn to Tyrone and Odonnell, which is here inserted: And also a Letter to Captaine Iuan de Alborno^z y Andrada, both which were thus translated.

1601.
18. Decem.

*A Letter from Don Iuan de Aquila, to Tyrone
and Odonnell.*

I Was confident your Excellencies would haue come upon Don Richardo his going unto you, because hee had order from you to say that upon the Spanyards joyning with you, (from Castle-barron) you would doe mee that fauour: I beseech you so to doe with as much celeritie, and as well furnished as you possibly may: for I doe assure you, the enemies are wearied, and but few, and that they cannot furnish (with Guards) the third part of their Trenches, which shall little auaile them, their first fury resisted, all is ended. In what manner your Excellencies will come on, is better known to you there, then unto me here; I will giue them enough to doe this way, being ever attending to giue the blow in all that I can, and with some good resolution, that your Excellencies fighting as you are accustomed, I hope in God the victorie shal be ours, for that the cause is his: I doe as much desire the victorie for the interest which your Excellencies haue in it, as for my owne. There is nothing now to be done, but that you would bring up your Troupes, come well appoynted, and in close Order, and being once mingled with the enemies, their Forts will doe them as much harme as us. I salute Don Ricardo, the Lord preserue your Excellencies. From Kinsale the 28. of December. 1601.

Though you are not well prepared, yet I beseech your Excellencies to hasten towards the enemy, for it imports much: I thinke it needfull to bee all at once on horseback: the greater haste you make, it is so much the better.

*Stilo nouo.
Postscript.*

Don Iuan de Aquila.

*A Letter from Don Iuan to Captaine Iuan de
Albornos y Andrada.*

I Was extreame glad of your Letter, and of the health of your person; when Don Ricardo went, hee brought for resolution, that when the Earles had met with the Spanyards, they would come; the ill passage for Messengers is the cause that you haue had no Letters from me: Hasten their coming, they know there (better then wee doe) the wayes and the newes: I am ever in readinesse; the enemies are few and wearied, and by good resolution (from thence) their Trenches shall not auaile them, nor can they maintaine so much ground as they lodge in: I will giue them their hands full

F f 2

from

1601.

Ricard Owen

from the Towne, and their first furie resisted all is ended. Commend mee to Don Ricardo, and to Captaine Rius de Velasco, to whome I write not, because the Messenger should not carry too great a Pacquet. I have written to the Earles to hasten hither before the enemies haue bettered their Quarter, it would profit much, and wee being once mingled with them, their Forts will doe them as much hurt as vs: From Kinsale the eight and twentieth of December. 1601.

Stilo novo.

Don Iuan de Aquila.

19. Decemb.

The nineteenth by reason of stormie and foule weather, nothing on either side was performed; but the same day Donnell Osulevan Beare, in thankfulness to the King of Spaine, and to endeare himselfe the more into his favour, wrote unto him this ensuing Letter, the originall was in Irish, and thus translated: but the Reader may understand, that it was long afterward before it came to the Lord Presidents hands, yet here inserted in regard of the date thereof.

A Letter from Donnell Osulevan Beare unto the
King of Spaine.

I Thatt beene ever, most mighty and renowned Prince, and most gracious Catholike King, from time to time, manifestly proued by daily experience among vs the Irish, that there is nothing worketh more forcibly in our hearts, to winne, and to draw our loue and affection, then naturall inclination to our Progeny and Offspring, and the memoriall of the friendship, which sticketh still in our minds; chiefly the same being renewed, cherished and kept in use by mutuall affection, and by shewing like friendship to vs also; Wee the meere Irish long since deriving our roote and originall, from the famous and most noble race of the Spaniards: Viz. from Milecius sonne to Bile, sonne to Breogwin, and from Lwighe, sonne to Lythy, sonneto Breogwin, by the testimony of our old ancient bookes of antiquities, our Petigrees, our Histories, and our Cronicles: Though there were no other matter, wee came not as naturall branches of the famous tree, whereof we grew, but beare a hearty loue, and a naturall affection, and intire inclination of our hearts and minds, to our ancient most loving kinsfolkes, and the most noble race whereof wee descended: Besides this (my Sovereigne) such is the abundance of your goodnesse, and the bounty or greatnesse of your liberality, now euery way undeserued of our parts, as tokens of loue and affection by your Majestie shewed unto vs, that it is not fit nor seemely for vs, but to bestow our persons, our men, and our goods, in the service of a Prince, that dealeth so graciously with vs, that sendeth forces of men, great treasure, victuals and munition for our aide, against our Enemies that seeke to overwhelm and extinguish the Catholike faith diabolically, put to death our Chiefetaines tyrannously,

rannously, coveting our Lands and Livings unlawfully: For the foresaid considerations; and for many other commendable causes me moving: I bequeath, and offer in humbleness of mind, and with all my heart, my owne person with all my forces, perpetually to serve your Majestie, not only in Ireland, but in any other place, where it shall please your Highnesse: I commit also my Wife, my Children, my Mannors, Townes, Countrey, and Lands, and my Haven of Dunboy, called Biara-haven (next under God) to the protection, keeping and defence or Commericke of your Majestie, to be and remaine in your hands and at your disposition: Also at your pleasure bee it (my Liege Lord) to send defence and strong keeping of the haven of Dunboy, first for your selfe (my Sovereigne) to receive your ships; and for mee also as your loving servant, so that the Queene of Englands ships may not possesse the same before you, while I follow the warres in your Highnesse behalfe: I pray Almighty God, to give your Majestie along life, health of body and soules, with increase of grace and prosperity: So I betake you to the keeping of God: From the Campe neere Kinsale the nine and twentieth of December, 1601, *Stilo novo.*

Your most dutifull loving Servant

Donnell Osulevan Beare.

This morning being faire, the Ordnance played oftner, and brake downe a good part of the wall; and to the end wee might proceed the more roundly, (if Tyrones force came not the sooner upon us) another great Trench was made beneath the Platforme; to hinder which, the Enemies made very many shott, but all would not serve: for by the next morning that worke was brought to good perfection, though the night fell out stormie, with great abundance of thunder and lightning, to the wonder of all men, considering the season of the yeare. This night came certaine Intelligence, that Tyrone would be the next night within a mile and halfe of us.

1601.

Stilo novo.

30. Decemb.

1691.

CHAP. XX.

Tyrone with his Armie approached within view of our Campe, but could not bee provoked to fight. The enemy sallied out of the towne. The Irish Army as before present themselves. The Enemy from the towne make another sally. Intelligence of the Enemys designs brought to Captaine Taffe.

21. Decemb.
Tyrone with his Army approached within view of our Campe, but could not be provoked to fight.

The Enemy sallied out of the Towne.

22. Decem.
The Irish Army as before presents it selfe.

The Enemy from the Towne made another sally.

23. Decem.



Owards night Tyrone shewed himselfe with the most part of his Horse and Foot, upon a hill betweene our campe and Corke, about a mile from us, and on the other side of the hill encamped that night, where hee had a Fastnesse of wood and water.

Two Regiments of our Foot, and some Horse being drawn out of our Campe, made towards them; and when they saw our men resolved to goe forwards, they fell backe towards the place where they encamped. This night the Spanyards sallied againe, and gaue upon a new Trench made a little beneath our Campe, but were the sooner repelled, because that night wee kept very strong Guards, and every man was in a readinesse to bee in Armes, by reason of Tyrones being so neere unto us.

Tyrones Horse and Foot kept still in fight in the place where they shewed themselves the day before, and many Intelligences affirmed unto us, that they had a purpose to force our Campes. That night some of their Horse, and five hundred of their Foot were discovered searching out a good way to the Towne, which was not made knowen unto us untill the next day. The Spanyards sallied this night hotly, and gaue upon a Trench, so as a Sergeant that had the guard thereof, quit it. But Sir Christopher Saint-Laurence comming to his second, beat them backe before they did any great hurt.

Our Artillery still played upon the Towne, (as it had done all that while) that they might see wee went on with our businesse, as if we cared not for Tyrones comming; but it was withall carried on in such a fashion, as wee had no meaning to make a Breach, because we thought it not fit to offer to enter, and so put all in a hazard, untill wee might better discover what Tyrone meant to doe, whose strength was assured to bee very great, and wee found by Letters of Don Johns (which wee had newly intercepted) that hee had advised Tyrone to set upon our Campes, telling him that it could not bee chosen, but our men were much decayed by the winters siege, and so that wee could hardly be able to maintaine so much ground (as wee had taken) when our strength was greater, if we were well put too, on the one side by them, and on the other side by him, which hee would not faile for his part to doe soundly.

Tyrone

Tyrone accompanied with *Odonnell*, *Orwrke*, *Mac Guire*, *Mac Magbon*, *Randell Mac Sorly*, *Redmond Burke*, *O Conner Sligoes* brothers, and *Captaine Tirrell*; with the choise force, and in effect all the Rebels of Ireland being drawn into Mounster, and joyned with Spaniards that landed at Castle-haven, who brought to *Tyrones* Campe sixe Ensignes of Spaniards, and the greatest part of the Irish of Mounster, who being revolted, were joyned with them; and entertayned into the Kings pay in severall Companies, and under their owne Lords, resolved to relecue the Towne of Kinsale, and to that purpose sate downe the one and twentieth of December, a mile and a halfe from the Towne, betweene the English Campe and Corke, and on that side of the Army, kept from them all passages and meanes for forage, the other side, over the River of Ownybuoy, being wholly at their disposition, by reason of the generall revolt of those parts, it seemed they were drawn so farre by the importunity of *Don Iuan de Aquila*, as wee perceived by some of his Letters intercepted, wherein hee did intimate his owne necessitie, their promise to succour him, and the facility of the Enterprise; our Armie being weake in numbers, and tired (as hee termed us) with assurance from himselfe, that whensoever hee should advance to our Quarter, hee would giue the blow soundly from the Towne; during the aboad of the Rebels in that place, wee had continuall intelligence of their purpose to giue Alarmes from their party, and sallies from the Towne, but to little other effect then to weary our men, by keeping them continually in Armes; the weather being extreame tempestuous, cold and wet; on the three and twentieth of December, late in the night, *Captaine Taffe* enformed the Lord Deputie, that one of the Rebels sent him word (and confirmed it by a solemne oath) to the bearer, that the resolution of the Rebels was either that night, or betweene that and the next, to enterprise their uttermost for the releefe of the Towne, with some particulars, in what sort they intended to giue upon our Campe: The intelligence which *Captaine Taffe* had was upon this occasion.

1601.
24. Decemb.

*Intelligence
of the Enemies
designe
brought to
Captaine
Taffe.*

1601.

CHAP. XXI.

The meanes whereby Captaine Taffe had his Intelligence. The Battell of Kinsale, where in the Rebels were overthrowen. The Lord President directed by the Lord Deputie to guard the Campe, against any attempt to be made by the Spaniards. A glorious Victorie. An old Irish Prophecie proved true. Two sallies made by the Spaniards.

The meanes whereby Captaine Taffe had his Intelligence.



Vesday the two and twentieth of December, Brian Mac Hugh Oge Mac Maghon, a principall Commander in the Irish Army, whose eldest sonne Brian had many yeares before been a Page in ENGLAND with the Lord President, sent a Boy unto Captaine William Taffe, praying him to speake unto the Lord President to bestow upon him a bottle of *Aquavita*, which the President for old acquaintance sent unto him; the next night being the three and twentieth, by the same Messenger hee sent him a Letter, praying him to recommend his Loue vnto the President, thanks for his *Aquavita*, and to wish him the next night following to stand well upon his Guard, for himselfe was at the Councell, wherein it was resolved, that on the night aforesaid, (towards the breake of day) the Lord Deputies Campe would bee assaulted, both by *Tyrones* Armie, (which lay at their backes) and by the Spaniards from the Towne, who upon the first Allarme would bee in a readinesse to salley: Whereupon the Lord Deputie gaue order to strengthen the ordinary Guards, to put the rest of the Armie in a readinesse, but not into Armes, that about the falling of the Moone, the Regiment volant, (commanded by Sir *Henrie Power*, and appoynted onely to answere the first occasion without doing any other duties) should draw out beyond the West part of the Campe, and there to stand in Armes, not farre from the maine guard of Horse: A little before the breake of the day, the Lord President went to the Lord Deputies house, and as they two and the Marshall were in Councell, one of the Lord Presidents horsemen came to the doore, and calling upon him said, My Lord, it is time to arme, for the enemy is neere unto the Campe; and immediately Sir *Richard Greame*, who had the guard of Horse that night, sent word to the Lord Deputie, that the Scouts had discovered the Rebels Matches in great numbers; whereupon the Lord Deputie caused the Armie to draw presently into Armes, sent a Corporall of the field, to cause the like to bee done in the Earle of *Thomonds* quarter, and that from thence they should draw out three hundred choise men, betweene that quarter and the Fort, built upon the West hill, neere a Barricado made (crosse a high way) to stop the Enemies suddaine passage in the night, and himselfe accompanied with

The Battell of Kinsale, wherein the rebels were overthrowne.

with the President, and the Marshall advanced forwards towards the scout, and having given direction to Sir *Henry Davers* (who commanded the Horse under the Marshall) for the ordering of the Troopes, sent the Marshall to take view of the Enemy, who brought him word, that Horse and Foote of theirs were advanced; whereupon the Lord Deputie with Sir *Oliver Lambert* rid to view a peece of ground, betweene that and the Towne, which had on the backe of it a Trench, drawen from the Earle of Thomonds quarter to the West fort: on the front a boggyish Glyn, and passable with Horse onely at one ford, which before hee had intrenched: the ground whereupon the Enemy must haue drawen in'grosse, to force the passage, was flankerd from the Earles quarter by the Cannon; it was resolved to make that ground good, being of greater advantage for Horse and Foote, both to bee imbattled, and to fight: upon view whereof the Lord Deputie sent the Marshall word, that on that place hee was resolved to giue the Enemy battaile, and sent the Sergeant Major (Sir *John Barkley*) to draw out Sir *Henry Folliots*, and Sir *Oliver Saint-Iohns* Regiments to that place: *O Campo* (that commanded all the Spaniards that came last out of Spaine) desired *Tyrone* that hee might imbattle his men, and presently giue on, to joyne that way with *Don Iuan*, for their purpose was at that time, by that meanes to haue put into the Towne all the Spaniards with *Tirrell*, and eight hundred of their chiefe men, and the next night from the Towne, and their Army to haue forced both our quarters, of the successe whereof they were so confident, that they reckoned us already theirs, and were in contention, whose prisoners the Lord Deputie should bee, and whose the President, and so of the rest: But *Tyrone* (discovering the Marshall, and Sir *Henry Davers* to bee advanced with all the Horse, and Sir *Henry Powers* Squadron of Foote) retired beyond a ford at the foote of that hill, (with purpose as he fained) till his whole Army were drawen more close; instantly the Marshall sent the Lord Deputie word by Sir *Francis Rush*, that the Enemy retired in some disorder; whereupon the Lord Deputie came up unto him, and gaue order that all the Foote should follow; when we were advanced to the Ford (but our Foote not wholly come to us) the Enemy drew off in three great bodies of foot, and all their horse in the reare: The Lord Deputie asked of some that understood the Countrey, whether beyond that ford, there were neere any ground of strength for the Enemy to make advantage of; but being answered that there was none, but a faire Champion, he drew after the Enemy, and then desired the Lord President to returne from thence, and secure the Campe; and attend the sallies of *Don Iuan*, which hee did, with whom the Lord Deputie sent the Earle of Thomonds Horse, Sir *An-*

The Lo. President directed by the L. Deputie to guard the Campe against any attempt to be made by the Spaniards.

1601.

thony Cookes, and *Sir Oliver Lamberts*, and only tooke with him betweene three or foure hundred Horse, and undertwelve hundred Foote, but being drawen out some mile farther, we might perceiue the Enemy to stand firme, upon a ground of very good advantage for them, having a bog betweene us, and a deepe ford to passe, and in all apparance with a resolution to fight: the Marshall being advanced with the Horse neere unto the Ford, sent unto the Lord Deputie, that hee perceived the Enemy in some disorder; and that if hee would giue him leaue to charge, hee hoped to giue a very good account of it; the Lord Deputie left it to his discretion, to doe as he should find present occasion, out of the disposition of the Enemy; whereupon the Earle of *Clanrickard* that was with the Marshall, importuned him exceedingly to fight, and the Lord Deputie sent to draw up the Foote (with all expedition) close together, who marched as fast as it was possible for them to keepe their orders; the Marshall alsoone as a wing of the Foote of the Vaunt-guard was come up unto him, and *Sir Henry Power* with his Regiment drawen over the Ford, advanced with some hundred Horse, accompanied with the Earle of *Clanrickard*, and gaue occasion of skirmish upon the bog side, with some hundred hargubisheers; the Enemy thereupon put out some of their loose shot from their battle, and entertayned the fight: their three battalions standing firme on the other side of the bog, at the first our shot were put close to the Horse, but with a second they beat the enemies loose shot into their battle; and withall the Marshall, with the Earle of *Clanrickard*, and *Sir Richard Greame*, offered a charge on a battle of one thousand Foote, and finding them to stand firme, wheeled a little about: by this time *Sir William Godolphin* with the Lord Deputies Horse, and *Captaine Mynsball* with the Lord Presidents Horse, (who were appointed to keepe still in grosse, to answer all accidents) was come up, and *Sir John Barkley* with two of our three bodies of Foote: whereupon the Marshall with the Earle of *Clanrickard*, vnited themselues with *Sir Henry Davers*, *Captaine Taffe* and *Captaine Fleming*, charged againe the Horse, and the reare of the same battle, who presently thereupon, both Horse and Foote fell into disorder and brake.

All this while the Vantgard of the Enemies in which was *Terrill*, and all the Spaniards, stood firme upon a Bog on the right hand, unto whom, within Calievers shot the Lord Deputie had drawen up our Reare upon a little hill, and willed them to stand firme, till they received direction from him: but perceiving the grosse drawing betweene our men that were following the execution, and the other Bodies of foot, he drew up that Squadron, (commanded by *Captaine Roe*) to charge them in Flanck; whereupon they presently drew off, and

1601.

*A glorious
victory.*

and in a great grosse marched to the top of the next hill, and there for a little time) made a stand; the Reare of the Enemy beeing in their retreat, the Van went off with few slaine, but with the losse of many of their Armes, their Battell (being the greatest Body) was put all to the sword, and not aboue some sixtie escaped: The Vanguard who went last off, were broken on the top of the hill; the Irish for the most part quit the Spanyards, who making a stand, were broken by the Lord Deputies Troopes, and most of them killed, *O Campo* the chiefe Commaunder taken prisoner by the Cornet; *John Pykman*, two Captaines 7. Alferoes, and 40. Souldiers taken prisoners by such as followed the execution, which continued a mile & a halfe, and left there, onely tyred with killing: There were of the Irish rebells twelue hundred dead bodies left in the place, and as we heard from themselues, about eight hundred hurt, whereof many of them dyed that night: they lost aboue two thousand Armes, their Powder, Drummes, and nine Ensignes, which was more then ever they had together before; of Captaines, (besides other men of marke) foureteene were slaine, and on our side onely *Sir Richard Greames* Cornett was killed, *Sir Henrie Darters* hurt with a sword slightly, *Sir William Godolphin* a little rased on the thigh with a Halbert, Capitaine *Crofts* the Scout-Master with a shot in the backe, and not aboue fivie or sixe common Souldiers hurt, many of our horses killed, and more hurt: The Earle of *Clanricard* had many faire escapes, being shot through his Garments, and no man did bloody his sword more then his Lordship that day, and would not suffer any man to take any of the Irish prisoners, but bad them kill the Rebells. After the Retrait was sounded, the Lord Deputie did giue the Order of Knighthood to the Earle of *Clanricard*, in the field in the midst of the dead bodies, and returning backe to the Campe, drew out the whole Armie, and gaue God thanks for this Victorie with their prayers; At the ending whereof, and a volley of shott for joy discharged, *Don Iuan* (who was attentive to heare of the Spanyards approach) hearing the volley, and conceiving that his Ayds were in fight with us, made a salley out of the Towne; but when hee perceived the Spanish Colours to be carried by Englishmen in triumph, he made a speedy retreit. The Enemies Armie, as *Alonso de o Campo* doth assure us, was sixe thousand Foote, and fivie hundred Horse; there were some of the Irish taken Prisoners, that offered great ransomes, but presently upon their bringing to the Campe, they were hanged.

Although no man is lesse credulous then my selfe is of idle Prophecies, the most whereof are coyned after things are done, yet I make bold to relate this which succeeds, for long before the thing

*An old Irish
prophecie pro-
v: d true.*

1601.

I speake of was brought to light: my selfe was an eye witnesse when it was reported; in concealing it I should wrong the trueth, which makes mee bold to remember it: Many times I did heare the Earle of *Thomond* tell the Lord President, that in an old Booke of Irish prophecies which hee had scene, it was reported, that towards the latter dayes there should bee a battell fought betweene the English and the Irish, in a place which the Booke nameth, neere unto *Kinsale*. The Earle of *Thomond* comming out of England, & landing first at *Castlehaven*, and after at *Kinsale*, as aforesaid: in the time of the siege, my selfe and divers others heard him againe report the Prophecie to the President, and named the place, where (according to the Prophecie) the field should bee fought: the day whereupon the victorie was obtained, the Lord President and the Earle rode out to see the dead bodies of the vanquished, and the President asked some that were there present, by what name that ground was called; they not knowing to what end hee did demand it, told him the true name thereof, which was the same which the Earle so often before had reported to the President. I beseech the Reader to beleeue mee, for I deliver nothing but trueth: but as one Swallow makes no Summer, so shall not this one true Prophecie increafe my credulitie in old Predictions of that kinde.

25. Decemb.
Two sallies
made by the
Spaniards.

The five and twentieth in the afternoone the Spaniards made a sally, but they were enforced to retreat into the Towne; at nine in the night they sallied againe to hinder our workes in the Trenches, the skirmish continued two houres, in the end they were repulsed: on our side the Ensignes of Captaine *Roper* and Captaine *Ghest* were hurt; what harme they received, we know not.

26. Decemb.
Another sally

The sixe and twentieth in the night they gave againe upon our Trenches, and enforced a Lieutenant (with his Guard) to quit them; and from thence they went to a little Fort of ours on the west side of the Towne: but there they found so good resistance, as they were enforced to retreat with the losse of foure men slaine, and eight hurt.

27. Decemb.

The seven and twentieth nothing was done, and that whole day was (by the Lord Deputie, the Lord President, and the rest of the Councell then in the Campe) spent in making of Dispatches into ENGLAND.

CHAP

CHAP. XXII.

Zubiaur arrived at Castlehaven, and immediately returned. O'Donnell, Redmond Burke, &c. imbarqued for Spaine. The names of such of the Irish as fled into Spaine. The losse which the Rebels had in passing through Mounster, after the battell of Kinsale.



HE eight and twentieth, intelligence was brought to the Lord President, who related it to the Lord Deputy, that Pedro Zubiaur (who was (as is said) a great Commander in the Spanish fleet that came to Kinsale) was lately landed at Castlehaven, and hearing of Tyrone's overthrow, hee made no stay but set saile for Spaine, carrying with him O'Donnell, Redmond Burke, Hugh Mostian, with others of their traine, whose names I will omit; but for the better satisfaction of the Reader I thinke it meet, to set downe the names of sundry other Mounster men, who not long after fled into Spaine, whose names ensue.

28. Decem.

Zubiaur arrived at Castlehaven, and immediately returned.

O'Donnell, Redmond Burke, &c. imbarqued for Spaine.

A List of the names of such of the Irish as have shipped themselves for Spaine out of Mounster, besides divers others which attended these, and whose names are not known, all which set saile since December, 1601.

From Castlehaven in December, 1601.

O'Donnell.

Redmond Burke.

Hugh Mostian.

} and their traine.

The names of such of the Irish as fled into Spaine.

In a Pinnace of advice that brought the Kings Letters, which were intercepted by the President in February, 1601.

Osulevan Beares sonnes, and with him one Trant of Dingle.

Donnell, Sonne to Sir Finin Odrischall,

From Ardea in a Patache the seventh of June, 1602.

Donoghe, Bastard brother to Florence Mac Cartie.

Donoghe Mac Maghon Obrien Mac Enasficke.

Brian Okelly.

From Kinsale with Don Iuan de Aquila, in March, 1601.

Teg Mac Donnell ne Cantie.

William Mac Shane, the Seneschals Sonne of Imokillie.

1601.

Dermond Mac Conoghor Odrifchall of Castlehaven, together with his Brother and Sonnes.

Thomas Omoroghoe alias *Thomas Keughe Mac Edmond* of Muskry.

Richard Meaghe, Sonne and Heire to *James Meaghe* of Kinsale.

Dominicke White of Kinsale, a Capenters Sonne.

Melaghlen More of Kinsale, borne in Connaght.

Conoghor Omonowe of Kinsale, and there borne.

Edmond Mac Shane of Kinsale.

Dermond Mac Shane of Kinsale.

Donoghe Deasoghe of Kinsale.

Andrew Butler a kerne borne at Galway.

William Butler a kerne.

Maghon Mac Donogh Otery under *Barry Oge*.

Dermond Mac Owen.

David fits Garret Barry, and his wife and children dwelling at Rincorran.

Garrot Barry

Nicholas Barry

John Barry

David oge Barry

William Hartilige of Rincorran.

John Hartelige, son to *William* afore said.

Dermond oge Osulevan of Rincorran.

Dermond Ogriffien of Rincorran.

John Mac Donnell Kedic of Rincorran,

Dermond Mac Donell Kedic.

Maurice Roch fits John of Ellinfinchtowne in Kinalcy,

John fits John Roche.

Conoghor Mag Donogh of Rathmore in Kinalcy.

Donogh Gowe, a Connaght man, dwelling at Rathmore in Kinalcy.

Hugo Obellie, a Connaght man.

Donogh Moel mac Enesús, *Dermond Moel mac Carties* man,

Owen mac Donogh mac Finnin Cartie of Curovrane,

Donel oge Mac Donel Carty, brother to *Don Carlos* slaine at Kinsale.

Finnin oge Cartie, an other brother to *Don Carlos*.

Conoghor o Callenan of Rathmore in Kinalley.

Donell Ogriffien of the same.

William mac Cormock, a Connaght man.

Dermond mac Shane, a Connaght man.

Edmond Olavien,

William Mac Ricard,

Cormocke Olanahie,

} all Connaght men.



Dermond

Dermond Deaserghe, a Connaght man.
Dermond Olongie of Muskry.
Richard Cogan fits Philip of Barnehelly in Kerry-wherie.
Finin Mac Donoghe Cartie, a Cosen to Don Carlos.
Dermond Mac Finin Cartie, of Skeaghe in Carbry.
Donnell Mac Finin Cartie of the same.
Donnell Mac Teg Cartie of the same.
David Skemnehan of Rincorran.
John Mac Dermond Mac Shane, a Connaght man.
Cormocke the Lord Presidents Footeman, of the Birnes in Leinster.
William Mac Shane of Rathmore, in the County of Limerick.
Donnell Mac Shane O Cullenan of Rathmore in Kinaley.
John Oge Olenzie, a Connaght man.
Teg Welsb, alias Teg Brenaghe.
Cormocke Mac Donoghe ne Mroen Oriardane.
Dermond Mac Donoghe ne Mroen Oriardane.
Owen Mac Donoghe ne Mroen Oriardane.
Donnell Mac Shane Oriardane of Muskry.
John Feild fits Maurice of Tracten Abbie.
John Roe Mac William, of the County of Limericke.
Donnell O Sissuane of Kinsale.
Teg O Sissuane, Sonne to Donnell afore said.
Hugo Lacy.
Walter Ley of Kilkenny.
Richard Stacboll.
One Master Fits Iames a Pensioner.

These came out of Spaine
 with Don Iuan, and re-
 turned with him.

From Ardea with Connor Odrischall and Archer,
 the seventh of Iuly, 1602.

Conner Odrischall, eldest Sonne to Sir Finin Odrischall.
Iames Archer Iesuite.
Collie Mac Swine Mac Edmond, of the Mac Swines of Carbry.
 his Sonne was hanged at Donboy in Iune, 1602.
Cormocke Mac Donoghe, vic' Donnell Rabaghe one of the Carties.
Donoghe Mac Conner, of Castlehaven, and owner of it.
Donnell Mac Connor, vic' Dermond Odrischall.
Mac Con Mac Iffie Odrischall.
Teg Mac Iffie Odrischall.
Morriertaghe Mac Iffie Odrischall.
Dermond Mac Conner of Kilkoe,
Dermond Oge of the same,
Shane Mac Dermond Ibolonghane of Bantrie.

Brothers.

of the Carties, brothers.

Shane

1601.

Shane Mac Gillicuddie Ibolonghane of Beare.

Teg Oge ne Mockloghe.

Owen Mac Teg ne Mockloghe. } of the Carties, brothers.

Finnin mac Browne of the Odrischals.

Conner Omaghon of Lemcon, one of the Omaghons of Ivagh.

One of the sonnes of Gilliduff of Cleere, and one of the Odrischals.

Dermond Oge mac Dermond Odrischall.

Conner mac Finnin Roe of Bonnanie in Bantrie.

Tirlogh sonne to Teg Reugh mac Maghon of Thomond, who slew his Father when Donboy was besieged, his lands her Majestie hath given to the Earle of Thomonds brother.

Dowaltagh mac Morogh Icorromanie, foster-brother to Odonnell.

Elline ny Donogh, late wife to Dermond Moel mac Cartie, brother to Florence.

Finnin Kearigh of the Fioll, one of the Carties.

Dermond mac Shannaganie, a Rimer.

Gilliduff, a Thomond man.

Two Souldiers of Thomond which served Conner Odrischall.

David mac Shane of the Dingle, servant to James Archer the Iesuite.

Shane mac Dermond, vic' Donogh Oge o Cullenan, Archers boy.

Conner Oge Odrischall, heire to Conner Sir Finnins sonne, nine yeares of age.

Thomas, son and heire to the Knight of the Valley, 14 yeares old.

Donnell Omaghon, a Marriner that came in company with Owen mac Eggan.

Fiue Frenchmen that were taken by Teg Reughe, when they tooke the Ship and Merchant of Gallway.

29. Decem.
The losse
which the
Rebels had
in passing
through
Mounster af-
ter the bat-
tell of Kin-
sale.

The nine and twentieth, the Lord Deputy, and the Lord President (from sundry persons, and divers wayes) were advertised, that Tyrone in passing the broad water, lost many of his Carriages, and one hundred and fortie of his men drowned; those which tooke their way through Connolough, (for they brake into many parts) had also losse of men and Carriages in the river of May, and the like at the Abbey of Ownhy in Omulrians Countrey; so as they lost of all sorts about two hundred: The Footmen wearied in the flight, (to goe the lighter) cast away their Armes, and their hurt men (carried upon weake and tyred garrans) were by their fellowes left upon the way, where they dyed; their tyred horses were slaine by their Masters, and the Countrey Inhabitants (for spoyles sake) upon advantages would not spare to take some of their heads, but not in that proportion as they might haue done, if they had beene sound Subjects. Lastly, it was reported, (but how true it is I am somewhat doubtfull)

full) that *Tyrone* himselfe, and *Mac Mahon* were both hurt in the battell, and carryed away on Litters. To conclude, never men were more dismayed with extremitie of feare, then these light-footed Traytors were.

C H A P. XXIII.

A Parley desired by Don Iuan, and granted by the Lord Deputie. Don Iuan his Propositions, with their Answers, and his Reply. The Reasons which mooved the Lord Deputie and Councell to yeeld to a Composition. The Articles of the Composition.

THE last of December *Don Iuan* offered a parley, sending the Drum Major out of the Towne, with a sealed Letter to the Lord Deputie, by an Alferes, by which he required (as by the Copie thereof conveyed in the dispatch by *Sir Richard Morison* into England may appeare) that some Gentleman of speciall trust and sufficiencie, might bee sent into the Towne from his Lordship to conferre with him, whom he would acquaint with such conditions as hee then stood upon; which being granted by his Lordship, *Sir William Godolphin* was employed in that negotiation; which in what sort it was carried, because it importeth much, in respect of many particularities of speciall moment to bee considered; it is thought necessary it should bee here more largely delivered, his first conference with *Sir William Godolphin* tendeth to this: That having found the Lord Deputie (whom he termeth the Viceroy) although a sharpe and powerfull Oppositor, yet an honourable Enemy, and the Irish not onely weake and barbarous, but (as hee feared) perfidious friends, hee was so farre in his affection reconciled to the one, and distasted with the other, as did invite him to make an overture of such a composition, as might bee safe and profitable for the State of England, with lesse prejudice to the Crowne of Spaine, by delivering into the Viceroyes power the Towne of Kinsale, with all other places in Ireland, held by the Spanish, so as they might depart upon honourable termes, fitting such men of warre, as are not by necessitie enforced to receiue conditions, but willingly enduced for just respects, to disengage themselves, and to relinquish a people, by whom their King and Master had beene so notoriously abused, if not betrayed: That if the Viceroy liked to entertaine further parly touching this poynt, he would first be pleased to understand them rightly, and to make his propositions such, as might bee sutable to men thoroughly resolved, rather to bury themselves aliue, and to endure a thousand deaths, then that to giue way to one Article of accord, that should tast of basenes or dishonour, be-

A Parley desired by Don Iuan and granted by the Lord Deputie.

Don Iuan his propositions,

1601.

The Answer.

Don Iuan
his reply.

ing so confident of their present strength, and the Royall second of Spaine, that they should make no doubt of yeelding good account of themselves, and their interest in this kingdom: But that a just disdain, and spleene conceived against the nation, dissuaded them from being further engaged for it, then of force they must: Sir *William Godolphin* being commanded by the Lord Deputie onely to receiue *Don Iuans* propositions and demands, having made his Lordship and Councell this relation, was by them returned with the Answer following. That howbeit the Lord Deputie having lately defeated their succours, did so well understand his owne strength and their weaknesse, as made him nothing doubt of forcing them within a very short time, whom hee did know to bee pressed with irrepressible difficulties, how much soever they laboured to cover and conceale the same: Yet knowing that her sacred Majestie, out of her gracious and mercifull disposition, would esteeme the glory of her victory to be blemished by a voluntary effusion, and an obstinate expence of Christian blood, was content to entertaine this offer of agreement, so as it might bee concluded under such honourable articles of her Highnesse, as the advantage shee had against them gaue reason to demand, being the same, which are sent with this dispatch Signed by *Don Iuan*, the leaving of his Treasure, Munition, Artillery, and the Queenes naturall Subjects to her disposition onely excepted: All which poynts he did peremptorily refuse, with constant asseveration, that both hee and all his would rather endure the last of misery, then bee found guilty of so fowle a treason, against the honour of his Prince, and the reputation of his profession, though hee should find himselfe unable to subsist, much more now, when he might not onely hope to sustaine the burthen of the warre for a time, but with patience and constancie in the end to overcome it: That hee tooke it so ill, to be understood in having Articles of that nature propounded unto him, as were they but once againe remembered in the capitulation, the Viceroy should from henceforth use the advantage of his sword, and not the benefit of his former offers; adding that the Viceroy might rather thinke to haue made a good and profitable purchase, for the crowne of England, if with expence of two hundred thousand Duckets, hee had procured *Don Iuan* to quit his interest and footing, but in *Baltimore*, to say nothing of *Kinsale*, *Castlehaven*, and *Beerehaven*, for (said hee) suppose that all we (with the rest of our places here) had perished, yet would that *Pen-Insula* (being strong in its owne nature) bettered by our art and industry, provided (as it is) of victuals, munition, and of good Artillery, preferue unto the King of Spaine, a safe and commodious port for the arrivall of his fleet, and bee able to maintaine it selfe against a land Army of ten thousand,

untill

untill Spaine (being so deeply engaged) did in honour releue them, which would draw on a more powerfull invasion then the first, being undertaken upon false grounds, at the instance of a base and barbarous people, who in discovering their weaknesse, and want of power, haue armed the King my master to rely upon his owne strength, being tied in honour to releue his people that are ingaged, and to cancell the memory of our former disaster: But this was spoken (said he) in case the Viceroy were able to force this Towne, as I assure my selfe hee cannot, having upon mine honour within these wals, at this instant about two thousand fighting men, that are strong and able, besides those which having bene sicke and hurt, recover daily: The greatest part of these composed of old Souldiers, which fall not but by the sword, and those that were new, being now both trayned to their Armes, and growen acquainted with the Climat, are more able to endure then at the first; our meanes are good as it hath bene, anytime these two moneths; such as the Spaniards can well away withall, and thereof to suffice us for three moneths more; we lodge in good warme houses, haue store of munition, and (which is best of all) stand well assured that our succours will be shortly here; to be plaine, wee preserue our men, and reserue our strength the best wee may, hoping to front you in a breach, which if our hearts faile us not, wee haue hands and breasts enough to stop against treble your forces; though I will giue the Viceroy this right, that his men are passing good, but spent and tired out with misery of a winter siege, which hee hath obstinately maintained beyond my expectation, but with such caution, and upon so good guard, as having nicely watched all advantages; I could never fasten a salley yet upon him, but with losse to my selfe, wherein I must acknowledge my hopes deceived, that grounding on some error in his approaches, promised my selfe the defeat of at least one thousand men at one blow; but when we meet on the breach, I am confident (upon reason) to lay five hundred of your best men on the earth, and rest hopefull that the losse of those will make a great hole in an Army, that hath already suffered so much extremitie; but to conclude our busines, the King my master sent me to assist the Condees *Oneale* and *Odonnell*, presuming on their promise that I should haue joyned with them, within few dayes of the arrivall of his forces; I expected long in vaine, sustayned the Viceroyes Armes, saw them drawen to the greatest head they could possible make, lodged within two miles of Kinsale, reenforced with certaine Companies of Spaniards, every houre promising to releue us, and being joyned together to force your Campes, saw them at last broken with a handfull of men, blowen asunder into divers parts of the world; *Odonnell* into Spaine, *Oneale* to the furthest part of

1601.

the North, so as now I find no such Condees *in verum Natura* (for those were the very words hee used) as I came to joyne withall, and therefore have moved this accord the rather to disingage the King my master, from assisting a people so unable in themselves, that the whole burthen of the warre must lye upon him, and so perfidious, as perhaps might bee enduced in requitall of his favour, at last to betray him.

The reasons
which moved
the Lo. De-
putie and
Councell to
yeeld to a
Composition.

Vpon relation made by Sir William Godolphin to the Lord Deputie and Councell of these offers of *Don Iuan*, which at severall Conferences had been brought to such heads, as by the Articles betweene them is more particularly specified, it was thought good (for divers important reasons) to proceed roundly to the agreement: for whereas in the Propositions by him made, there was not any thing that admitted exceptions on our part, but onely that hee required to carry with him his Ordnance, Munition and Treasure, that being no way prejudiciall to the maine scope, or drift of our Treatie, which chiefly respected the common good, and safetie of the Kingdome, deserved not almost to bee thought upon. Besides that, the Treasure being at first but one hundred thousand Duckets, with foure moneths payment of so many men, and other necessary deductions, could not bee but very neere wasted, and that little remainder more fit for a prey to the poore Souldiers, (after this tedious travell) then for a clause in the Composition. Furthermore, how needfull it was to embrace this accord, may clearly bee seene by whosoever considereth the state of our Armie, almost utterly tyred, how full of danger and difficultie it was to attempt a Breach, defended by so many hands; how long time it might haue cost us (if wee had lodged in the Breach) before wee could haue carried the Towne, being full of strong Castles; how her Majesties Ships, and others being in the Harbour, should haue beene forced speedily to forsake us for want of victualls; how our selues were not provided for about six dayes at the time of this parley; that wee had neither Munition, nor Artillerie, but for one Battery, in one place at once, five of our Peeeces being before crazed: And finally, that if wee had missed of our purpose, the whole Countrey had been hazarded: Furthermore, that which seemed of greatest consequence to enduce his Lordship to this agreement, was, that the Spanyards in Baltemore, Castlehaven, and Beerehaven, by vertue of this Contract, were likewise to surrender those places, and depart the Countrey, which how hard a matter it would haue prooved, and how long and dangerous a war it would haue drawn on, to root them out, they being strongly fortified, and well stored with victualls, Munition and Artillery, may easily bee conjectured, for that of necessitie the Armie (for some space) must

Build your
enemy a sil-
ver bridge to
waite him a-
way, if he bee
potent, or not
hopelesse of
supplies.

must have rested, and in the end have been constrained after a new supply of necessaries, (to her Majesties intollerable charges) to transport themselves thither by Sea, the way by land being unpassable, in which time their Succours out of Spaine, in all likelihood would have been come unto them; the King being so farre engaged in his Honour to second his enterprise, and wee barred of that prosecution of the Rebels, which now by this Agreement wee may wholly intend.

For which considerations, the Lo: Deputie and Councell thought it in their wisdomes meet, to condescend to more indifferent conditions, which being propounded and agreed upon by Don Iuan, these Articles ensuing were signed and sealed on both parts.

The Articles of Composition betweene the Lord Deputie and Councell, and Don Iuan de Aquila, Mountjoy.

In the Towne of Kinsale in the Kingdome of Ireland, the second day of the Moneth of January, 1601, betweene the Noble Lords the Lord Mountjoy, Lord Deputie, and Generall in the Kingdome of Ireland, and Don Iuan de Aquila, Captaine and Campmaster Generall, and Governour of the Armes of his Majestie the King of Spaine, the said Lord Deputie being encamped, and besieging the said town and the said Don Iuan within it, for just respects, and to avoyd shedding of blood, these Conditions following were made betweene the said Lords Generalls, and their Campes, with the Articles that follow.

The Articles of the Composition.

First, That the said Don Iuan de Aquila shall quit the places which hee holds in this Kingdome, as well of the Towne of Kinsale, as those which are held by the Souldiers under his command, in Castlehaven, Baltimore, and the Castle of Beerehaven, and other parts, to the said Lord Deputie, or to whom he shall appoynt, giving him safe transportation (and sufficient) for the said people, of ships and victualls, with the which the said Don Iuan with them may go for Spaine, if he can at one time, if not in two shippings.

Item, That the Souldiers at this present being under the command of Don Iuan in this Kingdome, shall not beare Armes against her Majestie the Queene of England, wheresoever suppliees shall come from Spaine, till the said Souldiers be unshipped in some of the Ports of Spaine, being dispatched (as soone as may be) by the Lord Deputy, as he promiseth upon his Faith and Honour.

1601.

3.

Item, For the accomplishing whereof, the Lord Deputie offereth to give free passport to the said *Don Iuan* and his Army, as well Spaniards as other nations whatsoever; that are under his command; and that hee may depart with all the things hee hath, Armes, Munitions, Money, Ensignes displayed, Artillery, and other whatsoever provisions of warre, and any kind of stuffe, as well that which is in *Castlehaven*, as *Kinsale* and other parts.

4.

Item, That they shall haue ships and victuals, sufficient for their money, according and at the prices which here they use to give, that all the people and the said things, may be shipped (if it be possible) at one time, if not at two, and that to be within the time abouenamed.

5.

Item, That if by contrary winds, or by any other occasions, there shall arriue at any Port of these kingdomes of Ireland, or England, any ships of these (in which the said men goe) they be intreated as friends, and may ride safely in the Harbour, and be victualled for their money, and haue moreover things which they shall need, to furnish them to their voyage.

6.

Item, During the time that they shall stay for shipping, victuals shall be given to *Don Iuan's* people, at just and reasonable rates.

7.

Item, That of both parts shall be cessation of Armes, and security that no wrong be offered any one.

8.

Item, That the ships (in which they shall goe for Spaine) may passe safely by any other ships whatsoever of her Majesties the Queene of England; and so shall they of the said Queene, and her Subjects by those that shall goe from hence, and the said ships being arrived in Spaine, shall returne as soone as they haue unshipped their men, without any impediment given them by his Majestie, or any other person in his name, but rather they shall shew them favour, and helpe them (if they need any thing;) and for security of this, they shall giue into the Lord Deputies hands, three Captaines such as hee shall choose.

9.

For the securitie of the performance of the Articles, *Don Iuan* offereth that he wil confirme, and sweare to accomplish this agreement: And likewise some of the Captaines of his Charge shall sweare and confirme the same in a severall writing.

10.

Item, that hee in person shall abide in this Kingdome, where the Lord Deputie shall appoynt, (till the last shipping) upon his Lordships word; And if it happen that his people be shipped all at once, the said *Don Iuan* shall goe in the same Fleet, without any impediment given him; But rather the Lord Deputy shall giue a good ship, in which hee may goe; and if his said men be sent in two shippings, then he shall goe in the last.

11.

And in like sort the said Lord Deputie shall sweare and confirme, and

and give his word in the behalfe of her Majestie the Queene and his owne, to keepe and accomplish this agreement, and joyntly the Lord President, the Lo. Marshall of the Campe, and the other of the Councell of State, and the Earles of Thomond and Clanricard, shall sweare and confirme the same in a severall writing.

I doe promise and sweare to accomplish and keepe these Articles of Agreement, and promise the same likewise on the behalfe of his Majestie Catholique, the King my Master.

George Carew.
Thomond.
Clanricard.
Richard Wingfield.
Robert Gardiner.
George Bourchier.
Richard Levison.

Don Iuan de Aguilá.

CHAP. XXIII.

The names of the Hostages delivered by Don Iuan. Don Iuan his demand of victuals for the transportation of his men. The victuals which was delivered to Don Iuan, and their rates. The number of Spaniards which were transported out of Ireland. The Lord Deputie brake up his siege and returned to Corke. Captaine Harvies Commission for his government.

THE day the Articles were Signed, Don Iuan dined with the Lord Deputie, and the next day after, the Lord President (having Sir Richard Levison and Sir William Godolphin in his company) was sent into the Towne of Kinsale, where he dyed with Don Iuan to treat with him, about such shipping and victuals as hee would demand, for the transportation of his men, and at what rates, for the which ready money was to bee payed: And also to demand of him, the three Captaines which the Lord Deputie had made choise of, which were Don Pedro Morison, Captaine Pedro Snao, and Captaine Diego Gonzales Sigler, to remaine Pledges untill the retorne of the ships: The demands hee made of victuals, and connage for the victualling and transporting of three thousand and two hundred men (remaying in Kinsale, Castlehaven, Baltimore, and Donboy, whereof two thousand and six hundred in Kinsale, and six hundred at the places aforesaid) were as followeth.

The names of the hostages delivered by Don Iuan.

First

1601.

Don Iuan his
demand of
victuals for
the transpor-
tation of his
men.

First his demands was sixe weekes victuals, in forme following.

For every weeke foure dayes flesh, three dayes fish.

For every flesh day, bread foure and twenty bryces for a man, and sixe of Beefe.

For every fish day, foure and twenty ounces of Bread, sixe ounces of fish, and one ounce of Butter.

For every hundred men, one Pipe of wine, besides water.

For shipping for every three men, two Tuns, and hee to giue fourtie shillings le Tun, and his men to bee landed at the first Port they can touch in Spaine.

For the expediting of these demands, the Lord Deputie gaue present direction to all the Ports within the Province, for the taking up of shipping, and warrant to *Allen Apfley* (the Commissary for the victuals in Mounster) to issue out of the Queenes store, according to the demands made: These quantities of victuals ensuing, for the which hee should receiue money of *Don Iuan*, whereby the Magazine might bee supplied.

Towards the accomplishing whereof, the Comissary of the victuals delivered this ensuing proportion, viz.

Bisquet	186052 li.	2067	4	8
Butter	6304	157	12	3
Flesh	47394	789	18	00
Fish	18339	305	13	00
Ryce	1235	30	17	6
Summa tot.		3351	5	5

The victuals
which was
delivered to
Don Iuan, &
their rates.

The number
of the Spani-
ards which
were trans-
ported out
of Ireland

Which being with all possible conueniencie dispatcht, haste was made for their Embarquing at two sundry times: There was shipped at Kinsale, (the care whereof was committed to Captaine *Francis Slingsbye*) 2070: at Baltimore, and at Castlehaven by Captaine *Roger Harvie* 415, in all 3025, besides Captaines, inferior Officers, Priests, and religious men, and a great Company of Irish.

The fourth of Ianuary a Spanish ship appeared by the old Head of Kinsale, hovering before the Harbor mouth. The Lord Deputie having concluded the Composition with *Don Iohn*, for the rendring of the Towne of Kinsale, sent a Boat with some men in her to let them know that *Don Iohn* and hee were good friends, and therefore hee might safely come in without any danger, (in which Boat was one *Thomas Foster*, a Nephew to Sir *Anthony Cooke*) which message as soone as it was delivered, the Captaine of the ship tooke in all the men, hoysed sayle, and stood away with all speed for Spaine. This might seeme to be an action performed with no good approbation, in putting those men into their power; but whether it be justifiable

or

1691.

or no, the successe proved it to bee of very great consequence: for though the newes of the defeat of the Irish Armie were come into Spaine by *O Donnell*, and those with him, yet *Don John* stood firme in Kinsale without danger to be much pressed by the Deputy, soliciting new forces, hoping thereby to repaire their former losses, to reunite their dispersed Companies, and to overthrow the English forces, being much spent and sore weakened by their Winter siege: Before the arrivall of *O Donnell* Seconds were in preparing, and after his arrivall both increased, and much hastened, as may appeare by the Letters intercepted, which came out of Spaine to *Don John*, when hee was at Corke, both from the King of Spaine, the Duke of Lerma, the Secretary *Ibarra*, and others: But when they understood by those men, that *Don John* had compounded for the rendering of Kinsale, and for their returning into Spaine, it then put them to a stand for their proceedings, and at last concluded to giue over the attempt, finding so little assistance either in the power or courage of the Irish: And if this had not fallen out thus, and that those seconds had come and landed in Ireland, it might have beene much doubted, or rather positively beleaved the contrary, that those Spanyards would not have been bound by *Don Johns* Articles, but have taken their best opportunity of their force and power, in kindling a new flame, and making that Kingdome againe in as desperate an estate as ever heretofore it hath been, if not worse.

These things being thus ordered, and no cause appearing of longer stay in the Campe, the ninth of *January* the Lord Deputy rose, and the same day he rode to Corke, having in his company *Don Juan de Aguila*, and many of the Spanish Captaines, the grosse of his companies being left in Kinsale. The Lord Deputy lodged in the Bishop of Corkes house, *Don Juan* in the Citie, and the President at Shandon Castle. The day following the Captaines received directions to repayre to sundry Townes in Mounster appoynted for their Garrisons: And the same day Captaine *Roger Harvie*, and Captaine *George Flower* were dispatched with certaine Companies to goe by Sea, to receiue the Castles of Castle-haven, Donnellhed, and Donnelong at Baltimore, and Dunboy at Beerehaven in the West, all which were then in the possession of the Spanyards. Also the sayd Captaine *Harvie* had a Commission graunted unto him, for the government of all the Countreyes betweene Rosse in Carbery, and the Bay of Bantrye, as followeth.

9. Iannar.
The Lo. Deputy brake up his siege and returned to Corke.

10. Iannar.

1691.

A Commission from the Lord Deputie and
Councell unto Captaine Roger Harvy,
for the government of
Carbry.

Mountiogo.

Captaine
Harvies
Commission
for his go-
vernment.

WEe greete you well: Whereas wee haue thought it very expedient for the furtherance of her Majesties service, and the drawing and setting the Inhabitants of the Westerne parts, of the Province of Mounster (which lately revolted) into her Majesties allegiance againe, which in regard that divers the Rebels which were comited to Tyrone, and the Spaniards, upon the overthrow given them, made escape, and are drawn to Baltimore, Castlehaven, and those other Westerne parts: For the better prosecution, cutting off, and apprehension of those, and of all other Rebels, Traytors, Fellons, and other capitall Offenders, by all the best and speediest meanes that may be: Wee haue thought it good, in regard of the great knowledge and experience, wee haue had and found in your faith and valour, and in respect of the speciall trust, confidence, and sufficiencie, wee repose in you, Wee haue thought it good to grant and commit unto you, (during our pleasure) the command and authority (by the power granted us by her Majestie) over the Castles of Baltimore, and Castlehaven, and the whole Countrey of Carbry, and over all the Countries, territories or places of Collemore, Collibeg, Inagh, Mounterbarry, Slewghtcagibane, Slewghteage, Roe, Cloncahills, Clondermot, Clonloghlen, and Cosmore, and over all the other Countries, territories, places by what name or names soever they bee called, from the Towne of Rosse, to the hither parts of the Meares, and bounds of Beere and Bantry, and so in compasse Northwards, to Muskery: And we doe giue you power and authority over the Queenes people and her Subjects, and Inhabitants, in all, or any the said Countries, appoynting and authorising you hereby, to prosecute with fire and sword, all Rebels, Traytors, or other capitall Offenders, and all their Ayders, Releevors, Maintainers, Receivers, and Abettors, or any other Offenders whatsoever that are not amenable to her Majesties Lawes, or haue combined, or adhered themselves, to any her Majesties enemies, or to any now in actuall rebellion against her Highnesse, and to make ceasure of all their goods and chattles to her Majesties use: And for the better effecting of this her Highnesse service, and the speciall trust reposed in you, wee doe hereby giue unto you liberty, to employ, or send among the Enemies, or Rebels (now in action) such Messengers and Espialls, as you shall thinke fit to use, and to write, to parley, conferre, or treat with them, or any of them, and to receiue Messengers or Letters from them, and to keepe any of them in your company fourteene dayes to procure the doing

1601.

doing of service, or to gaine intelligences from them; and upon assurance and good hopes, that any of the said Rebels will doe service to her Majestie: Wee doe hereby authorize you to safeconduct them by warrant under your hand, for the like space of fourteene dayes, so as in the meane time you send them unto us, or to the chiefe Governour of the Province (for the time being) which your safeconduct shall bee duly observed, to all those you grant it unto. And for the better and speedier cleansing, and purging the Countrey from Rebels, and Malefactors; Wee doe hereby giue, and commit unto you, full power and authority to execute by Marshall Law, all notable and apparant Offenders and Malefactors, that can neither dispend foure shillings in Lands per Annum, nor are worth ten pounds in goods, and as for such Rebels and Malefactors, as are not within compasse of Martiall Law, them to apprehend, and commit to the Sheeres Goale, there to remaine and attend their trials by due course of her Majesties common Lawes. And for the better advancement of her Majesties service, wee doe hereby authorize you, to goe aboard any Ship, Barque, or other Vessell, that shall bee, or arrive in those parts, and to make search in them for Traytors, Iesuits, Seminaries, Letters, or prohibited wares, and to make stay of them, if just occasion so require, and to presse, and take up any the Boats, or Vessels, that are or shall bee within the compasse of your command, and them to send and employ to such place or places, as her Majesties service shall giue you occasion, or otherwise to use and dispose of them, as you in your discretion shall thinke meetest. And with our authority and Commission to you granted, to haue continuance during the pleasure of us the Lord Deputie; and if wee shall not recall the same during our aboad in this Province, then the same to bee in force during the pleasure of the Lord President, and no longer. And therefore wee doe hereby straightly charge and command all her Majesties Officers, Ministers, and loving Subjects, to be unto you (in the due execution of the premisses) aiding, obedient, and assisting at their uttermost perils; and for such your whole doings herein: These shall bee unto you sufficient warrant and discharge: Given under her Majesties privie Signet, at the Campe before Kinsale, the seventh day of January, 1601.

George Carew.

Richard Wingfield,

George Bouchier.

To our well beloved Captaine, Roger Harty.

The eleaventh, the Lord President had intelligence from England, that James (the late restored Earle of Desmond) was dead, and that eightene hundred quarters of Oates were sent into Mounster for the releefe of our horses.

January 11.

1601.

CHAP. XXV.

Don Iuan his request to the Lord Deputie. A resolution in Councell to erect certaine Forts in Mounster. The request of the Inhabitants of Kinsale to the Lord President. Certaine Companies cashiered. A Letter from the Lord President to her Majesty. The Examination of Richard Owen. Richard Owen his Message from Tyrone to the Lord Deputie. Instructions for Captaine George Blunt.

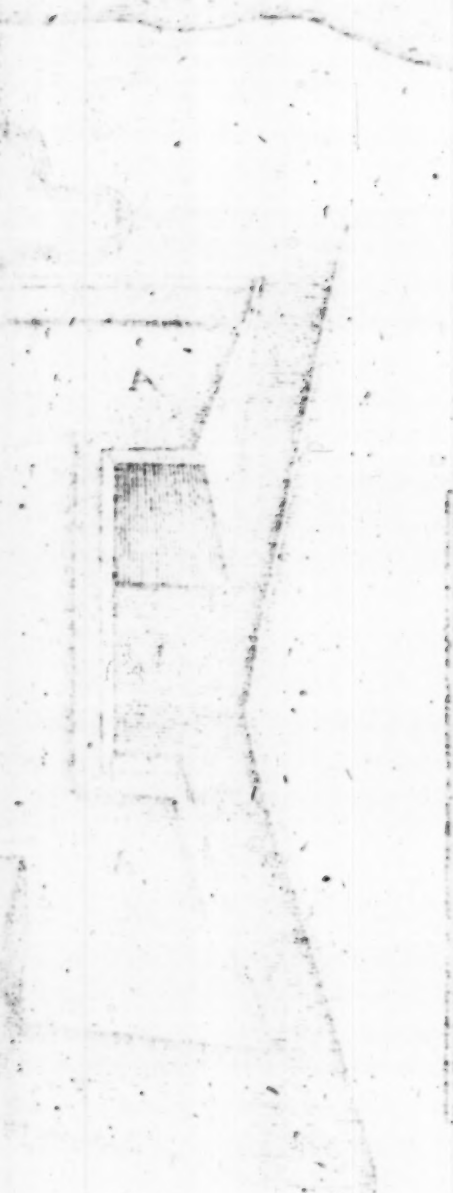
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Don Iuan
his request
to the Lord
Deputie.

A resolution
in Councell
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taine forts
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The request
of the Inha-
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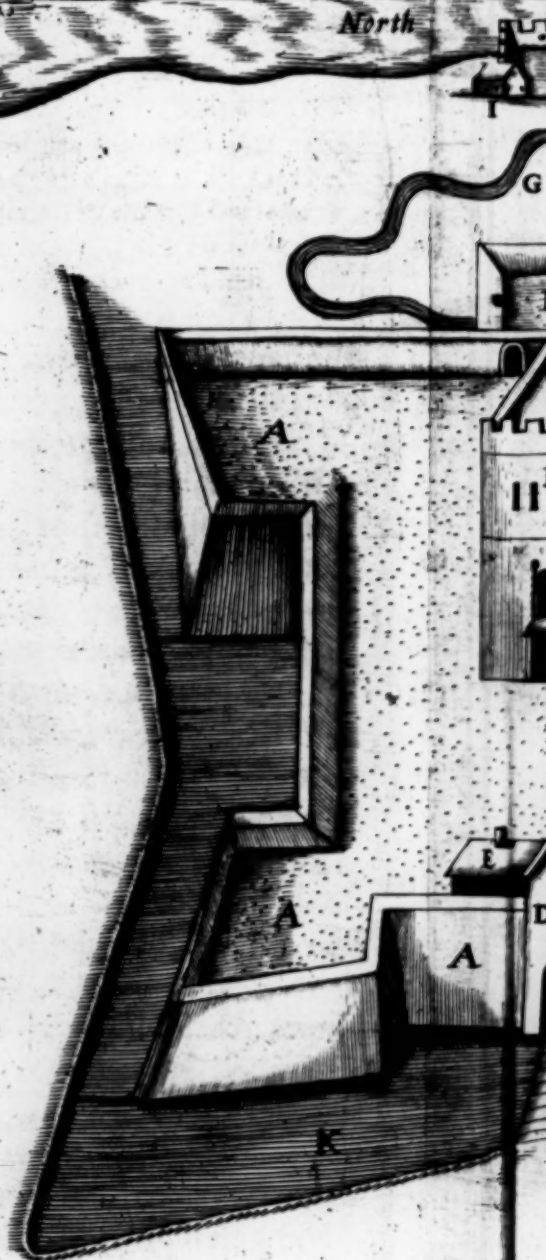
THE fourteenth, Don Iuan wrote to the Lord Deputie, to pray his Lordship, that expedition might be made in taking up of shipping for his transportation, and that his Lordship would commiserate the poore Spanish Prisoners in Corke, who were like to perish for want of food: During the siege there had beene taken at Rincorran, Castle Ny Parke, in Iallies, and in the overthrow of Tyrone, together with some runawayes that voluntary came unto us, about two hundred, rather more than lesse, whereof some of them had been sent into ENGLAND. About this time the Lord Deputie, and the Lord President went by Boate to an Iland in the River of Corke, called Halbolin, fixe or seven miles from the Citie, which upon view they thought fit to bee fortified, being so seated, as that no shipping of any burthen can passe the same, but under the command thereof: Whereupon direction was given to Paul Ive (an Ingeneere) to raise a Fortification there, and also another at Castle Ny Parke, to command the Haven at Kinsale. Furthermore it was resolved in Councell, that Forts should have beene erected at Baltimore, and Beerehaven, as also Cittadells at Corke, Limrick, and Waterford, to keepe the Citizens in some awe; but none of these workes were performed, save onely the Forts at Halbolyn, and Castle Ny Parke aforesayd.

And the same day the better sort of the Burgesses of Kinsale came to the Lord President, to beseech him to render unto them their Charter, Seal, Mace, and Standard, which some of them, upon the Spaniards arrivall at Kinsale, had delivered unto him (to bee safely kept) until the Spanish storme was past; which they did not deliver unto him as a Surrender, but to shew and manifest their Dutyes: The President acquainted the Lord Deputie with their Petition, and by agreement, the answer (which the President made) was, That before he had received Directions from England, he might not restore their Muniments unto them, for that hee conceived that they were forfeited: But hee would write in their behalfe, and so he did; And not long after he had direction to redeliver them, but with this caution, That they should at their owne charges reedifie their walls, and giue

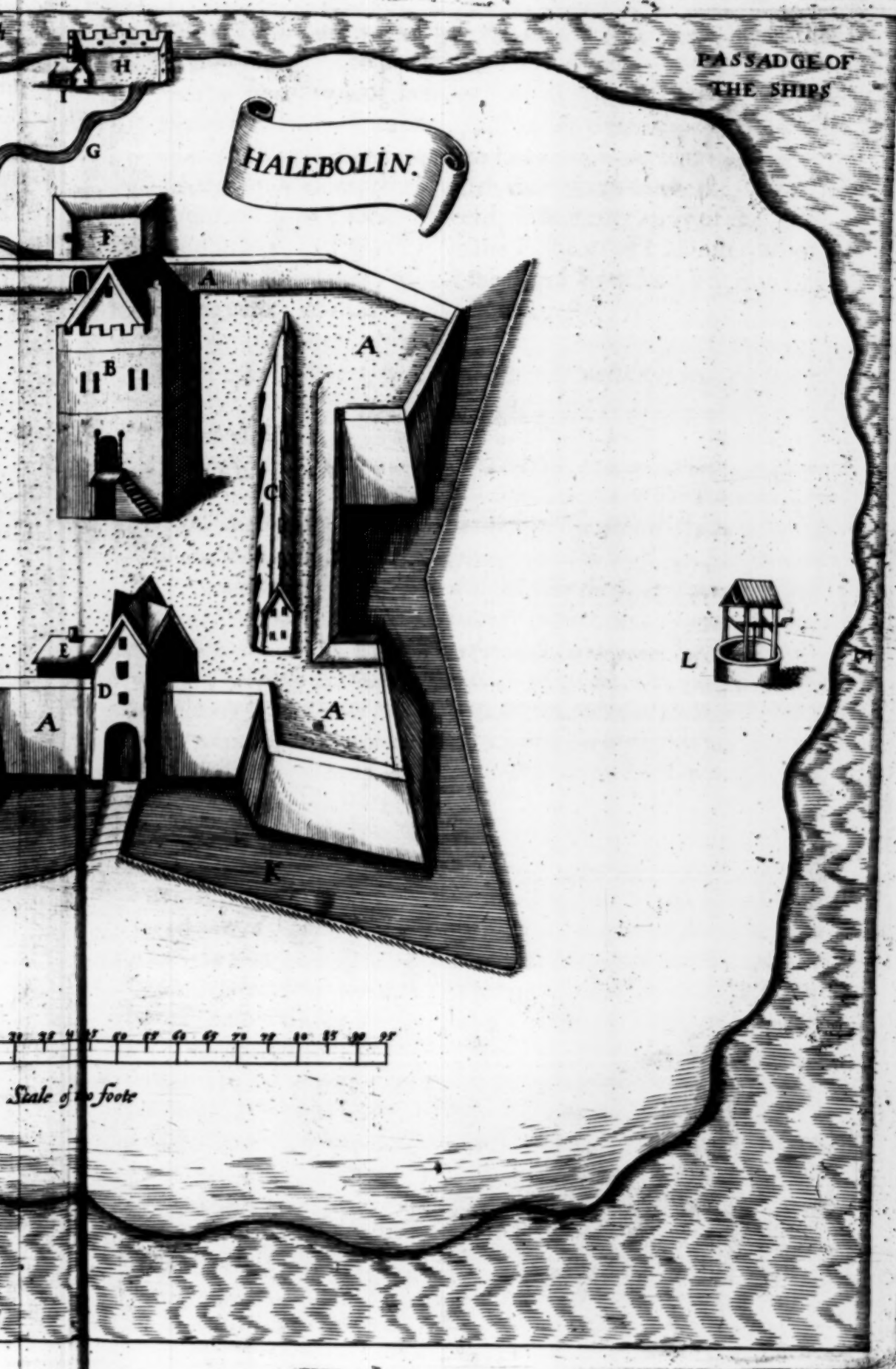


A. The first part of the
 B. The second part of the
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 D. The fourth part of the
 E. The fifth part of the
 F. The sixth part of the
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 H. The eighth part of the
 I. The ninth part of the
 K. The tenth part of the
 L. The eleventh part of the

- A. The Bulwarks and Curtens of the forte
- B. a towre of 22 foote square wth in the walles, into w^{ch} the ascent is by steps and a small drawbridge.
- C. Lodgings for the warders
- D. gatehouse
- E. gardhouse
- F. a mount y^e looketh into the lower platforme
- G. a steep descent from y^e forte to the platforme
- H. The platforme for 5 or 6 great peeces.
- I. The Gunners house
- K. The ditch
- L. The well of fresh water

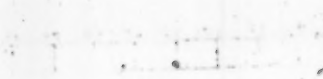


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giue helpe of Labourers towards the finishing of Castle Ny Parke, which they promised to performe.

From the fourteenth of January unto the last of the same, no matter of any consequence hapned, all which time was spent in civill causes, in sending of dispatches into England (as occasions did result) in discharging of Companies which were growen weake, whereof two thousand in List were casheerd, in hastning away of the Spaniards, and in setting of Garisons in the East part of Mounster, among other private dispatches, which the Lord President sent into England; hee wrote this Letter unto her Majestie.

Certaine
Companies
cashiered.

*A Letter from the Lord President to
her Majestie.*

SACRED MAJESTIE,

NOW that it hath pleased the omnipotent Director of all things to blasse you with a happie Victory over the malicious Traytors, and forraine enemies, which endeavored with all their forces to draw from your Imperiall Crowne this Realme of Ireland, in the which by your Majesties expresse Commandement, I have been (though farre unworthie) employed in a Charge, wherein my weaknesse doth too much appeare; yet since out of your Princely favour, your Majestie hath bene pleased to accept of those poore services, which by your Forces I have formerly performed, and with your royall hand (to my unspeakable comfort) unto my selfe have witnessed the same; I am emboldened (under the assurance of your gracious Pardon) to present before your gracious eyes, these unworthy Lines, unworthy of your view, as well in regard of him that writes them; as the forme wherein they are written. Since the victorie aforesaid, the face of this Kingdome is strangely altered; The Rebelle (formerly proud) is now become a dismayed fugitive, the newvall Subject which stood at a gaze, better confirmed, and the Spanyard, (which promised unto himselfe no lesse then a Conquest) is glad to intreat Composition to depart. This wonderfull worke of God, (for unto him it is wholly to bee ascribed) hath brought this Realme, (so farre out of order) in a fayrer way of reduction then ever I knew it. When your Majestie employed me in this Service, I then feared it was (as now I understand it to bee) a secret punishment from God for my sinnes, for unto my selfe I had propounded that happinesse (which others have) never to be farre distant from the comfort of your royall eyes, which addes fulnesse of joy with admiration to the beholders. Wherefore gracious Sovraigne, commiserate my exile, and let mee your poore Servant, (rich in faith and loyaltie unto you) bee partaker of others happinesse, that the remainder of my life therein may be blessed: But if I be not capable of such abundant grace in so great

1601.

measure, (which my Soule desires) yet let my bumble suite thus farre pre-
vaile, that in your Princely favour you will be pleased to give mee leave for
a few moneths to behold that Majestie which is envied, but not equalled by
any earthly Prince. From your Majesties Citie of Corke the nineteenth
of January, 1601.

Your Sacred Majesties
vassall and creature,

GEORGE CAREW.

4. February.

The fourth of February, one Richard Owen an ancient and inward
Servant of Tyrone, came unto Corke, with a message from his Ma-
ster unto the Lord Deputie; but before I speake of his Negotiation,
I thinke it convenient to fall backe to the sixth of January, at which
time hee made meanes to haue accessse unto the President, for (you
must understand) hee had been with Don Iohn in Kinsale: The
President acquainting the Lord Deputy with it, he was called before
them both; and was examined by them; whereunto hee made an-
swer as followeth.

He saith hee went out of Ireland with Sir William Stanley, and
was employed by him in the rendering of Deventer to Taxit.

Hee left Sir William upon a discontentment (about sower yeares
after being then a Lieutenant) because Sir William did advance the
English, and not the Irish to charges, and then put himselfe into the
Kings pay as a Pensioner, and there remayned in the Low-countries,
and France, untill about three yeares since; he came over into Ireland
by the way of Scotland, and landed at Dunluce, with purpose to
serue Oneale, whose kinsman hee is by his mother, and remayned
with Tyrone, untill by him, hee was employed to carie his Sonne into
Spaine.

Hee had Letters from Tyrone and Odonnell, to the King, and from
Tyrone unto Don Iuan Idiaques, the Duke of Lerma, to Fray Gaspar
de Cordoua, the Kings Confessor, the Secretarie Prado, and to the Se-
cretarie Estevan de ybarra.

The contents of the Letters, were to pray Aides to subsist the
warre, according to the promise made by the old King; if the aides
were sent for Ulster, then Tyrone required but sower or five thousand
men, if the King did purpose to send an Army into Mounster, then
he should send strongly; because neither Tyrone nor Odonnell could
come to helpe them.

Hee saith, that Fray Matheo de Opiado (the Archbishop of Dublin)
out of an ancient knowledge which hee had in this kingdome, ha-
ving beene before in this Realme, in Iames firs Maurice his rebellion,
did

The exami-
nation of
Richard
Owen.

did solicit the sending of forces hither, and came into the North, purposely to see, and understand the state of the Countrey.

Hee also saith, that *Tyrone* sent his Sonne into Spaine, to bee there brought up, not being demanded of the King as a Pledge.

Hee saith, that all the Kings Conncell were very forward to thrust on the invasion, and for his owne particular, he advised that the Spanish forces should land at Carlingsford, and if that Councell did not like them, then hee perswaded that the forces should land at Galway, or Sligo.

Hee saith, that *Oneales* Sonne hath two hundred duckets pension of the King, *per mansum*.

Hee saith, that when the Army came for Ireland, out of a desire to establish religion, and to procure to the Irish Lords some greater government in the Realme, he came voluntary hither, without pay, but protests that hee never wished that the Crowne of Ireland should be taken from the Queene: Hee saith, hee never heard of any of Ireland, that by Letters did solicit this invasion, but *James Mac Sorley*, who (as hee heard) writ to the King; that *Florence* did write unto the King hee knowes not, but *Tyrone* did write unto this Examiner, that *Florence* would bee in Armes with him against her Majestie.

Hee saith, that hee thinketh, that if the Spaniards had prevailed in this Enterprise, that their meaning was not to possesse themselves of Ireland, but from hence to haue invaded England, and to haue entertayned the Irish Nation in that enterprise.

Being demanded, if the English had beene beaten out of Ireland, what government should haue beene here established, and who should haue governed; hee answered that therein he is wholly ignorant, but when *Tyrone* did write for aide, he saith (that hee thinketh) that when the English were banished and expelled, that then hee would submit himselfe to bee dealt withall as pleased the King.

Hee saith, that in March next, hee thinketh that supplyes should haue beene sent to *Don Iuan*, but now hee is of opinion, that never any more will bee sent into Ireland.

Hee saith, that the reason, that now hee desired the President to bring him to the Lord Deputie, was because he was altogether weary to serue with the Irish, and also commanded so to doe by *Tyrone* after his overthrow.

Hee was commanded by *Tyrone* (the next morning after the overthrow) to repaire to the Lord Deputie, and to tell his Lordship, that hee was willing and desirous to become a Subject, if hee may bee received, and justly dealt withall; and to redeeme his errors past, hee professed to doe all possible service to her Majestie, but that he would not leaue his Sonne hostage for him.

Hee

1601.

4. Febr.

*Rich. Owen
his message
from Tyrone
to the Lord
Deputie.*

Hee saith, that hee thinketh upon his conscience, that *Odonnell* went into Spaine without any advise of *Tyrone*; and that *Redmond Burke* and Captaine *Moshian* went likewise without his consent.

Which done, being sorry, as he protested, of his traytorly life, hee humbly craved her Majesties gracious protection, promising to merit the same with future loyall service, which being granted, hee departed. Vpon the fourth of this moneth (as aforesayd) having beene in the meane time with *Tyrone*, hee made his second addresse to the President, the Lord Deputie then being in Corke, and being called before the Lord Deputie and the President, he delivered unto them a Message from *Tyrone*, the effect whereof was, that he would be glad to be received into her Majesties mercie, being heartily sorry that hee had given her so just a cause of offence, and likewise grieved in his soule, that hee had been the cause of the effusion of so much blood, the exhausting of her Majesties Treasures, and the ruine of his native Countrey; Neverthelesse this pretended griefe and humilitie was farced with some exorbitant conditions, unmeet for him to demaund from his Sovereigne, (whom hee had highly offended) or for a Monarch to graunt to a vassall: Notwithstanding it was thought good to take hold of the occasion; for although it should not worke the end desired, (which was to settle the Kingdome in tranquillitie) yet a motion onely of submission proceeding from the capitall Rebell, would worke in the mindes of the inferiour Traytors, a mistrust of their estates, and seeke by his Example, to sue for grace while there was time, wherein they might hope to obtaine it: Vpon these considerations the Lord Deputie was willing (after hee had shewed his dislike to the Conditions) to embrace the motion; And because that he might be assured to haue a true report returned, Captaine *George Blunt*, (who had been a familiar and inward friend unto *Tyrone*, when hee was a Subject) was imployed in this businesse; and for his manner of treating with him, hee had these Instructions following, subscribed by the Lord Deputie, and the Lord President.

*Instructions
for Captaine
Geo: Blunt.*

When you speake with *Tyrone*, you shall tell him, that you understand that *Richard Owen* came from him to the Lord Deputie, with Commission from him to tell his Lordship, that hee desired to bee received into the Queenes mercy, if his life might be secured.

Whereupon you finding in him such conformitie (out of your ancient loue, which in former time you bare him) were glad of the alteration, and therefore as his friend did now undertake this long Journey, to perswade him to those courses which might best answer his dutie to his Prince, and repayre his estate, which in your opinion is desperate.

If you

If you find him desirous to bee received to mercie, you shall giue him hope of it, and promise him furtherance for the effecting of it, upon these conditions: That he shall in token of his penitency, and according to the dutie of a Subject to his Naturall Prince, first under his hand write a letter of submission to the Lord Deputie, humbly craving in the same her Majesties mercy, with promise to redeeme his errours past by his future service; That likewise he shall write a publique Submission to her Majestie, imploring at her hands forgiveness of his faults, and likewise promise amendment of his life, with a willing desire to doe her some acceptable service, in recompence of his transgression, in the same protesting to serue her Majestie against all men, either of Ireland, or Forreiners that shall endeavour the disturbance of this Countrey.

That he shall put into her Majesties hands his eldest Sonne, for the assurance of his future loyaltie, and foure principall Gentlemen of his blood, as he formerly promised.

That hee shall at his charge finde workmen to build such Forts in the Countrey of *Tyrone*, and in such places as the Lord Deputy shall thinke fit.

That he shall permit throughout *Tyrone*, her Majesties Officers of Iustice, as the Sheriffes and others, to haue free liberty to execute their Offices, as is accustomed in other Provinces and Counties of the Realme, and answer all other duties formerly promised.

That hee shall onely undertake for himselfe, and his Pledges to lye for no more, then those that dwell upon that land onely that is contayned in his Letters Patents, not any way undertaking for the rest of *Tyrone*, as *Tirlogh Brasilques* Sonnes, *Mac Magbon*, *O Cane*, *Mac Guire*, *Mac Genis*, the two *Clandeboyes*, and all of the East side of *Barr*. That if any of his neighbours shall continue in rebellion, none of their people shall be harboured in *Tyrone*, and likewise that none of *Tyrone* shall (by his consent or knowledge) succour any Rebelle, or giue assistance to them; and if any such offender shall happen to be discovered, either by himselfe, or any other her Majesties Officers, upon knowledge thereof, that hee shall doe his best endeavour to prosecute the parties offending, and either take them, whereby they may be tryed by the Lawes of the Realme, or kill them, if they may not otherwise bee had, and shall assist her Majesties Officers, in taking to her use the goods and chattells of the Offenders, and their retinues: That he shall not onely truly pay all her Majesties Rents and Duties from this time forward, due unto her out of *Tyrone*, but also pay the Arrerages, that for many yeares haue been by him detayned.

That in respect of the great charges that hee hath put her Majestie

1601.

unto, (although it bee not the thousand part of her disbursements) *In nomine pane* (which in all such great offences is accustomed) towards the victualling of her Majesties Garisons, hee shall pay two thousand Cowes within sixe moneths: That the Countrey of Tyrone may bee limited, and no more, by him to be possessed, then is containd in his Letters Pattents: That the territory of Tyrone might bee divided into shieres, and haue Goales as hee hath formerly desired: That hee put at liberty the Sonnes of *Shane Oneale*; and all other prisoners, English and Irish: These things you shall only propound as from your selfe, yet as conceiving that they will be demanded at his hands, if hee be received, and to draw as large an overture from him, of what hee will agree unto, as you can perswade him, telling him, that the greater assurance he doth giue the estate of his loyaltie, the greater will bee his safetie, for wee shall conster his good meaning, by his free offer thereof, and after wee shall haue the lesse reason to bee jealous of him.

Mountioye.

George Carew.

C H A P. XXVI.

The King of Spaines Letters intercepted. A Letter from the Duke of Lerma to Don Iuan de Aguila. A Letter from the Duke of Lerma to the Archbishop of Dublin. A Letter from the Secretary Ybarra to Don Iuan de Aguila. A Letter from the Secretary Fraguera to Don Iuan de Aguila. A Letter from the King of Spaine to Don Iuan de Aguila.

10. Febr.

*The King of
Spaines Letters
intercepted.*



About the tenth of February, *Don Iuan de Aguila* residing in Corke, whilst his Troopes were preparing to bee imbarqued for Spaine; In this interim, a Spanish Pinnace landed in the Westermost part of the Province, and in her, there was a Messenger sent from the King to *Don Iuan de Aguila* with a packet of Letters: The President having knowledge thereof, told the Lord Deputie, that if hee had a desire to know the King of Spaines intentions, there was a good occasion offered, the Lord Deputies heart itching to haue the Letters in his hands, prayed the President to intercept them if hee could handsomely doe it; the President undertooke it, and having notice that the next morning the Messenger would come from Kinsale to Corke, and knowing that there was but two wayes by the which hee might passe, called Captaine *William Nuce* unto him (who commanded his foote Company) to make choise of such men as hee could trust to lie upon those passages, and when they saw such a Spaniard (whom hee had described unto him) to seaze upon him, and as thieues to rob him both

both of his Letters, horses and money, not to hurt his person, but to leaue him and his Guid bound, that hee might make no swift pursuit after them, and when they had delivered him the Letters to runne away: Captaine *Nuce* so well followed his instructions, as the Spaniard was taken in a little Wood, and the Letters brought at dinner time; *Don Iuan* (if I doe not mistake) that very day dyning with him, who instantly caried them to the Lord Deputie, whereat good leasure the packets were opened and read, which done the President went to his house, leaving the Letters with the Lord Deputie: the same evening, the Spanish Messenger having beene unbound by passengers, came to *Don Iuan de Aguila* relating his misfortune, in being robbed not fivie miles from the Towne: *Don Iuan de Aguila* went immediatly to the Lord Deputie, grievously complayning that the Messenger was robbed by Souldiers (as hee alleaged:) The Lord Deputie seemed no lesse sorry, but (said he) it is a common thing in all Armies to haue debauched Souldiers, but hee thought it to bee rather done by some of the Countrey thieues; but if the fact was committed by Souldiers, it was most like to bee done by some Irish men, who thought it to bee a good purchase (as well as the money) to get the Letters, to shew them unto their friends in rebellion, that they might the better understand in what estate they were in: *Don Iuan* not being satisfied with this answer, desired the Lord Deputie to enquire of the Lord President, (for of his intercepting of them he had a vehement suspition) whether hee had any knowledge of the matter, and so they departed. The next morning the Lord Deputy related to the President the complaint, and his answers: *Don Iuan* eager in the pursuite of his Letters, came to know of the Lord Deputie what the President answered: The Lord Deputie answered him upon his fayth, that hee was sure that the President had them not; which hee might well doe, for they were in his owne possession: In conclusion, a Proclamation was made, and a rewarde (in the same promised) for him that could discover the Theeves, and a pardon for their liues graunted that committed the fact, if they would come in and confesse it; with this *Don Iuan* rested satisfied: How much the intercepting of these Letters did import her Majesties Service, (not one Spaniard being then imbarcked, but remaining in a Body at Kinsale) may appeare by these ensuing Letters (Englished) taken at that time.

1601.

unto, (although it bee not the thousand part of her disbursements) *In nomine pane* (which in all such great offences is accustomed) towards the victualling of her Majesties Garisons, hee shall pay two thousand Cowes within sixe moneths: That the Countrey of Tyrone may bee limited, and no more, by him to be possessed, then is contayned in his Letters Pateents: That the territory of Tyrone might bee divided into shieres, and haue Goales as hee hath formerly desired: That hee put at liberty the Sonnes of *Shane Oneale*; and all other prisoners, English and Irish: These things you shall only propound as from your selfe, yet as conceiving that they will be demanded at his hands, if hee be received, and to draw as large an overture from him, of what hee will agree unto, as you can perswade him, telling him, that the greater assurance he doth giue the estate of his loyaltie, the greater will bee his safetie, for wee shall conster his good meaning, by his free offer thereof, and after wee shall haue the lesse reason to bee jealous of him.

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10. Febr.

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Spaines Letters
intercepted.*



About the tenth of February, *Don Iuan de Aguila* residing in Corke, whilst his Troopes were preparing to bee imbarqued for Spaine; In this interim, a Spanish Pinnace landed in the Westermost part of the Province, and in her, there was a Messenger sent from the King to *Don Iuan de Aguila* with a packet of Letters: The President having knowledge thereof, told the Lord Deputie, that if hee had a desire to know the King of Spaines intentions, there was a good occasion offered, the Lord Deputies heart itching to haue the Letters in his hands, prayed the President to intercept them if hee could handsomely doe it; the President undertooke it, and having notice that the next morning the Messenger would come from Kinsale to Corke, and knowing that there was but two wayes by the which hee might passe, called Captaine *William Nuce* unto him (who commanded his foote Company) to make choise of such men as hee could trust to lie upon those passages, and when they saw such a Spaniard (whom hee had described unto him) to seaze upon him, and as thieues to rob him both

both of his Letters, horses and money, not to hurt his person, but to leaue him and his Guid bound, that hee might make no swift pursuit after them, and when they had delivered him the Letters to runne away: Captaine Nuce so well followed his instructions, as the Spaniard was taken in a little Wood, and the Letters brought at dinner time; *Don Iuan* (if I doe not mistake) that very day dyning with him, who instantly caried them to the Lord Deputie, where at good leasure the packets were opened and read, which done the President went to his house, leaving the Letters with the Lord Deputie: the same evening, the Spanish Messenger having beene unbound by passengers, came to *Don Iuan de Aguila* relating his misfortune, in being robbed not fivie miles from the Towne: *Don Iuan de Aguila* went immediatly to the Lord Deputie, grievously complayning that the Messenger was robbed by Souldiers (as hee alleaged:) The Lord Deputie seemed no lesse sorry, but (said he) it is a common thing in all Armies to haue debauched Souldiers, but hee thought it to bee rather done by some of the Countrey thieues; but if the fact was committed by Souldiers, it was most like to bee done by some Irish men, who thought it to bee a good purchase (as well as the money) to get the Letters, to shew them unto their friends in rebellion, that they might the better understand in what estate they were in: *Don Iuan* not being satisfied with this answer, desired the Lord Deputie to enquire of the Lord President, (for of his intercepting of them he had a vehement suspition) whether hee had any knowledge of the matter, and so they departed. The next morning the Lord Deputy related to the President the complaint, and his answers: *Don Iuan* eager in the pursuite of his Letters, came to know of the Lord Deputie what the President answered: The Lord Deputie answered him upon his fayth, that hee was sure that the President had them not; which hee might well doe, for they were in his owne possession: In conclusion, a Proclamation was made, and a reward (in the same promised) for him that could discover the Theeves, and a pardon for their liues graunted that committed the fact, if they would come in and confesse it; with this *Don Iuan* rested satisfied: How much the intercepting of these Letters did import her Majesties Service, (not one Spanyard being then imbarked, but remaining in a Body at Kinsale) may appeare by these ensuing Letters (Englished) taken at that time.

1601.

A Letter from the Duke of Lerma, to
Don Iuan de Aguila.

NOt many dayes past I wrote unto you, and now I make answer to those which I received from you the thirteenth of the last October, assuring you, that his Majesty puts great confidence in your care and valour: As touching the men, and other things which you demaund, there is dispatched a good quantitie, and more is in preparing, and make you no doubt, but still more shall bee in sending, as much as may bee: for his Majesty hath it before his eyes, and I have taken in hand the solliciting thereof: Wherefore you may bee assured, that you shall not want any thing which may bee sent that is needfull: There is now in readinesse, 150 Launces, which shall be presently imbarqued, and more men are in lerying with expedition, with whom Money shall be sent: And so referring my selfe (for the rest) to his Majesties Dispatch, I will say no more, but to assure you, that in all things which may concerne you, esteeme mee ever to bee your Sollicitor. God keepe you. Valladolid the fourth of December. 1601.

Stilo novo.

El Duque de Lerma,
Marques de Denia.

To Don Iuan de Aguila, Master
of the Campe, Generall of the
men of Warre in Ireland.

A Letter from the Duke of Lerma, to the
Archbishop of Dublin.

IHave received your Lordships Letters, giving thanks to God for the successe of your journey, for by it it appeares, that there is a way and doore open for many good purposes for his service, and his Majesty hath much confidence of the care & zeale which your Lordship hath for the progression in the same. Now we send you a good Body of men, with such things as is necessary, and more shall be prepared, and so continue sending as much as wee may, whereof you need not doubt: for his Majesty (whom God preserve) holds it before his eyes, for as much as the most important thing (appertaining to this businesse) is the joyning of the Earles with Don Iuan de Aguila: his Majesty commandeth your Lordship to doe in it your uttermost endeavour, according to the confidence hee hath in your zeale. God preserve your Lordship. From Valladolid the fifth of December. 1601.

Stilo novo.

El Duque de Lerma
Marques de Denia.

Let not your Lordship be wearied
with your travells, I hope in God
they will be full of good successes.

Al Arçobispo de Dublin.

A Letter

A Letter from the Secretary Ybarra to Don
Iuan de Aguila.

BF Captaine Albornoze I wrote unto your Lordship, and I wish that this dispatch may overtake him (at the Groyne) according to the desire I hold, that it, and that which goes with it, were with your Lordship, certifying you that as much is done (as may be) for your supply in all things: I wrote unto your Lordship, that there were two Companies of Horse ready to be sent unto you, but now I say there is three, and in them two hundred and twenty Souldiers well armed, and horsed; and it please God they shall be all embarked in this Moneth, God in his divine mercy guid them: There is men levied in all Castile and Portugall, and shipping embarged to transport them, victuals, and other necessaries in providing; and now at this instant there is embarked in Lisborne, in the Groyne, and Saint Andera more then fixe thousand Hanegas of Wheat, and three hundred pipes of Wine, and some Beanes and Rice, and sixe hundred Arrobas of Oyle; and moreover, besides this which I say is embarked, there are Commissaries taking of more up, and no care shall bee wanting to hasten them away: I have spoken with Captaine Moreles, and of that which hee hath told mee of the seat of the place, and of the small number of men your Lordship hath, I feele my selfe grieved; but when I call to mind, what a person Don Iuan de Aguila is, the way is open unto me, to expect great matters, and I hope God will grant the same according to the worth of your Lordship, against your wicked enemies: Let your Lordship hasten the joyning of the Earles with you, for of all things that is most important, which being done, before the Quene can reënforce her Army all is accomplished; I am desirous to heare what the excellent good Horsemen were with your Lordship, that with them your Lordship may winne honour in the field, &c. From Valladolid this seventh of December, 1601.

Stilo novo.

Estevan de Ybarra.

To Don Iuan de Aguila,
Generall Master of the Campe.

A Letter from the Secretary Franquesa, to Don
Iuan de Aguila.

HIs Majestie is much satisfied of the good government (in those occasions) of your Army; and I hope in God, that with the succors, which now shall bee sent unto you, it will bee bettered, in such sort, that you will not onely bee able to defend your selfe from the Enemies, but also to chastise them, the meanes to effect the same, is for you to hold your selfe as you are, untill the succours aforesaid doe come; in the meane time, the more you are pressed

1601.

Stilo novo.

upon, the more will be your reward and recompence, which his Majestie will conferre upon you, the which I will thrust on, as occasion shall offer it selfe, and bee alwayes vigilant in these things which shall concerne your Lordship as I haue beene: God preserve your Lordship according to my desire: From Mansilla the thirteenth of Ianuary, 1602.

To Don Iuan de Aguila, Master
of the Campe, Generall of his
Majesties Army in Ireland.

A Letter from the Duke of Lerma to
Don Iuan de Aguila.

BR that which Zubiare and Pedro Lopez de Soto hath written, and by the comming of the Earle Odonnell, who is now in the Groyne, wee haue understood of the overthrow of the Earles, and from thence is gathered, that all the forces are now bent against you, and that your onely valour and wisdom hath beene able to resist them; and let the great estimation his Majestie holdeth of you, mitigate the care which this busynesse may bring you; his Majestie hath commanded me speedily to prepare gallant succours, both by Land and Sea, which is done, and shall bee presently dispatched, and this ship is onely sent to advertise you thereof, to the end that you may with the more courage defend your selfe, and to bring a true report in what state you stand, which may more particularly appeare unto you by his Majesties Letter, which with this you shall receiue, whereunto hee hath commanded me to add this, that hee hath in his favour made you one of his Councillers of his councill at warres, which I congratulate with you; assuring you on his part, that God willing hee will conferre greater favours upon you, wherefore proceed cheerefully, as both now and heretofore (in the course of your life) you haue done, taking every occasion to strengthen your selfe in this siege, and to endamage the Enemy that hee may not hinder you, and to assure the Army, no man living hath received greater rewards from his Majestie then you shall; I take upon my selfe the care of it, and I pray you to write me such good newes as I desire, whereof I hope in God: In Mansilla the thirtieth of Ianuary, 1602.

Stilo novo.

El Duque de Lerma
Marques de Denia.

Postscript.

God is my witnesse, I neither eat nor sleepe with lesse care then any one of them that are with you, and I would willingly be in the perill of every one of you, and if the shedding of my blood might be advantageous, I would readily giue it for you all that haue such need: Doe your endeavours, for presently succours shall be sent unto you.

To Don Iuan de Aguila, Master of the Campe,
Generall of the men of warre in Ireland.

A Letter

1601.

A Letter from the King of Spaine to Don Iuan de Aguila.

EL REY.

DOn Iuan de Aguila Master of the Campe, Generall of my Army in Ireland; by that which Pedro de Zubiare, and Pedro Lopez de Soto haue written unto me, I haue understood of the defeat of the Earles, Oneale and Odonnell, and likewise I now see that all your hopes remains in your valour and wisdom; wherein I haue such confidence, that I hope in the midst of so many dangers and labours (wherewith you are inuironed) that you will preserve the Army, untill more succours of shipping, men, armes, and munitions be sent unto you, which are with all possible expedition in preparing, and shall bee speedily dispatched: You may make use of them, and take reuenge of the Enemy, and untill they come, which shall be (as I haue said) with celerity, preserve your selfe: I doe not advise you of any particulars, because I assure my selfe of your judgement and experience, that knowes how to make your advantage of such occasions, as the Enemy shall give for the benefit of the siege: And your selfe and the Army (which is with you) shall haue good testimony of my bounty, thankfulness, and honour I will doe unto you all: and so much doe you signifie unto the Army from me: The Duke of Lerma shall write more unto you from Mansilla, the one and thirtieth of Ianuary, 1602.

Stilo novo.

To El Rey.

To Don Iuan de Aguila, Master of the Campe, Generall of our Army in Ireland.

Don Pedro Franquesa.

Not long after most of the Spaniards were imbarqued in Kinsale; onely a few remayning which were to passe with Don John; the day before his departure, the Lord Deputie shewed him the copie of the Letters, saying that they were sent unto him out of Ulster by a Priest, who was his spy about Tyrone, unto whom the Letters had beene caried; Don Iuan (taking this for good payment) thanked the Lord Deputie for his favourable care: All the while Don Iuan was at Corke, every day the President and hee had familiar discourse together, but for the most part their passages in speech was betweene jest and earnest, somewhat sharpe, and especially when they spake of religion, their Sovereignes, or the Nations: But it seemes that hee caried a good respect of the President; as by writing and presents sent, which shall in its due place appeare.

The fifteenth, the Lord Deputie and the President, having acquainted

15. Feb.

1601.

Stilo novo.

upon, the more will be your reward and recompence, which his Majestie will conferre upon you, the which I will thrust on, as occasion shall offer it selfe, and bee alwayes vigilant in these things which shall concerne your Lordship as I have beene: God preserve your Lordship according to my desire: From Mansilla the thirteenth of January, 1602.

To Don Iuan de Aguila, Master
of the Campe, Generall of his
Majesties Army in Ireland.

A Letter from the Duke of Lerma to
Don Iuan de Aguila.

BY that which Zubiare and Pedro Lopez de Soto hath written, and by the comming of the Earle Odonnell, who is now in the Groyne, wee have understood of the overthrow of the Earles, and from thence is gathered, that all the forces are now bent against you, and that your onely valour and wisdom hath beene able to resist them; and let the great estimation his Majestie holdeth of you, mitigate the care which this businesse may bring you; his Majestie hath commanded me speedily to prepare gallant succours, both by Land and Sea, which is done, and shall bee presently dispatched, and this ship is onely sent to advertise you thereof, to the end that you may with the more courage defend your selfe, and to bring a true report in what state you stand, which may more particularly appeare unto you by his Majesties Letter, which with this you shall receive, whereunto hee hath commanded me to add this, that hee hath in his favour made you one of his Councillers of his council at warres, which I congratulate with you; assuring you on his part, that God willing hee will conferre greater favours upon you, wherefore proceed cheerefully, as both now and heretofore (in the course of your life) you have done, taking every occasion to strengthen your selfe in this siege, and to endamage the Enemy that hee may not hinder you, and to assure the Army, no man living hath received greater rewards from his Majestie then you shall; I take upon my selfe the care of it, and I pray you to write me such good newes as I desire, whereof I hope in God: In Mansilla the thirtieth of January, 1602.

Stilo novo.

El Duque de Lerma
Marques de Denia.

Postscript.

God is my witnesse, I neither eat nor sleepe with lesse care then any one of them that are with you, and I would willingly be in the perill of every one of you, and if the shedding of my blood might be advantageous, I would readily give it for you all that have such need: Doe your endeavours, for presently succours shall be sent unto you.

To Don Iuan de Aguila, Master of the Campe,
Generall of the men of warre in Ireland.

A Letter

A Letter from the King of Spaine to Don Iuan de Aguila.

EL REY.

DOn Iuan de Aguila Master of the Campe, Generall of my Army in Ireland; by that which Pedro de Zubiare, and Pedro Lopez de Soto haue written unto me, I haue understood of the defeat of the Earles, Oneale and Odonnell, and likewise I now see that all your hopes remains in your valour and wisdom; wherein I haue such confidence, that I hope in the midst of so many dangers and labours (wherewith you are inuironed) that you will preserve the Army, untill more succours of shipping, men, armes, and munitions be sent unto you, which are with all possible expedition in preparing, and shall bee speedily dispatched: You may make use of them, and take reuenge of the Enemy, and untill they come, which shall be (as I haue said) with celerity, preserve your selfe: I doe not advise you of any particulars because I assure my selfe of your judgement and experience, that knowes how to make your advantage of such occasions, as the Enemy shall give for the benefit of the siege: And your selfe and the Army (which is with you) shall haue good testimony of my bounty, thankfulnesse, and honour I will doe unto you all: and so much doe you signifie unto the Army from me: The Duke of Lerma shall write more unto you from Mansilla, the one and thirtieth of Ianuary, 1602.

Stilo novo,

To El Rey
To Don Iuan de Aguila, Master of the Campe, Generall of our Army in Ireland. Don Pedro Franquesa.

Not long after most of the Spaniards were imbarqued in Kinsale; onely a few remayning which were to passe with Don Iohn; the day before his departure, the Lord Deputie shewed him the copie of the Letters, saying that they were sent unto him out of Ulster by a Priest, who was his spy about Tyrone; unto whom the Letters had beene caried; Don Iuan (taking this for good payment) thanked the Lord Deputie for his favourable care: All the while Don Iuan was at Corke, every day the President and hee had familiar discourse together, but for the most part their passages in speech was betweene jest and earnest, somewhat sharpe, and especially when they spake of religion, their Soveraignes, or the Nations: But it seemes that hee caried a good respect of the President; as by writing and presents sent, which shall in its due place appeare.

The fifteenth, the Lord Deputie and the President, having acquainted

15. Feb.

1601.

ted the rest of the Councell, with the effect of the Spanish Letters, (intercepted as aforesaid) though not with the manner how they were gotten, they thought it meete to write unto the Lords of the Councell in England this ensuing Letter, whereby they might understand how things stood for the present, as also to provide for the future, since by the intercepted Letters it appeared, that the King of Spaine had set his heart upon the warre of Ireland.

A Letter from the Lord Deputie and Councell
to the Lords in England.

MAY it please your Lordships: The fourteenth of this Moneth we dispatched Sir Richard Morison with our Letters to your Lordships from this place, and the nine and twentieth we wrote againe by Captaine Butler, yet to this day the wind hath continued still so westerly as since the departure of Sir Richard, no shipping is come to us, either out of England from your Lordships (as we desired) or from Waterford, Wexford, and those parts (as we directed) to carry away the Spanyards hence; nor yet untill Sunday the seventh hereof, could those ships stirre that lay ready at Kinsale, to be sent to Baltimore, Castle-haven, and Beere-haven; but now they are gone, Wee hope that the Service to bee done by them, (which is the possessing of the Castles, and sending away of the Spaniards in them) will bee presently accomplished, although the winde hath served them so scantily, as we feare they will hardly recover all the places wherunto they are directed: There is onely one Scottish ship gone from Kinsale for Spaine, which carried one hundred and sixtie Spaniards, with part of the Artillerie, but there lies now readie at the Harbour for the first winde, so much shipping as will carrie away fiftene hundred more: so as there will bee yet remaining in Kinsale about one thousand more, which with the first shipping that comes from the other Ports, shall be imbarqued. Don Iuan stayes to goe last: It appeareth by some Letters intercepted, which wee send herewithall unto your Lordships, that the King of Spaine purposeth to send a larger supply hither with all expedition: Don Iuan assures us to doe the best bee can to stay them, and if he arrive first in Spaine, hee makes no doubt to dissuade their coming; but if they should come before his departure, hee promiseth to returne them according to his Covenant in the Contrail, if they doe not come under the command of some other, than himselfe. Catholus is apart from his, from the King: The Irish have of late received Letters from Odonnell, to encourage the Rebels to persevere in their rebellion, offering them of present ayde from Spaine, in the meane time, the best of them all doe but temporize, being readie to assist them when they come, especially if they come in any strength, as it is to bee thought in all reason they will, having found their first error: Her Majestie must therefore be pleased to bee at some charge to erect Fortifications at Beere-

Beere-haven, Kinsale, and this place, the Commodities and Weaknesse of these places being as well known to the Spaniards, as to vs, and further withall to erect Cittadels at Limerick, Corke, and Waterford, though it bee onely to assure the Townes from revolt. It appeareth by the King of Spaines Letter, (and so by the Duke of Lermaes, that his heart is very much set upon the enterprize of Ireland, and therefore it is not unlike but that he may send more supplies, after or before Don Iuans arrivall in Spaine, either under him, or some other Commaunder; which if he doe, it is also likely the same will be sent shortly: For prevention thereof (if in your Lordships wisdom it shall be thought meet) we doe humbly beseech, that the foure thousand supplies heretofore desired, and by your Lordships intended, may be presently sent hither, whereof two thousand to bee erected in Companies, and their Captaines to bee named heere, and the other two thousand for the supplies of the Armie, which is exceeding weake; for our men die daily in greater numbers then they dyed in the Campe, the infection being greater, and by some thought, a kinde of plague, (for the people in the Townes dye in farre greater numbers then the Souldiers) though wee hope the contrarie: And we doe further desire, that her Majestie will bee pleased to hasten her Fleet to the coast of Spaine, which comming timely, will in our opinions hinder any enterprize for Ireland; But lest that should faile, wee renew our former motion, that the Tremontania and the Moone, may bee returned to serve upon the coast of Mounster, that the proportions of Munition and Victuals desired in our former Letters, may speedily bee dispatched hither, and that victuals without impediment may come for all places to releue us: for already a very great dearth is begun, and a famine must ensue, the rates of all things being incredible, and the new Money much repyned at, which notwithstanding wee doe our uttermost endeavors to advance it. But in a matter of so great importance, we humbly desire your Lordships to giue vs leaue to deliver our opinions freely, having so assured ground for it, that if the King of Spaine continue his Warre in this Countrey, it will bee hard to preserve her Majesties Army and kingdome, without the altering of the currant money, so generall is the dislike thereof, and so insolently doe they begin already to refuse it; but if there come no other forraine aid, her Majesty (as we thinke) may securely continue it as it is: For all we that are of the Army, whom it most concerneth, (in regard we live wholly upon our entertainment) will (God willing) endure it for the advancement of the service, though wee are sensible of our losse, by the excessive enhancing of the prizes of all things that we are to live upon, which cannot be holpen so long as this new Coyne continues currant. Of Tyrone, since his overthrow and departure, we hitherto haue heard little, neither doe wee thinke hee will bee able to doe any great harme, without the ayde of new supplies from Spaine. And so wee humbly take leaue, &c. From Corke, 15. February, 1601.

1601.

*Odonnells
landing and
reception
in Spaine.*

Among many Letters and papers which were found in the Castle of Dunboy (of the winning whereof you shall after heare;) there was one written bearing date the fourth of February, 1602. *Stilo novo*, by *Patrike Sinnet* an Irish Priest, remayning in the Groyne with the Earle of *Caracena* to *Dominick Collins* a Iesuit, who was taken at Dunboy and executed; sundry other things he related of *Odonnells* landing in the Asturias, who with the Generall *Pedro de Zubiare* embarked at Castle-haven the January, the next day after he came to the Groyne, where he was nobly received by the Earle of *Caracena*, who invited *Odonnell* to lodge in his house; but hee being Sea sicke, in good manner refused his curtesie; wherefore the Earle lodged him in a very faire house, not farre from his; but when his sea-sicknesse was past, he lodged in the Earles house; and upon the twenty seventh of January, *Odonnell* departed from the Groyne, accompanied by the Earle and many Captaines, and Gentlemen of quality, who evermore gaue *Odonnell* the right hand, which within his government he would not haue done to the greatest Duke in Spaine; and at his departure, hee presented *Odonnell* with one thousand duckets, and that night hee lay at *Santa Lucia*: the Earle of *Caracena* being returned, the next day hee went to *Saint James* of *Compostella*, where he was received with magnificence by the Prelats, Citizens, and religious persons, and his lodging was made ready for him at *Saint Martins*, but before hee saw it, hee visited the Archbishop, who instantly prayed him to lodge in his house; but *Odonnell* excused it: The nine and twentieth the Archbishop saying Masse with pontificall solemnity, did minister the Sacrament to *Odonnell*, which done hee feasted him at dinner in his house; and at his departure hee gaue him one thousand duckets: The King understanding of *Odonnells* arrivall, wrote unto the Earle of *Caracena* concerning the reception of him, and the affaires of Ireland, which was one of the most gracious Letters that ever King directed; for by it, it plainly appeared that hee would endanger his kingdome to succour the Catholikes of Ireland, to their content; and not faile therein; for the perfecting whereof, great preparations were in hand: *Odonnell* caried with him to the Court, *Redmond Burke*, *Father Florence*, Captaine *Moston*, and nine Gentlemen more, where they were nobly received; although the knowledge of the reception of *Odonnell* in Spaine, was not well knowen by mee until after the taking of Dunboy, yet I thought it requisite to insert it in its due place, according to the time of his being at the Groyne. But now let us returne to the affaires of Mounster.

*Castlehaven
rendred by
the Spaniards.*

Captaine *Roger Harvie* (according to his directions) being come to Castle-haven, *Pedro Lopez de Soto* the Veador, who had the chiefe command thereof, after the receipt of *Don Juan de Aguila* his Letters
and

and messages, entertayned him with great humanity, and upon the twelfth of February rendered the Castle unto him, receiving an acknowledgement under his, and his brothers Captaine *Gawen Harvie* hands in writing for the receipt thereof, which done they imbarqued their victuals, baggage, and Ordnance; lastly their men to the number of one hundred and fourtie by pole, and foure Spanish Captaines; Captaine *Roger Harvie* delivered the charge of the Castle unto his brother Captaine *Gawen Harvie*, there to remaine in garison with his Company of one hundred foote: The same day that Captaine *Harvie* came to Castle-haven, the *Odrischals* (who had the inheritance of the same) by a slight got into the Castle, and had made themselves masters of it; the Spaniards to recover it againe assaulted it, and were undermining the same when Captaine *Harvie* was entering into the Haven; but upon the sight of his ships the Irish by composition (to depart in safetie) rendered it to the Spaniard, who had lost two of their Souldiers in the attempt. The one and twentieth, Captaine *Harvie* having in his Company the Veador, and some other Spaniards, set saile for Baltimore, whereupon the three and twentieth they went on land, and were feasted in the Castle of *Donnelong* by the Governour thereof, called *Andreas de Aerry*, and the next day (by the direction of the Veador) their Ordnance (being seven in number in the Castle) were shipped: And the fixe and twentieth the said Castle, and the Castle of *Donnesbed*, were with Spanish gravitie rendered to her Majesties use. The second of March following they were all imbarqued, and set saile for Spaine: while these things were in doing, Captaine *Roger Harvie* sent a partie of men to *Cape-Cleere*, the Castle whereof was guarded by Captaine *Terrils* men, which they could not gaine, but they pillaged the Iland, and brought from thence three Boats; and the second day following, the Rebels not liking the neighbourhood of the English quitted the Castle, wherein Captaine *Harvie* placed a Guard: at this time Sir *Finnin Odrischall* came to Captaine *Harvie* and submitted himselfe: The tenth of the same Moneth, the Lord *Barry*, Captaine *Taffe*, and Captaine *Iohn Barry*, chanced to light upon *Donoghe Moyle Mac Carties* men, and slew eightene of the best of them.

From Baltimore Captaine *George Flower* was shipped in a Hoy of one hundred and twentieth Tuns, with two Companies of two hundred in list, (but weake by pole) to receiue from the Spaniards the Castle of *Dunboy*, but doe all hee could, by reason of fowle weather and contrary winds, hee could never (although hee was at the mouth of the Haven of *Beere*) recover the Land, and so enforced to returne, effecting nothing, in this short Navigation fiftie of his Souldiers by infection dyed, and but seven of the Saylers living.

The Castles of Donnesbed and Donnelong rendered by the Spaniards.

The Castle of Cape-Cleere guarded by Captaine Harvie.

The illsuccess of Captaine Flowers employment.

1601.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The Spanyards imbarqued at Kinsale. The Spanyards dispossessed of Donboy by Osulevan Beare. A Letter from Osulevan Beare to the King of Spaine. A Letter from Osulevan Beare to the Earle of Carazena. A Letter from Osulevan Beare to Don Pedro de Zubeaur.

*Spanyards
imbarqued
at Kinsale.*

*The Spaniards
dispossessed of Dū-
boy by Osu-
levan Beare.*



THE twentieth of *Februarie*, twentie Spanish Captaines with one thousand three hundred seventie foure Souldiers, set sayle from Kinsale for Spaine.

The Composition which *Don Iuan* did make when he surrendred Kinsale, did infinitely grieve and offend the Irish, and especially those who had voluntarily delivered into his hands their Castles, but especially *Donnell Osulevan*, who considering, that if his Castle of *Donboy* should bee in the possession of the English, hee was like to be banished his Countrey, not having any hope of favour from her Majestie, unto whose Crowne and Dignitie hee had manifested himselfe to bee a malicious Traytor, resolved to set up his rest in regaining of it out of the Spanyards hands, and afterwards to defend it against her Majesties Forces as well as hee might: For accomplishing whereof, they watched a fit opportunitie, and surprized it in this sort: Although the Spaniards were the Masters of the Castle, yet evermore he had recourse into it, & lodged therein with such of his men as hee thought good: In the dead time of the night, when the Spanyards were soundly sleeping, and the key of the Castle in the Captaines custody, *Osulevan* caused his men, (amongst the which there were some Masons) to breake a hole in the wall, wherein fourescore of his men entered, for by appoyntment he had drawne that night close unto the Castle, *Archer* the Iesuite with another Priest, *Thomas fits Maurice* the Lord of *Lixnaw*, *Donnell Mac Cartie*, Captaine *Richard Tirrell*, and Captaine *William Burke*, with a thousand men: When day appeared, *Archer* prayed *Francesco de Saavedra* the Spanish Captaine to goe with him to *Osulevan*s chamber, unto whom hee made relation, that his men were entred the Castle, that he meant no personall hurt, either unto him, or to any of his, and that he would keepe the same for the King of *Spaines* use; and also told him, that hee had one thousand Foot within Harquebussie shott of the Castle. The Captaine seeing himselfe surprized, made no resistance, and willed his men to doe the like: But the Spanyards in furie discharged a few Musket shott amongst the Irish, and slew three of them, and hurt one; but by the mediation of *Osulevan*, and *Francesco de Saavedra*, the Captaine, all was pacified, *Osulevan* being very carefull that no hurt might bee done to the Spaniards:

Spaniards: Afterward *Osulevan* disarmed them all, kept the Captaine, and a few of the better sort, with three or foure Gunners, in the nature of Prisoners, and the rest hee sent to Baltimore, to be imbarqued into *Spaine*: He also seized upon all the Spanish Ordnance, Munitions, and Victualls, which was there in store. The Captaine not long after was set at libertie, and returned with the *Veador* from Baltimore into *Spaine*, and with him the other souldiers which were detained, but the Cannoniers *Osulevan* reserved.

When report was brought to *Don Iohn de Aguila* (then in *Corke*) of the surprize of *Dunboy*, he tooke it for a great affront, and would presently haue drawen from *Kinsale* (the Spanish Companies there yet remayning) and march to *Dunboy* to regaine it by force, and to deliver it according to the Composition into her Majesties hands: But the Lord Deputie and the President, (who were desirous to see his heeles towards *Ireland*) wished him not to trouble himselfe with that businesse; and when hee was gone, the President should take order for the reducing of it into his hands: the Castle of *Dunboy* was surprized (as before sayd) in this moneth of February, 1601, and held by *Osulevan* to the use of the King of *Spaine*: but yet to excuse himselfe unto the King, and to make it appeare unto him how much hee was his servant, hee wrote unto him, to the Earle of *Carazena*, and to *Pedro de Zubiare*, there being at that present in *Beerehaven*, the Spanish Pinnace, which brought the Pacquet from *Spaine* (intercepted betweene *Kinsale* and *Corke*) as aforesaid.

A Letter from *Osulevan Beare* to the King
of *Spaine*.

My Lord and my King.

OVt of his loue to your kingly greatnesse, your humble stedfast servant *Donnell Osulevan Beare*, enforced through perill and constraint, doth make bold to enforme unto your greatnesse, that upon the landing in *Castle-haven*, in the West of *Ireland*, your Generall *Pedro de Zubiar*, and *Pedro Lopez de Soto*, with a fleet and men from your Greatnesse, according to the inward conceit of mind I alwayes held, which I manifested in my young yeares, and would haue still followed, unlesse disability had constrayned mee to the contrary; finding a happy and good opportunity (as I imagined) I came to their presence, tendering my obeysance unto them in the name of your Highnesse, and being with foure hundred men at my owne cost, towards your service, I yeelded out of my meere loue and goodwill, without compulsion or composition, into their hands in the name of your Majestie; not onely my Castle, and Haven called *Beerehaven*, but also my Wife, my Children, my

1601.

Countrey, Lordships, and all my possessions for ever to be disposed of at your pleasure. They received mee in that manner, and promised (as from your Highnesse) to keepe, and save the said Castle, and Haven during the service of your grace: Notwithstanding my gracious Lord, conclusions of peace were assuredly agreed upon, betwixt Don Iuan de Aguila and the English, a fact pittifull, and (according to my judgement) against all right and humane conscience. Among other places whereof your greatnesse was dispossessed in that manner, which were neither yeelded nor taken to the end they should bee delivered to the English; Don Iuan tyed himselfe to deliver my Castle and Haven, the onely key of mine inheritance, whereupon the living of many thousand persons doth rest, that lye some twentie leagues upon the Sea Coast, into the hands of my cruell, cursed, misbeleeving Enemies, a thing I feare in respect of the execrablenesse, inhumanity, and ingratifullnesse of the fact if it take effect, as it was plotted, that will giue cause to other men not to trust any Spaniard hereafter, with their bodies or goods upon these causes. My Lord in that I judge this dishonourable act to be against your honour and pleasure, (as I understand by your last Letters that came into Ireland) considering the harme that might ensue to the service of your Majestie, and the ever lasting overthrow that might happen to mee, and my poore people, such as might escape the sword of our Enemy (if any should) I have taken upon mee (with the helpe of God) to offer to keepe my Castle and Haven from the hands of mine Enemies, untill further newes, and order come from your Highnesse: I have sent my Sonne and Heire (being of the age of five yeares) as a Pledge for accomplishing your will in this behalfe, and for the performing of my promise past unto your Greatnesse: I would not omit my selfe in person to come and visit your Highnesse, but that I feare our warres here would grow weake in respect of my absence, for which cause my selfe, and the rest of our men of worth have sent in haste with Intelligence unto your Greatnesse, our loving Friend Dermond Odrischall, in respect of our confidence in him, our knowledge of him, and the continuall endeavors wee see in him towards this Catholique Warre, as from vs all: And for as much as wee could not conveniently write all that wee wisb unto you, wee humbly beseech, that hee may bee heard as from vs all, as if our selues were present, and to hasten helping Newes, that shall rejoyce vs and our people, and afterwards to speed your gracious helpe unto vs, for the sooner the better, whilest our enemies are not in readinesse; and untill the comming of newes from your grace unto vs, I will have in a readinesse where the service shall require, the number of one thousand men; and I will upon my knees pray the mercifull God, to giue unto your Grace long life, with health of body and soule, and all happinesse, and so doe commit you to the safeguard of the Omnipotent. Donboy, viz. Beere-haven, the twentieth day of February, 1602.

Stilo novo.

Donnell Osulevan Beare.

A

*A Letter from Osulevan Beare to the Earle
of Caragena.*

MY dutie remembred : It may please your Lordship to understand, that according to my former Letters, it hath manifestly appeared, heere the resolution of *Don Iuan de Aguila* to haue been (by his composition with the English) to yeeld unto the Enemies hands, all the Forts, and Havens voluntarily delivered by the Lords and Gentlemen of this Land for his Majesties service, which will bee to the dishonour of the King, the prevention of his most godly attempt, and the utter ruine and destruction of thousands of this Countrey Gentlemen and Catholiques, who without compulsion entred into this Action: All which having considered, I haue of meere affection to my Religion, his Highnesse service, and loue to my people and Countrey, so endeavored the recovery of my Castle, as I did draw into the same some hundred of my followers, whom although the Spanyards haue attempted to resist, and killed three of my best Gentlemen, yet durst none of my people kill any of them, but without harme forced them out of my said Castle, saving their Captaine, with five or sixe unto whom I haue allowed certaine roomes in my House, to looke to the Kings Munition and Artillerie: which Castle and Haven I doe detaine, and will evermore, for his Majesties Service, to defend, untill his Highnesse pleasure, and your Lordships resolution unto mee shall bee further known: And for manifestation of my loyaltie, and faithfulnessse to his Majestie, I haue sent my Sonne and Heyre thither, whom I hope ere this time is present before your Lordship, and haue cessed all the Captaines Company upon my owne people and charges, humbly beseeching it may please your Honour, to bee a meane unto his most Catholique Majestie, that hee may vouchsafe speedily to releue this place, where many of his Royall Shippes in time of service may bee kept in safetie; Or otherwayes to send some small Ship towards this coast, for to receiue mee and the rest of my Family, and Children, for to bee carryed into Spaine, for the saving of our liues out of the hands of these mercilesse, Hereticall Enemies, making choyce rather to forsake my ancient Inheritance, Friends, Followers, and Goods, then any way to trust to their most gracelesse Pardon or Promise. Thus much I hope your godly charitable Nature will draw you to doe for such a one as I am, who hazarded Life, Lands, Goods, and Followers for the Catholique Faith, and the Kings Majesties Service: All which, leaving to your Honourable Discretion, through whose vertuous meanes

1601.

Stilo novo.

meanes I chiefly hope to receiue comfort, I humbly take leaue.
From Beare-haven Castle the last of February, 1602.

Your most Faithfull and bounden,

Donnell Osulevan Beare.

*To the Earle of Caragena, Governor
and Captaine Generall for his Maje-
stie in the kingdome of Galitia.*

*A Letter from Osulevan Beare to Don
Pedro Zubiaur.*

MY honorable good friend, your kind letters I haue of late recei-
ved, & for your carefull furtherance, I cannot but rest beholden
and thankfull as before: Our state sithence your departing, notwith-
standing many crosses was reasonable well; partly because of the
weaknesse of the English forces, untill a brute came unto us credibly,
that *Don Iuan de Aguilá* did not onely agree and compound to yeeld
the Towne of Kinsale, but also the other Castles and Havens, delive-
red voluntarily by the owners unto you, and the Veador to the King
his use, during the occasion of service: which notwithstanding (be-
ing delivered to the Enemies hands) would mightily discourage and
weaken all the Kings friends in Ireland; namely my selfe, who by
keeping my possessions belonging to my Castle, and Haven of Beere-
haven, and able (God bee thanked) and ready at all times to find out
for his Majesties service, upon warning and necessitie one thousand
men, besides the ward of my owne Castle, where loosing the same
so unexpected, and surrendered to the hands of most hereticall ene-
mies, I am not onely disappoynted of all power, but also driven to
run to the Mountaines, there to liue like Woolfes, for the safetie of
my life, and to leaue to their mercilesse discretion all the poore men,
women, and children within the length of twenty Leagues contay-
ning of my ancient inheritance under my jurisdiction: I pray
you as you haue begun, and in his Majesties name, past your promise
unto me, to be a meane unto his Majestie, that such shamefull compo-
sition void of lawfull ground, may not bee an overthrow and dis-
grace to the Kings service, and a perpetuall destruction to my poste-
rity for ever, whose Ancestors maintayned the credit and calling of
great Gentlemen these two thousand and sixe hundred yeares, sithence
their first comming out of Spaine: I haue made offer to the Veador
to mainetaine all the Spaniards that were at Castlehaven, Baltimore,
and

and here, with Beefe, Fish, Corne and Sale, till his Majesties pleasure were knowen, and to find upon my owne charges one thousand men to defend them: I would personally haue repaired thither, to make relation hereof to the King, his Majestie, but that I doe feare the warres might haue the worse expedition here by my absence; although you might thinke, I would for a while use some resistance against the Englishmen, with my people and the Fastnesse of my Countrey, yet I know you will pittie old Sir *Finnin*, forced by this composition to yeeld his body to the mercilesse butchery of our Hereticall enemies, which leaving partly to bee prevented by your good meanes to the King his most Catholike Majestie: I take leaue, committing you to God: *Beare-haven* the twentieth of February, 1603.

Donnell Ofulevan Beare

1601.

*Odrifchall.**Stile novo.*

It was first much doubted and feared, that the Castle of Dunboy had beene voluntarily, not without the privitie and consent of the chiefe Commanders amongst the Spaniards, delivered unto *Donnell Ofulevan*, there being such an excellent Haven for the Kings ships, if hee should send forces to repaire the ruines of his honour, so much shaken by the former proceedings; but afterward understanding that the Castle was not surpris'd without some blood, and also intercepting those Letters which verified the contrary, it cleared the Spaniards of that suspicion; but howsoever, the holding of this Castle gaue occasion to the countrey more obstinately to stand out in the action; because *Ofulevan Beare* (for defence hereof) against the English, had according to the contents of these Letters, entertayned *Tirrell*, *William Burke*, and others with one thousand Bonnoghs, which were by course employed about the fortifying of this Castle. Neere unto the mouth of the Haven of *Beare*, there is a small Iland called the *Durles*, which is very strongly seated by nature, by reason of the difficulty of landing (which is conveniently) but in one narrow entrance, which may bee defended with a few hands, and besides it is impossible for any Boat to arrive at this enterance, except it bee in a dead calme, the least gale of wind, raising such billowes, as doe endanger any Boat as shall come neere the shore: this impregnable place, was elected for their extreame refuge, if Dunboy should bee wonne by the English; and therefore the custody thereof was committed to *Conner Odrifchall*, Sonne and Heire to Sir *Finnin* before mentioned, who procuring three Peeces of Spanish Ordnance to be conveyed into the Iland, with certaine quantity of powder and shot, and having sixtie choise men, fortified the same (as they thought) against the most potent Enemy; but wee leaue these Rebels busying

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1691.

their braines, and wearying their bodies about these fortifications, and returne to Captaine Harvie, who while the Veador Pedro Lopez de Soto, remayned at Baltimore, many curtesies and familiar conferences passed betweene them, wherein hee shewed himselfe to bee a man of great humanity, and a good states man, able to relate many things, both concerning the State of England, and particularly of the Nobility in the same, as well as some that had spent their whole liues in that Realme, but the end of all his conference, still tended towards a peace betweene our Sovereigne and his Master, whereby it may bee gathered, that the King of Spaine was weary of the warre, which himselfe had injuriously begun: The substance of their discourse Captaine Harvie related to the President, and also shewed him a Pasport of the Veadors, and a Letter which hee sent unto him after his arrivall in Spaine, all which are thus Englished.

CHAP. XXIX.

An interloquitory discourse betweene Captaine Roger Harvie, and Pedro Lopez de Soto. Pedro Lopez de Soto his Pasport. Pedro Lopez de Soto his Letter to Captaine Roger Harvie.

A Discourse that passed betwixt Captaine Roger Harvy, and Pedro Lopez de Soto the Spanish Veador, the six and twentieth of February, 1691, in the Island of Innysharkin, whilest the Spaniards were imbarquing their Munitions and Artillery, from thence the effect as followeth.

An interloquitory discourse betweene Captaine Roger Harvie and Pedro Lopez de Soto.

SOTO. I R. (saith hee) is it not a miserable and lamentable thing (in any honest mans conscience) to see the daily effusion of blood and infinite expence of treasure, that this warre betwixt Spaine and England doth daily bring forth and consume?

Harvie. I told him, it was too high a mysterie for mee to censure, but I thought it to bee the judgement of God, for we must understand that Princes are Gods Ministers, and Agents upon earth, and what they doe is beyond our limits to looke into: Notwithstanding I thought the pride of his Masters gold, so puffed him up, as either hee must haue all the world, or nothing can content him, or else his King would never haue sought out such a place as Ireland is, to haue buried so many Crownes in, besides the losse of no small number of his Subjects, but it may be hereafter he will know us better, and perchance thinke our nation fitter to conquer, then to loose what we haue.

But

Soto. But doe you thinke that Gold is so abundant with us?

Harvey. The Indian world which you possesse, makes us beleue so.

Soto. Well, bee not deceived, for my selfe have been a dealer these many yeares in great Affaires for the King, and by that I doe somewhat understand his *Hacienda*, which I must confesse to bee very great, and yet not so exceeding as the world thinkes: But if it were farre greater then it is, I assure you, the infinite number of Garrisons which he is daily forced to maintaine, would devoure another such Indies, if hee had them: for doe but looke into how many severall Branches his Treasure is divided into, and then you will beleue mee; but yet of all the rest, his expences in the Warres of the Low-Countreys is most chargeable, and of greatest import unto him, and for the which he may thanke your *Queene of England*; for had not shee assisted those Traytors, they long since had borne the yoke of their deserts, and neither *Ireland* nor *England* had ever been looked into, or offended by us.

Harv. Why then I perceiue it is not Religion, or Conscience that hath brought you hither to releue the Irish, but onely Revenge, for ayding of the States of the Low-Countreyes against the *Cardinall*.

Soto. But did you ever thinke otherwise? I know you did not; and if you say so, I know you dissemble with me: for the place where you have been brought up in, hath better discipline.

Har. Why, where have I been brought up?

Soto. I heare that you are neere in blood unto the President, and that from a child you have followed him; and I know that you are better instructed then you make shew of.

Har. I must thanke you for your good opinion of me; but have you ever seene the face of the President?

Soto. I assure you no, and which I am very sorry for: for I heard that he is a worthy Gentleman, and one of the wisest men in *Ireland*; and if I would take the Irish opinions for my beleefe of him, (they confidently beleue that he hath a familiar) for they say he knows all things, and that nothing can be hidden from him, besides he is so inward with the Secretary of *England*, as his power thereby is the greater, (which strengtheneth much my beleefe of his worth;) but I pray you Sir, is it so?

Har. Truly I must confesse, that I am neerely allyed unto him, and that I am wholly his Creature from my Childhood: But for your better satisfaction of what you have heard of him, unlesse in modestie I should wrong him, I cannot doe lesse then maintaine the same opinion, which the world holds of his worth and sufficiencie:

1661.

but for any familiar that he hath, more then a noble Spirit and Iudgement, and as the long experience of this Nation may sufficiently giue him understanding (I assure you he hath not any) and therefore the Irish in that doe wrong him: And as for the greatnesse with the Secretary of England, I know in his Affections he hath been very neere him these many yeares, and to his uttermost hath wholly devoted himselfe unto him; and in any reasonable matter I thinke, Master Secretary will alsoone hearken unto his Counsell, (as unto any) if he were in England.

Soto. But why would not the Secretary keepe him still with him, but suffer him to spend his time among this Nation?

Harvie. I cannot say but you object well; but I assure you the necessitie of his comming hither was such, as for the publike good hee was enforced unto it, besides her Majesties opinion of his experience is such, as shee knew he was able to end all the warres in these parts with Expedition, which in foure Moneths my selfe can testifie hee had finished: and had not your Armies comming hither caused a new rupture, hee had good hopes to haue beene called (long since) home againe, which I know nothing under Heaven hee desireth more.

Soto. That makes me thinke that hee is weary of the warres, and would be contented now to liue in peace.

Harvie. I thinke not so, unlesse it were a very happy peace, otherwise warres is farre more welcome unto him (although I thought not the Irish warres) but I thought a Spanish Iourney royally undertaken, would please him so much almost as to be seven yeares younger.

Soto. Since your President loues a hote Clymate so well, I would to God hee would bee a meanes to make a peace betwixt the two Kingdomes, and then hee might take his choise in whether of them he would liue, and be a welcome man unto both: but was not he in France with Master Secretary, when that businesse was a treating?

Harvie. Yes.

Soto. And were you there likewise?

Harvie. No.

Soto. I assure you there was excellent juggling of your side, and will be still where great personages are the Actors, otherwise I imagine there had fallen out better successe: but wee haue some Spirits in Spaine, will never rest, untill they haue either ruined the kingdome or themselves: but dare you Sir impart this Conference unto the President?

Harvie. I promise you if I liue I will.

Soto. It may bee out of this, may proceed some good effect, for of lesse

lesse beginnings then this haue greater matters risen.

Harvie. I beleene you, although I haue small hopes of this.

Soto. And why? Cannot England stand without the Low Countries?

Harvie. Yes against all the earth, but not so quiet if that were yours.

Soto. Why? wee will not aske any assistance from the Queene, but onely haue her stand a Neuter, and for her safetie and the kingdomes, wee will put in pledge twentie of the best houses in Spaine; such as your State will choose; and if the State of England will but looke judicially into it, they shall find the offer honest, and fit to bee accepted: Considering that the Queene of England is by nature as mortall as others of lesse quality: and if shee were dead I know the next that shall succeed will afford it, and bee glad of it upon lesse conditions, or else I am deceived.

Harvie. But God bee thanked wee haue no cause in England to dreame of succession, but hope shee shall be eternall unto us.

Soto. That were ill newes unto him, who lookes to succeed.

Harvie. But Sir to the matter, because I haue promised you to impart this conference unto the President, let mee intreat you to haue somewhat under your hand to iustifie it.

Soto. You shall haue a Passe (either for your selfe or any other) from me to come into Spaine, touching this busines: The effect whereof I most humbly referre unto God, and so bid you farewell.

Pedro Lopez de Soto, Overseer generall of the Army of my Soveraigne the Catholike King, &c. For certaine due respects behoofull for his Majesties service, this free Passport (in his royall name) is assured for any English Ship, which shall bring any dispatch from *Roger Harvie* Governour of the Garisons at Castlehaven and Baltimore, directed and superscribed to mee, which shall happen to arriue in any Port in Spaine, from the date hereof unto the end of Iuly next: By vertue whereof, his Majesties chiefe Officer that shall governe the Province, or port where the said Ships shall arriue, shall give commandement for the service of his Majestie, that both it, the Seafaring men, and all other persons with their goods, shall be freely received and entertayned, and accommodated to their liking and content untill the dispatch in the said ship, directed unto me, bee sent unto *Don Pedro Franquesa*, the said ship with her men and goods, may not onely, freely returne to these Northern parts, without any impediment, but rather to bee intreated with all possible curtesies: And if any of his Majesties ships of warre, or any of his Subjects ships, shall meet with this English ship, either outward or homeward bound, they

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shall

*Pedro Lopez
de Soto his
Passports.*

1601.

shall permit her to passe without any detention, it being convenient for his Majesties service so to doe. Written at Baltimore the ninth of March, 1602.

Pedro Lopez de Soto.

Pedro Lopez de Soto his Letter to Captaine

Roger Harvie.

Although you be an Englishman, and my selfe a Spaniard, nevertheless (finding you to bee (as it appears unto mee) a man of honour in all your actions) I cannot but assure you that I am extreamely affectioned unto you, and the cause that moves me to desire your friendship and correspondence, is the just respect I have to the good proceedings of the Lord Deputie, and the Lord President, and their Ministers towards the King my Master, as also of you, and the rest (in the service of your Prince) which hath obliged us to a good correspondence. The Passport which I left with you, shall bee alwayes faithfully accomplished when occasion shall serue, and of the same you may be confident, for wee will fully obserue it. And so God keepe you: From the Groyne the ninth of April, 1602.

Pedro Lopez de Soto.

To Captaine Roger Harvie, Governour
of Castle-haven and Baltimore.

CHAP. XXX.

Don Iuan imbarqued at Kinsale. The Lord Deputie departed from Corke towards Dublin. A Letter from the Lord Deputie and Councill to the Lords in England. The Lord Deputie sickned in his Iournie to Dublin. The Lord President surprised with a Feaver in his returne to Mounster.

8. March.

Don Iuan
imbarqued
at Kinsale.

The Lord
Deputy de-
parted from
Corke to-
wards Kin-
sale.

THE eighth of March Don Iuan being at Kinsale, hourly expecting a wind to bee gone, and finding a flattering gale went aboard: The Lord Deputie on the other side, as desirous to bee at his worke in Ulster (for the prosecution of Tyrone;) the day following hee began his Iourney towards Dublin, on whom the Lord President attended, untill hee had brought him out of the Province: But Don Iohn for want of a faire wind, departed not from Kinsale untill the sixteenth of the same Moneth: The day before the Lord Deputies departure, or the same day (I know not whether) his Lordship being mindfull of the sufficiencie, blood, and valour of Sir Richard Percy, caused him to bee sworn a Councillor of the Province of Mounster, and the night

night that he left Corke hee lodged at Clone, a Towne and Mannor house sometimes belonging to the Bishop of that Sea, but now passed in Fee farme to Master *John Fitts Edmonds*, who gaue cheerefull and plentifull entertaynment to his Lordship, and all such of the Nobilitie, Captaines, Gentlemen, and others as attended upon him. The Deputie as well to requite his perpetuall loyaltie to the Crowne of England, as also to encourage others in the like, at his departure, did honour him with the Order of Knighthood, and then continued his iourney towards Waterford, where he bestowed the like honour vpon *Edward Gough*, and *Richard Aylward*, two ancient and well deseruing Citizens.

The President having attended the Lord Deputie to Kilkenny, where they lodged in the Earle of Ormonds house, and all things considered of, which concerned the State of the Kingdome, upon the foure and twentieth of March, the last day of the year, 1601, the Lord Deputie and Councell made a Dispatch into ENGLAND, which heere ensues.

24. March.

A Letter from the Lord Deputie and Councell to the Lords in England.

IT may please your Lordships, having certaine intelligence since our comming to this place, that *Don Iuan* and all the rest of the Spaniards departed from Kinsale on Tuesday the sixteenth hereof, and that the wind since that time hath serued them so well, as wee assure our selues by this, they are neere the Coast of Spaine, wee thought fit hereby to giue your Lordships notice thereof, that you may know that wee are free now of them all. Since our being here, there hath beene brought in a notorious Rebell, one *William Mac Hubbard*, lately taken in Vpperossery, who of late hath done great spoyles and murders in these parts, more then any other, so as wee haue caused him to bee executed in this Towne to the great terror of many: About the same time that hee was executed, a Sonne of *Garret Mac Mortaghes*, named *Moris Mac Garret*, dyed of a hurt lately given him in fight, who was a most dangerous young man, like to trouble all the Countrey: The death of these two Rebels, as also of a notorious Rebell by birth, of Mounster lately slain (called *Dermot Mac Auley*) who was an inward man, and a great assisting instrument with *Tyrone*, will greatly quiet these parts, and your Lordships can hardly thinke, what a great change wee find already by their so happy & timely cutting off. As for *Sir Finnis Odriscoll*, *O'Dannevan*, and the two Sonnes of *Sir Owen Mac Carle*, they and their Followers since their comming in, are growne very odious to the Rebels of those

The Lord
Deputie
and
Councell

The Lord
Deputie
and
Councell

1601.

those parts, and are so well divided in factions amongst themselves, as they are fallen to preying and killing one another, which we conceive will much availe, to the quieting of these parts. I the Deputie am this day going towards Dublin, from whence your Lordships shall heare from mee, according to the directions given mee by your Lordships: And I the President am returning into Mounster, to attend my charge there. Wee haue beene much importuned by the Army in generall, touching an abatement of halfe a pound of Beefe upon every flesh day, from every particular Souldier, and of two Herrings every fish day, and the Horse troopes likewise find themselves agrieved, that the Victualler chargeth them with two shillings sixe pence increase in the issuing of every Barrell of Oates, without any other Warrant then a private Letter from Master Wade, Clerke of the Councell; which although we conceive Master Wade hath signified over upon such purpose of your Lordships, or other good ground, yet in regard of importunities of the Captaines, and to prevent a generall mutiny of the Army, in regard the Souldiers are weake, and much infeebled, by the last siege of Kinsale, and that the prices of all things are increased aboue all measure, by reason of the new standard Coyne, and that the Countrey is generally much harried and wasted, and thereby great scarcitie and wants grow here; wee hold it meet, and accordingly gaue direction to the Commissary of the victuals, to issue Oats (as formerly) at six shillings the barrel, and allow the Souldier two pound of Beefe, and eight Herrings a day, according as it was formerly accustomed, till your Lordships resolution were returned in that behalfe, which wee humbly pray and expect. And so having no other matter at this time worthy the presenting to your Lordships, wee most humbly take leaue.

*The Lord
Deputy sick-
ned on his
way to Dub-
lin.*

*The Lord
President
surprised
with a fea-
ver in his
returne to
Mounster.*

The same day after this Letter was signed, the Lord Deputie tooke his Journey towards Dublin, but being surprised with an ill disposition of health, which so increased upon him, as that the next day he was enforced to bee caried in his Horse-litter, and so continued untill hee arrived there. And the President the aforesaid day returned towards Corke, surprised with the like accident, in so much as hee was not able that night to journey any farther then unto Master Generall Comersfords house, not distant from Kilkenny aboue three miles, and there it appeared that hee was in a burning feaver: Nevertheless being transported with a desire to bee in his Province, the next day hee remooved, and so by easie journeyes, resting some dayes upon the way, at last upon the third of Aprill hee came to Corke, but exceeding weake, and in many mens opinion in danger of death.

The

The Actions, Accidents, and Services of marke related in this second Booke, for the Readers better memory, I will briefly recount, which were as followeth: *viz.* The sending of Forces out of Mounster into Connaght, to withstand the entrance of Connaght and Vlster men into Mounster: The taking of *James fits Thomas*, the reputed Earle of Desmond: The apprehension of *Florence Mac Cartie*: The sending of a Regiment into Connaght for the service of that Province: The sending of *James fits Thomas* and *Florence* prisoners into England: The restraint of certaine principall Gentlemen of Mounster that were apt to rebell: The arrivall of the Spaniards at Kinsale: The Lord Deputies comming into Mounster: The siege of Kinsale: The landing of seconds from Spaine at Castlehaven: The remarkeable Sea-fight in that harbour: The revolt of divers of the Provincials: The comming of *Tyrone* and *Odonnell* to raise the siege at Kinsale: The famous victory obtayned against them, and the Spaniards: The flight of *Odonnell*, *Redmond Burke*, &c. into Spaine: The honourable and advantagious Composition:

The rendering of Castle-haven, and the Castles at Baltimore unto her Majestie: The surprising of the Castle of Donboy by *Osulevan Beare*: The transporting of the Spaniards into Spaine: And the departure of the Lord Deputy out of Mounster.

The end of the second Booke.

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The end of the first book

THE

IN





PACATA HIBERNIA.

THE THIRD BOOKE OF THE WARRES IN IRELAND,

Whereby that Countrey was reduced to Sub-
jection and Obedience.

CHAP. I.

*The estate of the Province of Mounster after the siege of Kinsale. The Warre of Ire-
land censured to bee lawfully maintained by the Rebels, in the opinion of the lear-
ned men of Spaine. The Names of the Doctors of Salamanca, who censured the
lawfulness of the Rebellion in Ireland.*



Although the Spanyards, as is related, were sent a-
way out of Ireland, and the Province of Moun-
ster cleared of strangers, yet to regulate and
draw into order the Provincials, which were
revolted, was a taske (of no small labour) for
the President to undergoe, being not unlike un-
to the state of mens bodies, wherein Relapses
are farre more dangerous then the first sick-
nesse. Before the comming of these Castillians, the Province (as you
haue heard) was in so good conformity, as the civill iustice (without
all contradiction) had as currant passage as in any of the former yeares
of Peace, and every mans cattell (without losse or danger) lay day
and night in the fields: But now the Rebels, and their hyred Bow-
nogs swarmed every where, and especially in Carbery, Beare, Des-
mond, and Kerry, in so much as there was no place in them, or ad-
joyning unto them, free from these Catterpillers, who beholding the
grievousnesse of their offences, grewe to bee desperate, concluding
themselues to bee the children of perdition, and not capable of her

1602.
*In what e-
state the pro-
vince of
Mounster
was in after
the siege of
Kinsale.*

1602.

Majesties gracious mercie, whereby their obstinacie was increased. In the tract of Land aforementioned, there was no Castles which which held for the Queene, but those which the Spanyards rendred, and guarded by the two Captaine *Harnies*, and Castle Mange in Kerry, (wherein a Guard of Sir *Charles Wilmotts* had continued all the time of the siege at *Kinsale*) all the rest were in the possession of the Rebels: In this distemper the Province remayned, when the Lord Deputie left the same.

But before I enter further into the progression of the affaires of Mounster, I beseech the Reader to pardon me for this ensuing digression, in the which hee may perceiue how the learned men of *Spaine* at *Salamanca*, did maintaine and approoue the Rebellion in *Ireland*, which was handled upon the seventh day of March, 1602. *Stilo novo*,

The warre of Ireland censured to bee lawfully maintained by the rebels, in the opinion of the learned men in Spaine.

IN the Name of God Amen: The most renowned Prince *Hugh Oneale* doth make warre for the Defence of the Catholique faith with the Queene of *England*, and the English people; that is to say, that it may be lawfull for him, and the Irish freely to professe the Catholique Religion, which libertie the Queene of *England* doth endeavour to take from them by force and Armes. There are two matters now in question about this warre: The one is, whether it bee lawfull for the Irish Catholiques to favour the foresaid Prince *Hugh* with Armes, and all other meanes in this warre: The other is, whether it bee lawfull for the same Catholiques, to fight against the foresaid Prince, without deadly sin, and to favour the English in this warre, either with Armes, or by any other meanes, especially when as if they deny this kinde of helpe unto the English, they expose themselves to a manifest danger of their life, or of loosing all their temporall goods: And furthermore, since it is permitted by the Pope, that the Irish Catholiques may obey the foresaid Queene of *England*, and acknowledge her as their lawfull Queene, by paying tribute unto her; for it seemeth that what belongeth unto Subjects to doe, may be performed, that is to say, to fight against the Queenes Rebels, which deny their due obedience to her, and seeme to usurpe the Land which is subject to her Dominion.

That both these questions may be decided, wee must hold it as for certaine, that the Romish Bishop hath power to bridle and suppress, such as forsake the faith, and those which oppose themselves with Armes against the Catholike faith, when other meanes is not ministered to overthrow so great an evill: And further it must bee concluded for infallible, that the Queene of *England* doth oppugne the Catholike Religion, neither doth permit the Irish publikely to embrace the Catholike faith, and that for the same cause, the foresaid Prince and

and others before him, of whom the Letters Apostolicall of *Clement* the eighth make mention, did make warre against her: These being thus set downe, the first question is easily resolved, for it is questionlesse, that any Catholikes whatsoever, may favour the said Prince, *Hughe Oneale*, in the foresaid warre, and the same with great merit, and hope of most great and eternall reward; for seeing that the foresaid Prince, doth make warre by the authority of the high Bishop, for the defence of Catholike religion, and that the Pope doth exhort all the faithfull by his Letters thereto (as by his Letters is manifest) and that hee will extend his graces upon the Favourers of the Prince in that warre, in as ample manner, as if they did make warre against the Turkes, no man will in equity doubt, but that both the present warre is just, and that to fight for defence of the Catholike religion, (which is the greatest thing of all) is a matter of great merit: And concerning the second question, it is most certaine, that all those Catholikes doe sinne mortally, which doe follow the English Standard against the foresaid Prince, neither can they obtaine eternall salvation, nor bee absolved of their sinnes by any Priest, except they first repent and forsake the English Army, and the same is to be censured, of those which in this warre favour the English, either with Armes or Victuals, or giue them any thing of like condition, besides those accustomed tributes which it is lawfull for them by vertue of the Popes indulgence and permission, to pay unto the Kings of England, or their officers, (so long as Catholike religion shall flourish in the same.) This assertion is confirmed by this most manifest reason, because it is sufficiently proved by the Letters of the high Bishop, that the English make unjust warre against the said *Oneale*, and those that favour him: For seeing that the Pope doth declare, that the English doe fight against the Catholike Religion, and that they should bee resisted, as much as if they were Turkes, and that hee doth bestow the same graces upon those which doe resist them, who doubteth the warre which the English make against the Catholike Army to be altogether unjust? But it is not lawfull for any to favour an unjust warre, or to be present thereat under the paine of eternall damnation. The Catholikes doe therefore most grievously offend, which doe beare Armes in the Campes of Heretikes, against the foresaid Prince, in a warre so apparantly impious and unjust, and all those which doe assise the said warre, with Armes, Victuals, or by any other meanes, which of themselves doe further the proceedings of the warre, and cannot giue account of their indifferent obedience, neither doth it any thing availe them to scandall the Apostolicall Letters of *Surreption*, for *Surreption* cannot happen where no petition of them is declared, in whose favour they were dispatched. But the

1602.

high Bishop doth openly teach in those Letters, that hee and his Predecessors, had exhorted the Irish Princes, and all faithfull men, to make that warre, and to provoke them the more thereto; hee doth enrich them with great favours, and indulgences: How may it then bee, that those Letters were surreptive, which only containe in them an exhortation, strengthened with many great favours, for such as did fulfill them; neither therefore can the Catholikes which assise the English, defend themselves by the reasons alleaged in the second question, for no mortall sinne is to bee committed; although either life or goods stand thereupon: but those things which further and helpe to execute an unjust warre are manifestly deadly sinnes. It is permitted likewise to the Catholikes, to performe such kind of obedience to the Queene, as doth not oppugne Catholike religion, neither ever was, or could it bee the meaning of the Pope, to allow them to use that obedience towards the Queene, which doth manifestly disagree with the end and scope, which hee had to spread the Catholike faith, and religion in Ireland; but that it was his meaning and scope, his Letters doe manifestly declare. By all which it remaineth sufficiently apparant, that the most famous Prince *Hugh O'neale*, and other Catholikes of Ireland, making warre against an hereticall Queene, who opposeth her selfe against the true faith, and no Rebels at all, neither doe deny due obedience, nor vsurpe unjustly the Queenes Dominions, but rather that they doe revenge themselves and their Countrey, from impious and wicked tyrannie by a most just warre, and defend and maintaine the holy and right faith, with all their power, as becommeth Catholikes and Christians. All and every of which, wee underwritten, doe judge and approue, as most certaine and true. *Salamanca* the seventh of March, 1602.

I *John of Segvensa*, Professor of divinitie in the Colledge of the Society of Iesus, of this famous Citie of *Salamanca*, doe so censure.

I *Emanuel of Royas*, Professor of divinitie in the said Colledge of Iesus, doe agree in the same.

And I *Gaspar of Mena*, Professor of divinity and holy Scripture in the said Colledge, doe hold with the opinion of these Fathers, as being altogether true.

I *Peter Oforius*, Expounder for the sacred Canons in the same Colledge of the Society of Iesu, am altogether of the same opinion, with the foresaid Fathers.

The President as is said, being returned to Corke, after a few dayes, began to recover, and finding his strength encreased, and consequently his health, began to apply himselfe to his busines: But before I speake farther of his progressions, I must looke a little backe, to say somewhat of things past.

The names of
the Doctors
of Sala-
manca who
censured the
lawfulnessse
of the rebel-
lion in Ire-
land.

1602.

C H A P. II.

The Earle of Thomond directed to march with an Army into Carbery, and his Instructions. The Castle of Donboy fortified by the Rebels. The Earle of Thomond having placed convenient Garrisons in the West, returned to Corke. The Lord President resolved to besiege the Castle of Donboy. The List of the Army in Mounster. The Lord President advised not to enterprize the winning of the Castle of Donboy, and the reasons why. The Lord President perseveres in his resolution, and causeth the Army to march towards Donboy.

TO make tryall whether the Rebels in the Countrey of Carbery, would submit themselves upon the sight of an Army, having beene lately waisted and spoyled by the Garrisons at Baltimore, Castle-haven, and Bantry; upon the ninth of March (which was the day the Lord Deputie departed from Corke;) the President directed the Earle of Thomond with two thousand and five hundred Foote in List (which were by the Pole but twelue hundred Foote, and fiftie Horse) to march into Carbery, and from thence into Beare, there to view in what manner the Castle of Donboy was fortified, of the incredible strength whereof much was noyfed; many other directions hee had, which for the better satisfaction of the Reader, I doe here insert the instructions themselves.

The Earle of Thomond directed to march with an Army into Carbery.

Instructions given to the Earle of Thomond, the ninth of March, 1601.

First as soone as possible you may, your Lordship is to assemble your forces together, consisting of two thousand and five hundred foote in List, and fiftie Horse; and because they lye disperfed, for the more expeditions sake, to take them in your way Westward, as they are garrised.

His Instructions.

The service you are to performe, is to doe all your endeavour, to burne the rebels Corne in Carbery, Beare, and Bantry, take their Cowes, and to use all hostile prosecution upon the persons of the people, as in such cases of rebellion is accustomed.

Those that are in subjection, or lately protected (as Odrischall, Odonevan, and Sir Owen Mac Carties Sonnes, to afford them all kind and mild vsage.

When you are in Beare, (if you may without any apparant perill) your Lordship shall doe well, to take a view of the Castle of Donboy, whereby wee may be the better instructed how to proceed, for the taking of it, when time convenient shall be afforded.

Captaine

1602

Captaine *Flower* as I thinke is now in Bantry, very weakely accompanied, for his reliefe, you are to hasten towards him, and for your better understanding to know in what state hee is, to send presently unto him, and accordingly to proceed.

There is direction to the Victualler, to send three moneths Victuals for five hundred Foot to Baltimore, and the like proportion for Beare, and to the Master of the Ordnance, to send to either of those places, one Last of Powder, with Lead and Match proportionably; your Lordship is to call upon the Ministers of those Offices, to see the same presently sent away. The Powder and Victuall sent for Beare, is directed to Baltimore, there to stay untill the place bee knowne where Captaine *Flower* resteth, and from thence to bee further directed by your Lordship.

When your Lordship hath met with Captaine *Flower*, and departed from him, you are to leave with him five hundred Foot (or more) if in your judgement you shall thinke it requisite, and likewise the like proportion of strength to Captaine *Harvie*, (more or lesse) as in your opinion shall be thought meet.

If the Abbey of Bantrey bee the place found fittest for Captaine *Flower* to remaine in, and that the same bee so ruined, as of necessity (for the safe and well keeping of the Victuals and Munitions) cost must be bestowed, whatsoever your Lordship shall lay out for the repairing of it, upon your bill of disbursements, it shall be forthwith repaid unto you, alwayes praying you to use as little charge as possible you may: money to intelligencers, and messengers is likewise allowed.

For the Garrison at Kinsale, Victuals is likewise ordained to bee sent, whereof the Victualler must be remembred.

The capitall Rebels that are to resist you, is *Osulevan*, and *Tirrell*, your Lordship must leave no meanes unassayed to get them alive or dead; the way (in my judgement) how that service may bee effected, I have already made knowne to your Lordship, wherein I pray you to use your best indeavours.

Give all the comfort you may to *Owen Osulevan*, by whose meanes you know the affaires of those parts will be best composed.

Dermond Moyle Mac Cartie is most assisted by the *Ocranlyes*, have a speciall care to prosecute and plague him and his assistants, and if you can finde any good meanes to worke upon him, spare not your endeavour: Sir *Owen Mac Carties* sonnes (if they bee well handled) will proue the best meanes, knowing as you doe, that hee stands betweene them and the Lord of the Countrey.

If *Teg Onorhes* Castle, and *Rannell Duffes*, shall in your opinion bee meet for the Service, doe you take them into your hands, and leave

1601.

leave wards in them; but let not your intent be discovered; untill you be possessed of them.

The like you are to doe with *Donnesbed*; Sir *Finnin Odriscolls* house, in the which (of necessity) I thinke the store of Victuals and Munitions for the garrison of *Baltimore*; must be layed for the Castle of *Donnelong*; where *Roger Hanvie* is, is too little for that purpose.

Lastly, I pray your Lordship, of all your proceedings to give me as often advertisement as you may, and have correspondence with Sir *Charles Wilmot*; for betweene your two Forces, all the *Monister* Rebels remaine.

The Earle being gone with his Armit, marched as far as the Abbey of *Bantrie*, about threescore miles from *Corke*; and there had notice, that *Donnell Ouse* and his people, by the advice of two Spanyards, an Italian, and a Fryer called *Donducke Collins*, did still continue their workes about the Castle of *Dunboy*; the Barbican whereof being a stone wall of threene foot in height, they faced with soddes intermingled with wood and faggots (about foure and twenty foot thick) for a defence against the Cannon; they had also sunke a low Plat-forme to plant their Ordnance for a counter-battery, and left nothing undone, either within or without the Castle, that in their opinions was meet for defence. But when it came to tryall, it appeared that their Iudgement was faulty; as after you shall heare) For the Barbican was not about six or eight foot distant from the Castle, the height whereof was exceeding high, not remembring that the ruines thereof would quickly fill the voyd space betweene them, and make a faire assault when a breach was made, whereby all their earth and sodd workes proved vaine and fruitlesse, not so much as one Cannon shott being bestowed upon them, but as neere as the Cannoniers could take their aymes about; as the President had directed. *Tirrell* in this meane time with the other *Downoghs* had so well placed themselves in the mountains of *Beare*, that hee could not with his Armit passe any farther without apparant danger: Heereupon the Earle left with Captaine *George Flower*, besides his owne Company, the Companies of Sir *John Donnell*, the Lord *Barry*, Captaine *Francis Kingmill*, Captaine *Boyle*, and Captaine *Bradbury*, which were seven hundred men in all, in the *Whiddy*, (an Island lying within the Bay of *Bantrie*) very convenient for the Service, and himselfe with the rest of his Forces returned to *Corke*, where having made relation of the particulars of his journey, it was found necessary that the President without any protraction or delay, should draw all the Forces in the Province to a head against them; And although the time of the yeere was not so convenient,

The castle of *Dunboy* fortified by the Rebels.

The Earle of *Thomūd* having placed convenient garisons in the West, returned to *Corke*.

The L. President resolved to besiege the Castle of *Dunboy*.

1692.

(the Spring being newly begun) yet present order was taken for all the Armie to repaire unto Corke, except those which Sir Charles Wilmott did imploy for the reduction of Kerry: Vpon a longer delay a double inconvenience depended: First, her Majestie should be burthened with a greater charge; and secondly, though the Spaniards had an intention of sending another Army, yet if they might bee certified that the Castle of Donboy was taken, which was the onely possession which they had in Ireland, and the Countrey reduced to her Majesties Obedience, before they were put to Sea, it might peradventure perswade them to new Councils, and alter the former Determinations.

But before I proceed any farther, it is pertinent to set downe the Forces which the Lord Deputy left for the prosecution of the warre in Mounster, which as they stood in List, (but very weake by the Pole) was as followeth:

*A List of the
Armie in
Mounster.*

*Note that
the names
thus
marked, were
Colonels of
foot Regi-
ments.*

of Horse.	
The Lord Presidents.	100
The Earle of Thomond.	100
Sir Charles Wilmott.	25
Sir Anthony Cooke.	50
Captaine William Taffe.	50
Of Foot.	
The Lord Presidents.	200
The Earle of Thomond.	100
The Lord Barry.	100
The Lord Audley.	150
Sir Richard Perey.	150
Sir Charles Wilmott.	150
Sir George Thornton.	100
Sir Gerard Harvie.	150
Sir Francis Barkley.	150
Sir John Dowdall.	150
Sir Samuell Bagnall.	150
Sir Anthony Cooke.	150
Sir Alexander Clifford.	150
Sir Arthur Savage.	150
The White Knights.	100
Captaine Roger Harvie.	150
Captaine George Flower.	150

Captaine

Captaine William Saxe	100
Captaine Francis Slingsby	100
Captaine Henry Skipwith	100
Captaine Francis Hobby	100
Captaine Francis Kingsmill	100
Captaine William Pomer	100
Captaine George Kingsmill	100
Captaine Robert Collome	100
Captaine John Bostock	100
Captaine Gaven Harvie	100
Captaine Charles Cooke	100
Captaine William Stafford	100
Captaine John Owsley	100
Captaine George Blundell	100
Captaine Edward Dodington	100
Captaine Ralfe Sidley	100
Captaine Thomas Bois	100
Captaine Holcroft	100

In all } Horse 325
 } Footmen 4400

The enterprife of the ſiege of Donboy was by the beſt Subjects of the land, and by the Presidents particular friends diſſwaded; the one in regard of the publique; and the other in the loue they bare him: and alſo out of England had hee advice, that hee ſhould be very wary how hee proceeded, leſt hee ſhould faile in the enterprife; whereby the Queene and State, ſhould undergoe a fruitleſſe charge and ſcorne; for by all men it was thought, that the place was impregnable, by reaſon of the ſituation of it: Whereunto no approach by land forces could be made; neerer then the Bay of Bantry, being ſhort of Donboy foure and twenty miles, the wayes being in many places ſo impaſſable for horſe and cariages, and in ſome places ſuch ſtraights and craggie rocks, as it was impoſſible for men to march but in file, whereby one hundred that were to make defence, might forbid an Army to paſſe: if hee purpoſed to transport his Army by Sea, that hee ſhould find no landing place for his Ordnance neere unto it, and being landed, the wit of man was not able (without an infinite number of Pioners) to draw them unto the Caſtle; for all the grounds neere unto it, were either bog, or rocks, and alſo that there was no conveniencie of ground to encampe in, no good water neere, nor wood for neceſſary uſe, or gabion ſtuſſe within three miles

The L. Preſident was adviſed not to enterpriſe the winning of the Caſtle of Donboy, and the reaſons why.

1602.

The L. President perseveres in his resolution.

23. April. the Army began to march towards Donboy.

24. April.

25. April.

26. April.

27. April.

29. April.

of it: The Earle of Ormond in his ~~owne~~ ^{due} birth to the service, and to the President, wrote unto him a ~~disuading~~ ^{dissuading} Letter, for the causes afore recited, and therefore advised him to ~~forbear~~ ^{forbear} the Enterprise: But the President foreseeing the importance of the service, and prophesying (as it fell out) that the winning of that place would discourage the Spaniards from any new invasion, gave but a deafe eare to all perswasions, hoping that hee should find the difficulties lesse then they were believed or related unto him: The well affected Irish (fearing the event) solicited him vehemently not to attempt it; his answers were, that bogs nor rocks, should forbid the draught of the Cannon; the one hee would make passable by Faggots and Timber, the other hee would breake and smoothe with pyoners tooles; and with this constant resolution hee caused the Army to be assembled, which at Corke was in list neere three thousand, but by pole not exceeding fifteene hundred, by reason the Companies had beene extremely weakened, by the long cold and hungry winter siege: The President (though feeble and weak in his owne estate of health) drew forth of Corke the three and twentieth of April, 1602. and encamped that night at Owneboy, being the very place where Tyrone lodged, at such time as hee received the great overthrow neere Kinsale.

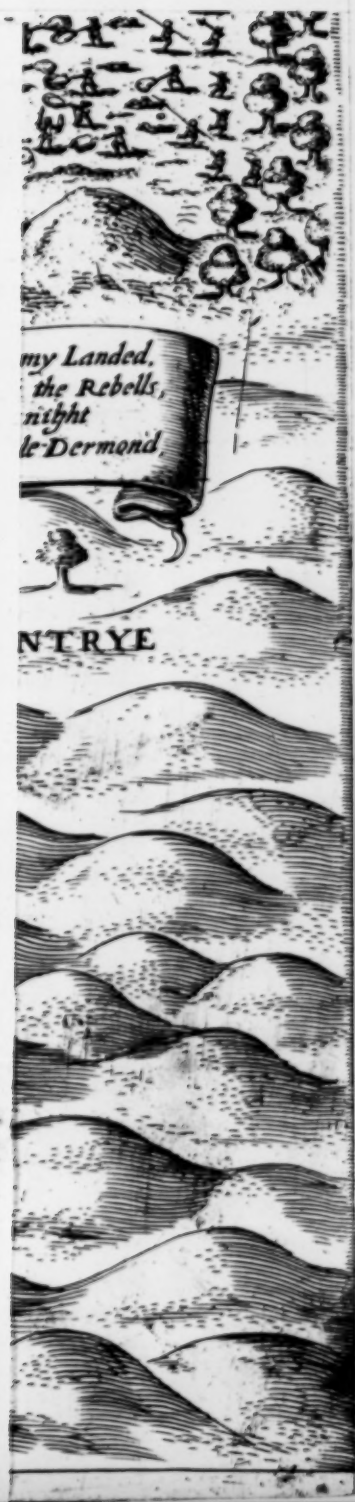
The foure and twentieth wee rose and marched to Tymolegge, where the Army lodged, and three Rebels that were taken, and brought before the Lord President were executed.

The five and twentieth wee drew to Roscarbry, where our Army lodged.

The sixe and twentieth wee departed Rosse over the Leape to Glanbarahan neere Castle-haven, where the Army encamped, and the Lord President went to Castle-haven to view the Castle and harbour, not removing Captaine Glaven Harvie his Company (who had the guard thereof) from thence.

The seven and twentieth the Army dislodged, and the Lord President with his Regiment drew to Baltimore, and the Earle of Thomond and Sir Richard Perce with their Regiments drew to a Castle called the Ould-court, three miles from Baltimore, where (by reason of revictualling of the Army) we lodged two nights, in which time the Lord President tooke view of the Harbour thereof, and was ferried over into the Island of Innisheerkan, where hee likewise tooke view thereof, and sent to the Island of Cleere, and the Sound betweene them not removing Captaine Roger Harvies Company thence, they being divided to guard the Castles of Donnesbed, Donnelonge, and Cape-Cleere.

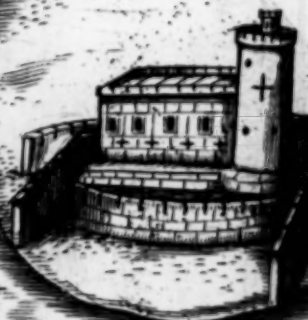
The nine and twentieth wee encamped on the Mountaine at a place



my Landed,
the Rebels,
night
le-Dermond

NTRYE

The Castle of
Dunboy.



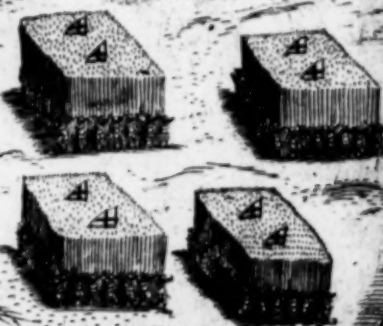
The 7 of June the
Army Lodged here,
opposit to Dunboy.



THE PASSAGE OF THE ARMY

The Rebels entrenchment in
the Sandye Bay, and there
grosse to receave vs at our
Landinge there as they
Expected.

The 6 of June y
Regements, were
transported into the
Mayne,



PART OF THE

GREAT

ILAND.

Here the Second
of June the Army
encamped.



The Small
Iland

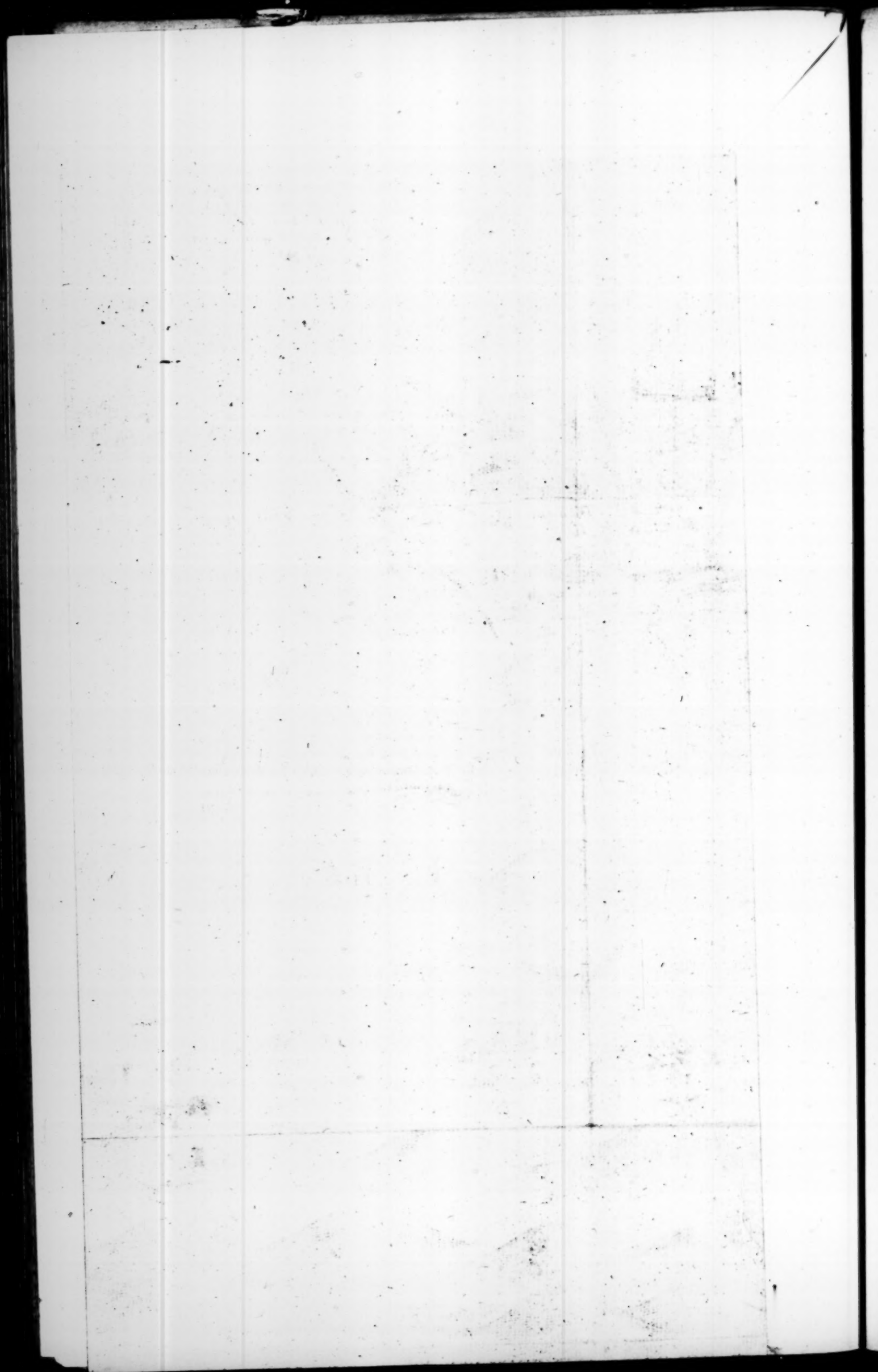
Here the 6. of June the Army Landed,
in the Mayne, fought w the Rebels,
put them to flight and that night
encamped nere unto Castle Dermond

THE COUNTRYE

OF

BEARE





1602.

place called *Recarenahaghe* neere unto *Kilcoa*, being a Castle wherein the Rebelle *Conoghor* eldest Sonne to Sir *Finnin Odrischoall* Knight held a Ward.

The thirtieth the Army dislodged, and drew to *Carew* Castle, built in ancient time by the Lord Presidents Ancestors, and by the Irish called *Downe-marke*, or the Marques his house, being two miles distant from the Abbey of *Bantry*, where wee sate downe, aswell to giue annoyance to the Rebels, as to tarry the comming of the shipping with victuals, munition, and Ordnance, at which place Captaine *George Flower* with his Garrison (left there by the Earle of *Thomond*) fell in unto us.

30. April.

C H A P. III.

Divers Spoiles done to the Enemy. A Letter from the Lord President to the Spanish Cannoniers in Donkey. Captaine Bostock and Captaine Barry sent to Sir Charles Wilmo. A Digression of Sir Charles Wilmo's proceedings in Kerry. Divers Rebels slain. A traitorly Souldier hanged. A Ward put into Carigfoile. The Castle of Lixnaw taken by composition. The Castle of Ballibow taken, and the Knight of Kerry defeated. Castle Gregory and Rahane taken.

THE first of May, Captaine *Taffes* troope of Horse with certaine light foote were sent from the Campe, who returned with three hundred Cowes, many Sheepe, and a great number of Garrans they got from the Rebels.

1. May.
Preys taken from the Enemy.

The second Captaine *John Barry* brought into the Campe five hundred Cowes, three hundred Sheepe, three hundred Garrans, and had the killing of five Rebels, and the same day wee procured skirmish in the edge of their Fastnesse with the rebels, but no hurt of our part.

2. May.
An other prey.

The third *Owen Osulevan* and his Brothers, Sonnes to Sir *Owen Osulevan* (who stand firme, and deserved well of her Majestie, being Competitours with *Osulevan Beare*) brought some fiftie Cowes, and some sheepe from the Enemy into the Campe.

3. May.
A third prey

The fourth, *Odalie* was convented before the Lord President and Councell, and in regard it was proved that hee came from the rebels, with messages and offers to *Owen Osulevan*, to adhere and combine with the Enemy, which the said *Owen* did first reveale to Captaine *Flower*, Sergeant Major of the Army, and after publikely justified it to *Odalies* face; the said *Odaly* was committed to attend his tryall at the next Sessions.

4. May.

This *Odalies* Ancestor had the county of *Moynterbary* given unto him by the Lord Presidents Ancestor, many hundred yeares past, at which time *Carew* had to his inheritance, the moiety of the whole

1602.

kingdome of Corke, which was first given by King *Henry* the second unto *Robert* fits *Stephen*; the service which *Odaly* and his Progenie were to doe, for so large a proportion of Lands unto *Carew* and his successors, was (according to the custome of that time) to bee their Rimers, or Chroniclers of their actions.

5. May.

The fift and sixt, the weather was so tempestuous, that we could not stirre out of the quarter.

7. May.

The seventh, the Lord President understanding that the Spanish Cannoniers were still in Donboy, as well in regard they were strangers, but especially to deprive the Enemy of their service; hee wrote a Letter in Spanish unto them, to perswade them to relinquish the Rebels, assuring them, that they should not onely come safe, and remaine safely with him, but that hee would embarque them for *Spaine*. This Letter by the meanes of *Owen Osulevan*, was delivered unto them; but as it appeared, they little deserved the favour proffered; for if they had pleased they might haue made an escape: but at last when the Castle was taken, they payed the price of their inconsiderate obstinacie: The Letter (Englished) was thus.

*A Letter from the Lord President to the Spanish
Cannoniers in Dunboy.*

WHen *Don Iuan de Aguila* (Generall for the Spanish Armie for his Majestie in *Ireland*) departed from the Citie of Corke, having a care of your safeties, requested mee to favour you, saying, That contrary to your willes the Traytor *Donnell Osulevan* (by force) held you in his Castle of Dunboy, there to serve him as Cannoniers: I now calling to mind his desire, (in the loue I beare him, being so great a Captaine, and so honourable a Person as he is) and in consideration of the promise I made him, doe write this Letter unto you, promising (for the reasons before mentioned) that when I shall sit downe (with my forces) before the castle (where you are) if then you will quitt the same and come unto mee, I will, by the faith of a Gentleman, and a Christian, make good my promise to *Don Iuan de Aguila*; not onely to secure you in comming to me, and in the like safetie to bee with mee, but also to relieue and supply your wants, and likewise at your pleasure, to accommodate you with a Ship, and my Pasport, safely to passe into *Spaine*, in such manner as hath been already accomplished to the rest of the Spaniards that are returned to their Countrey: This aboue written I am obliged by my promise to *Don Iohn* to fulfill. But if you haue a desire to finde or receiue further favours at my hands, you may with facilitie deserue it, that is, when you leaue the Castle to cloy the Ordnance,

or

or mayme their Carriages, that when they shall have need of them, they may prooue uselesse, for the which I will forthwith liberally recompense you answerable to the qualitie of your merit. Lastly, if there bee in your companies any strangers, (English and Irish excepted) which are likewise by force held (as you are) these my letters shall be sufficient to secure their repaire to me, and also to depart, as hath bene before mentioned, conditionally, that you and they present your selues unto mee, before our Ordnance shall begin to batter the Castle of Donboy aforesayd: But if on your part default be made, I holde my selfe clearly acquitted of my promise made to Don Iohn, and to bee free from breach of faith on my part, and you ever after incapable of this favour of my promised offer. Returne me your Answer by this Bearer in writing, or by some other in whom you haue more confidence. From the Campe neere Bantrie the seventh of May, 1602.

To the Spanyards held by force
in the Castle of Dunboy.

The eighth, the Lord President sent forth three hundred light Footmen secretly by night through the Enemies Fastnesse, under the command of Captaine John Bostock, and John Barry, with commandement that they should make their repayre to Ardentully, Mac Finnces house, and there joyne those Forces with Sir Charles Wilmotts Regiment; who being united, Ferrill and the rest of the Irish Rebels, (who before had vaunted, that they would keepe our Armie from joyning together, and lay in a place of advantage fit for that purpose) were so discomforted, as they did quit the strength they possesse, and sought onely to avoyd our Forces, but no way to resist or interrupt them.

But now leaving the progression towards Donboy for a while, expecting faire weather and prosperous winds, to bring our provisions from Corke by Sea: Wee will by way of digression say somewhat of Sir Charles Wilmotts proceedings in Kerry, before his coming into our Campe: It may therefore please the Reader to understand, that the Army being risen from before Kinsale, the Irish defeated, the composition made with the Spanish Generall, and the forces returned to Corke, The Lord President about the beginning of February dispatched Sir Charles Wilmot with a Regiment of one thousand and seven hundred Foot in list, but by pole very weake, and a troope of Horse, into his former government of Kerry, not doubting but hee which had the skill to cure the former rebellious diseases of that Countrey, could also recure the residuation thereof: In his passage

8. May.

Cap. Bostock
and Captaine
Barry sent to
Sir Charles
Wilmot.

A digression
of Sir Char.
Wilmotts pro-
ceedings in
Kerry.

1603.

*Divers re-
bels slaine by
Sir Charles
Wilmot.*

*A traitorly
Souldier
hanged.*

*A Ward put
into Carrig-
foyle.*

*The castle of
Lixnaw ta-
ken by Com-
position.*

sage betweene Askeiton and the Glen: *Hugh Mac Swyne* (with the *Oconners* and *Oneales*) possessed a place through which hee must necessarily passe, whereof being advertised, hee lodged short of the Wood an English mile, and rising before day light, hee assailed them in their quarter, where hee slew twelve of their men, took all their baggage and horses, with fiftie of their Armes, and chased them three miles, but they were too swift of foote: had it not beene for a Cornnagh man of the White Knights company, who purposely discharged his Peece to giue them warning, whereat they took an alarme, they had beene (as it was afterward confessed) all (to the number of two hundred) surprised sleeping: The Traytor (as he well deserved) was hanged for his labour: The Castle of Carrigfoyle hee found empty and ruined; nevertheless hee left a Ward in it, and gaue the charge thereof unto *Captaine Collym*: when hee came to the river of Cassan, which he passed the same day with some difficultie, being enforced to swim his horses: At which time *Iohn fits Thomas*, young *Captaine Tirrell*, *Hugh Mac Swyne*, *Owan Omaylie*, *Rorie Oconnor*, *Phelim O Connor*, and *Gerald fits Maurice*, Brother to *Fits Maurice* the Baron of Lixnaw with five hundred foote and a few horse, assembled at Lixnaw neere unto it, to haue stopped his passage over the Cassan; *Fits Maurice* himselfe being then gone into Desmond, to perswade *Donell Mac Cartie*, *Donell Ofuleran*, and *William Burke*, to draw to the rest, to hinder his passage as aforesaid; but before they had knowledge of his being neere unto them, hee made such expedition as hee was gotten over the River.

And within a few dayes after, hearing that the Lord of Lixnaw was in Lixnaw Castle hee marched thither, and ere hee was set downe before it, *Fits Morris* fearing to bee shut up in his Castle, although hee had a strong Guard of five and fourtie good men well victualled in it, leaving his Brother for his Constable, he posted into Desmond to procure aid from *Ofuleran Beare*, for the releefe of the same: The Castle stands close to the rivers side, there being but a Pikes length of ground betweene them, which made the Ward negligent to haue any store of water aforehand; thinking they might fetch it at their pleasure: *Sir Charles* having knowledge thereof, by a woman which came from them, hee found the meanes to place a choise part of men upon that little plot of ground, whereby the Ward could get no water: in which attempt, *Lieutenant Russell* who served under *Captaine William Saxe*, and one Souldier was slaine: The Ward by this meanes debarted of water, rendered the place upon composition, which *Sir Charles* yeelded unto, that hee might prosecute services of more importance.

And being now come to Castle-mango, wherein hee had left a Ward

Ward before the siege of Kinsale, sent the one halfe of his Companies of horse and foote) into the Knight of Kerries countrey (who as the rest in those parts were relapsed into rebellion) to prey the same, and to drive the cattle (they should take) to the Dingle; and for their succours (if need required) himselfe with the remainder of his forces marched after them, as farr as Ballyhow, ten miles from Castlemange, where hee found the Knight of Kerry with one hundred of his owne Followers, and two hundred Bonoghs, upon a bog not halfe a mile from the Castle, where the Knight had a Ward: To draw him to hard ground, in his sight a few men were appoynted to assault the Castle, himselfe with his foote and horse standing in a body without moving; the Souldiers fired the Castle doore, and within three houres posselt themselves of it: The Knight all this while stood at gaze: the Castle being wonne, Sir Charles drew towards him, to procure him to fight, hee finding the advantage of the ground hee was in, where the Horse could not harme him, charged our troopes: Sir Charles seeing himselfe engaged, and in danger if hee should re-traite, drew up his Colours to the head of his Pikes, and joyned with the Enemy; it was long disputed whether should have the better, and with pike and sword, betweene them twentie were hurt and slaine; the Horsemen seeing how doubtfull the successe was, valiantly and resolutely alighted from their horses, upon whose comming the Enemy fled, and were chased more then a mile, but their footmanship was too good for us, and in the chase very few of them were slaine: in this Encounter Phelim Oconnor was killed, and all the Chieftes amongst them (the Knight excepted) were hurt: the next day Sir Charles leaving his foote at Ballihow, rode to the Dingle, at whose comming thither, numbers of people repaired unto him, humbly imploring her Majesties gracious protection: The fifth of March hee also tooke from the Knight of Kerry, Castle Gregory, and the Rahane his chiefe mannor house: And lastly hunting him as a Fox, (whose earth is stopped) pursued the sent so freshly, that he constrained him to a new covert, following the Lord of Lixnaw into the Mountaines of Desmond.

The Castle of Ballihow taken and the Knight of Kerry defeated.

Castle Gregory and Rahane taken.

PP CHAP.

1602.

C H A P. IIII.

The forces which the Rebels had in Kerry in Donaght. The voluntary submission of Donnell Mac Cartie. Sir Charles Wilmot required by the Lord President to come to the Campe at Carew Castle. A great prey taken from Osulevan Mores sonnes. The Knights of Kerry upon humble suite protested. Sir Charles Wilmot with the forces of Kerry, and the munitions and victuals from Corke arrived at the Campe then at Carew Castle. Munition and victuals sent by the Lord President to the Lord Deputie. Dermond Moyle Mac Cartie brother to Florence Mac Cartie slain.



AFTER these good successes many of the Countrey (as their manner is to take part with the strongest) submitted themselves unto the Governour, the principall amongst whom, was *Dermond Osulevan*, brother to *Osulevan More*, by whom hee understood the force of the Rebels there, namely the Barron of *Lixnaw*, in his Countrey of *Clannorris*, had entertayned *William Burke* with three hundred *Bonnoghs*, the Knight of Kerry as many under *Mac Cabs* Sonnes, and the *Mac Seynes*, and *Donnell Mac Cartie* (vsurping againe the title and possessions of *Mac Cartie More*, with the helpe of the *Osulevans*) gave bonnaght to *Captaine Tirrall* with foure hundred men, so that their forces were one thousand strangers.

At this time *Sir Charles Wilmot* had certaine traffique with *William Burke*, who seemed very desirous to become a Subject: The Governour required him to doe such service, as might merit both his pardon and reward, which hee yeilded unto, yet with limitations, namely that hee would never betray the liues of any, but hee would undertake to get into his hands all the prey of Kerry and Desmond, and deliver the one halfe to the Garrison, so that he might haue licence to depart into Connaught with the rest.

The Governour in the interim of this entercourse surceased not to follow the prosecution of *Earl Marston* and prevailed so well therein, that having slain many of his kernes, and gotten all his Tenants into subjection, hee banished him the Countrey of *Clannorris*, and caused him to fly for his safetie into Desmond: Hereupon *Donnell Mac Cartie*, who bare a good affection to the Lord President (since his former submission) and relying much also upon the Governours kindnesse, whereof before times hee had good experience, without any capitulation or protection, came in his owne person to *Sir Charles*, and brought with him five thousand Cowes, besides sheepe and garrans in great numbers: The Governour hereby perceiving his loyall simplicity, would take no advantages against him, but gaue him all countenance and contentment that his place could afford.

The

The forces which the rebels had in Kerry in Donaght.

The Lord of Lixnaw banished out of Kerry.

The voluntary submission of Donnell Mac Cartie.

1602.

The Governour having cleared all Kerry, so that no Enemy was left upon his backe, drew the forces towards Desmond about the middle of *Aprill*, to pursue such Services as that Mountainous and desolate Countrey would permit him to effect. But by reason of the dangerous passages (the whole Countrey being nothing else but mountaines, woods, and boggs) hee thought it not safe to adventure any further then *Listree*, a Castle seated twelve myles within *Desmond*; whilest hee remayned there in campe, hee received Letters from the President, giving him to understand of his journey to *Donboy*, and how farre hee was proceeded therein, willing him to take the best order that hee could for the speedy setting of those parts, that hee might repayre unto him (upon a day assigned) to *Carew Castle*. The Rebels receiving also notice, that the President was marched so neere to the Countrey of *Beare*, withdrew themselves out of *Desmond* (as before) into *Glangarve*, whereby opportunitie was offered to the Governour of performing some good service: For *Donnell Osulevan*, Sonne to *Osulevan More*, a malicious Rebel, remained with great store of cattell, and certaine Kerne in *Iuragh*, which being made knowen to *Sir Charles*, upon the fifth of *May* hee secretly dispatched a partie of men, which burnt and spoyled all the Countrey, and returned with foure thousand Cowes, besides Sheepe and Garrans. The Knight of Kerry finding that the Queenes forces prospered so well, and that the Rebels were daily impouerished and distressed, sought in all humble and submissive manner for protection, promising the best security that could be deuised for his future loyaltie, which the Governour was the more willing to accept, because those parts should enjoy thereby a more quiet establishment during his absence with the President. These things thus ordered, hee onely intended his meeting with the Presidents Armie; many difficulties appearing to giue impediment thereunto: for the Rebels knowing that these forces should joyne, and that there was no way for *Sir Charles* to march, but by the *Abbey of Erilka*, and so over the *Mangart*, a most hideous and uncouth Mountaine, they plashed and manned all the places, straights and advantages thereof, giving forth, that they would set up their rest, and either kill, or bee killed, before they would permit him to passe: But to proceed.

The ninth, the Lord President went over into the *Iland Whiddy*, to take view thereof, and returned to the Campe that night, and the tenth rode towards the mouth of the harbour, to see the entrie thereof.

The eleventh, the President drew forth all the Regiments, leaving onely a competent number to guard the Quarter in his absence,

Sir Charles Wilmot required by the Lo. President to come to the Campe at Carew Castle.

A great prey taken from Osulevan More his sonne.

The Knight of Kerry upon humble sure protected.

9. May.

11. May.

1602.

Sir Charles Wilmot with the forces of Kerry, & the munition and victuals from Corke arrived at the camp, remaining then at Carew castle

12. May.

Munition & victuals sent by the Lord President to the Lor. Deputie.

and marched two myles from the Campe, beyond Carrigueffo, to the edge of the Straight, where Tirrell with the Rebells were lodged, to giue disturbance to Sir Charles Wilmots comming to the Campe, to the intent if the Enemy had given upon Sir Charles, hee might giue him Seconds: But the passage was quitted, and the Forces came through the same without any blowe; and the very same day the Ships arrived in the Harbour, which brought about the Victualls, and Munitions from Corke, it breeding great gladnesse to the Army, then being in so great want, as that wee must haue beene enforced within two dayes to haue returned towards Baltimore.

The twelfth, the Lord President received Letters from the Lord Deputie by John Pavie his servant, whereby hee was required to send a great proportion of Munition and Victualls out of his Province to his Lordship, which hee performed accordingly, and returned his man: The same day also the Hoy which brought about the Ordnance, and the Trinitie, (belonging to James Gaagh of Waterford) with the remainder of the Munitions and victuals, which was left for her Guard, both safely arrived at Carew Castle, where we still encamped.

13. May.

The thirteenth, whilst we were thus detained by unseasonable weather, there was a notorious Rebell accidentally slaine upon this occasion: The President at his comming from Corke, had commanded all the Subjects in Kinalmecha, Kirrywherry, and Kinalee, to draw the Cattell Northwards, into the plaine towards Yoghall, and Castle Lyons, because if the Rebells should draw thitherwards, while he was at the siege of Donboy, they might not receive any reliefe from those parts, amongst the which Mac Cartie Raugh would not drive away his cattell, pretending to keepe them secure from the Rebells, under the garrison of Kinsale; and indeed the reason was, because the principall Rebells in Carbery, being his deare friends, and neere kinsmen, he did not stand in feare to receive any dammage from them. But it fell out, that Dermond Moyle Mac Cartie, Florence his brother, being distressed for want of Victuall for himselfe and his followers, having no other meanes to supply his wants, thought to make bold with his Cozen Mac Cartie for a few Cowes, and therefore came amongst his Tenants with thirtie men in his company, and seazing upon some part of their prey, offered to retyre toward his Fastnesse. The Charles that attended those cattell, rayfed the crie, whereupon some forty of the Countrey, with such furniture as came next to hand, speedily followed in rescue of their goods. The Rebells not fearing any Enemy, made no great haste away, and theroby being soone overtaken, these sought to rescue their prey, and they to defend them, in such fort, that in pro-

Dermond Moyle Mac Cartie, brother to Florence, slaine.

cesses

cesse they fell to a light skirmish, and not many shot made before one lighted upon the chiefe Rebelle *Dermond*, and killed him dead in the place: which being knowen, it bred no lesse astonishment in the one partie, then in the other, all the Countrey being equally grieved for the losse of such a principall Pillar of the Catholique Cause, and therefore conveying his corpes to the Abbey of *Timoleg*, was there interred by a Fryer, in great solemnities: *Mao Currie Reugh* sent present Letters hereof to the President, signifying the vigilant care, and unpartiall regard that hee carried against the Rebells, which his Lordship might well perceiue by his service against his neere kinsman, and the President was content to giue him thanks, although he knew how little he had deserved the same.

CHAP. V.

A resolution in Conncell that the Army should bee transported by Sea to the great Island, and from thence to the Maine. The Rebelle Tirrell desires to parley with the Lord President. All our horse sent from the Campe to guard Kinsale, and likewise certaine foote. Tirrell failed this day to parley with the Earle of Thomond, and the cause why.

THE fourteenth, the Lord President, the Councell, and the better sort of the Capitaines assembled together and consulted touching the way for the conduct of the Army to *Beare-haven*, where in regard the way by land was found impassable as aforesaid, for that the passage must bee made through such huge Treckly Mountains, Bogs, and straighes, as it was not possible for a man to march, carrie Armes, and use his weapons: if hee should haue occasion to fight, much lesse to carie any victuals, munition, or baggage, and for that also *Owen O'sullivan*, and all the other Gentlemen, that best knew the Countrey, did describe the same to bee full of dangerous and unpassable straights, as the Enemy being first posselt thereof, they might with the twentieth part of the force they had there, giue annoyance and impediment to the greatest Army: for which and other reasons it was resolved by a generall consent, that the Army should bee transported over the Arme of the Sea, to the great Island, and from thence to *pass* to the Maine.

The fifteenth, the Traytor *Tirrell* sent two of his most trusty friends into the Campe, as Messengers to the Lord President, to invite and pray a parley the day following with his Lordship, which hee refused; then hee desired that he might speake with the Earle of *Thomond*, which was granted at a place upon the edge of a River, about a mile distant from our Campe: And the same day Capitaine

1602.

14. May.

It was resolved in Conncell, that the army should be transported by sea to the great Island, & from thence to the Maine.

15. May. The rebelle Tirrell desired a parley with the Lo. President.

1602.

All our horse
were sent from
the campe, &
certaine foot
to guard
Kinsale.

Taffe with his troope of Horse, all our cariage, gerrans and drivers, and one hundred choise foote, selected out of all our Regiments were sent backe to the Castle ny Parke to guard the Towne of Kinsale, and the Ordnance there; Captaine *Hobbie*, and Captaine *Skipwith* being there before with their two weake Companies, not thought sufficient in this uncertaine time to secure those places.

16. May.

The sixteenth the Earle of Thomond, well attended, drew forth his Regiment, and went to the assigned place: but *Tirrell* failing to be there, excused by his former Messengers his not comming, by the approach of the evening, praying his Lordships patience, promising there to attend his Lordship the next morning.

17. May.

Tirrel sayled
twise to par-
ley with the
Earle of
Thomond, &
the cause
why.

The seventeenth, the Earle the second time (according to promise) drew downe to the appoynted place, where *Tirrell* onely made a shew of his whole force on the other side the River, in the view of our Army, but never came to the place where the Earle was, whose treacherous intent the Earle perceiving, and scorning to expect any other issue returned to the Campe: *Tirrell* as afterwards wee understood would faine haue gone to the Earle, but the Iesuit *Archer*, *Fits Morris*, and *Donnell Osuleran* would not permit him.

From the seventeenth to the sixe and twenty nothing hapned worthy note, only we were detayned in our Campe with contrary winds, and with strange unseasonable and tempestuous weather.

26. May.

Aprey taken

The sixe and twentieth the wind turned faire, and the shipping drew forth, but immediatly the weather proved so tempestuous, that they were constrained to returne to their former roade; and the same day a Sergeant of the Earle of *Thomonds*, with a partie of his Company drew to *Down-Manus*, whence hee brought a prey of three-score and sixe Cowes, with a great many of Garrans.

27. May.

The seven and twentieth, the eight and twentieth, the nine and twentieth and the thirtieth, wee were detayned with like contrary winds, and unseasonable fowle and stormy weather.

CHAP

CHAP. VI.

The Army dislodged from Carew Castle. The Regiments transported into the great Island. Teg Keugh Mac Maghon slaine. The Castle of Donmanus surprized. A Spanish ship arrived. The conference between the Earle of Thomond and Richard Mac-Goghagan. The Lord President rides to the place where the forces were to land. The vigilant care of the Lord President. Two Regiments directed to land in the little Island, the other two to make to the Maine. The Rebels deceived. The Rebels defeated, and Capitaine Tirrell wounded.

THE one and thirtieth, the weather grew faire, and wee tooke advantage thereof, and drew forth, which day our Army dislodged from Carew Castle; leaving our sicke men (which were many) with a strong guard in the Island of Whyddy, and marched to Kilnamenoghe on the Sea side in Mountervarry, where we encamped that night.

The first of June, the Earle of Thomond and his Regiment were imbarqued for the great Island, as also Sir Charles Wilmonds and his Regiment, after whose departure, the Lord President removed his campe to a head-land, three parts whereof were invironed with the Sea, and the rest was intrenched.

The second Sir Richard Pervis and his Regiment followed the other two; and lastly the Lord President with his landed in the great Island, where the other Regiments were formerly arrived.

The Lord President being wearied with his long stay there, spending the time without advancing the service, for that the Hoy where in the Peece of Battery was, could not so well turne to windward as the rest, without which hee could effect nothing of his intended service, sent Capitaine Slingsby aboard, (who had before been conversant in Sea-affaires) to use his best diligence in getting those vessels to the great Island neere to the Castle of Donboy, which with towing the Hoy at the Sterne of the Trinitie of Waterford, and other diligence used, hee effected the service, and arrived at the great Island.

The third, Teg Keugh Mac Maghon, a principall Rebel (in an Island adjoyning to the Dorkeys) was casually shot through the body by his owne sonne, whereof he dyed the third day following.

The fourth, Owen Ofuloran, and two of his brothers with a partie of men, went to the Castle of Donmanus, which was held and guarded by the Rebels, which they surprized, and kept the same, killed foure of the Guard, and tooke the prey and spoyle of the Towne.

The fifth, a Spanish ship arrived at the Bay of Cammarra, neere Ardea in Desmond.

And

31. May.
The Army dislodged from Carew Castle

1. June.
The Regiments transported into the great Island.

2. June.

3. June.
Teg Keugh mac Maghon slaine.

4. June.
The castle of Donmanus surprized.

5. June.
A Spanish ship arrived.

1602.

A conference
betwene the
Ear. of Tho-
mond, & Ric.
Mac Gog-
hagan.

And the same day *Richard Mac Goghagan* (being the Constable of Dunboy) came into the great Iland, and spake with the Earle of Thomond; but whether he were sent by the Presidents intreatie, to see whether he could perswade with *Mac Goghagan* vpon promise of reward, to render the Castle to the Queene, or whether *Richard Mac Goghagan* did intreat the Earle, that he might haue a Safe-conduct to speake with him, I am uncertaine, but of this I am sure, that the Earles meeting with him, was not without the Presidents knowledge and allowance: All the Eloquence and artifice which the Earle could use avayled nothing; for *Mac Goghagan* was resolved to persevere in his wayes, and in the great loue which he pretended to beare unto the Earle, hee advised him not to hazard his life, in landing upon the Mayne: for I know (sayd hee) you must land at yonder Sandy Bay, where before your comming, the place will bee so trenched and gabioned, as you must runne upon assured death: The Earle disdayning both his obstinacie, and his vaine-glorious advice, brake off speech, telling *Mac Goghagan*, that ere many dayes passed, hee would repent that hee had not followed his counsell.

6. Iune.
The L. Presi-
dent rode to
view the
place where
the forces
were to land.

The sixth being Sunday, a foule and stormie morning, the Lord President very early taking but one Footman with him, rode two or three miles from the Campe, to the place where the Boats were assembled to passe the Army (which that day was to rise) over into the Maine: The cause which moved him to be stirring so timely, was to view the landing place, which was lesse then halfe a mile from the place of the imbarquing, from whence hee might easily discerne a low sandy Bay, betweene high ground, of a very little capacitie, where the discent was to bee made, which was entrenched and barricadoed with gabions of earth; in the which trench and behind the gabions, the enemies had placed there Muskettiers, and their grosse at hand, to giue them seconds: But not contented with a view so farre off, the Queenes Pinnace the *Merlin*, riding not farre from him, hee commanded Captaine *Flemming* to passe him over into a little Iland, called *Dongha Irish*, which lay betweene the great Iland and the Maine, and some part of it not twelue score from the sandy Bay aforesaid: When hee came into the said Iland, and taking an exact view of the landing place, and how the rebels Army lodged to forbid our descent, and the apparant danger hee saw would ensue in the attempt, hee rounded all the small Iland, and at last hee found a convenient place to land in the Maine; and the same (by reason of a rising ground in the middest thereof) was out of the sight of the sandy Bay: presently hee commanded Captaine *Fleming* to land (out of his Pinnace) in the Iland two falcons of brasse, and hailed them up-

*Dongha
Irish.*

The vigilant
care of the
Lord Presi-
dent.

on

on their trunks to a place naturally formed like a platforme, and parapetted with an old ditch, as if it had beene fashioned to that purpose: In this place the Peeces were planted, from it to the Maine land, it was not aboue one hundred paces, and although the distance from the Sandy Bay to this place, was not foure and twenty score, yet to come unto it was more then halfe a mile, by reason of a Gurt, or cleft Rock, made by the Sea; which ran up farre into the land, which the Enemy must compasse before hee could come unto it: By that time that the President had performed as much as hee intended in the small Island, the Presidents and the Earle of Thomonds regiments were embarqued, and under saile, whom the President (when they came neere unto him) caused to land where hee stood in the small Island, and drawing them to that end of the same which faced the sandy Bay to amuse the rebels, being not distant from them (as is said) a Musket shot, hee formed them into a battallion; and so stood firme confronting the Enemy, as if from thence hee would passe them into the Maine: Sir Richard Percy, and Sir Charles Wilmot with the reare Regiments (by this time) were likewise embarqued.

Two Regiments landed in the little Island.

For you must understand that wee had not Boats sufficient to transport all our Regiments at once, and they likewise made to the small Island, but in steed of landing in the same, the President directed them to passe by the end of it (when hee had placed the faulcons) and to land directly in the Maine; before the Rebels found themselves deceived, the two reare Regiments were landed, and formed into order ready to fight; then the President drew his owne, and the Earle of Thomonds regiments to the boats, not twelue score from them, which the Rebels preceiving, and too late finding their error, in a disordered manner made towards our landing place, but before they could compasse the fret, or cleft rocky ground as aforesaid, all our Army was landed: Neverthelesse they came on brauely, but our falcons made them halt; our Vanguard made towards them, and a good skirmish ensued, which continued untill the other Regiments came up, but then they brake, and ran faster then wee could follow: vpon the place eight and twentie of them was slaine, whereof two were officers, and thirtie wounded, whereof Captaine Tirrell was one, shot in the body but not deepe enough: There was onely two prisoners taken, and presently hanged, whereof a servant of James Archer (the infamous Iesuit) was one, and with him his masters sword and portace: And if the Iesuit himselfe had not beene a light footed Priest, hee had fallen into our hands, and yet as nimble as hee was, hee escaped with much difficultie, and besides him, great numbers of them would haue passed the edge of the sword, had not they had a boggie Wood at hand, wherein they were sheltered: The losse

The two other Regiments landed in the Maine.

The Rebels deceived.

The Rebels defeated and Captaine Tirrell wounded.

1602.

of our side was onely the hurting of seven men, but none of matke; the skirmish being ended, wee lodged that night upon the same ground neere unto Castle *Dermont*.

CHAP. VII.

The Spanish ship which arrived nere Ardea brought Passengers, Munition, and Money to the Rebels. The distributors and distribution of some of the money. A Letter from Owen Mac Eggan unto Richard Mac Goghagan at Donboy. A Letter from James Archer Jesuit to Dominick Collins Jesuit at Donboy. A Letter from John Anias to Dominick at Donboy. A Letter from John Anias to the Baron of Lixnam a little before his execution.



WITHIN two houres after the skirmish aforesaid was ended, the Rebels had intelligence that there was a Spanish patach landed the night before at the haven of Kil-mokilloc, not farre from Ardea, in the Bay of Camnarra; shee was purposely sent from Spaine, to know the estate of the Castle of Donboy, whether it held still for the King of Spaine; some Irish passengers was in her, namely a Fryer *James Nelane*, a Thomond man belonging to Sir *Tirlogh Obrian*, who had the charge of the treasure; *Owen Mac Eggan* the Popes Bishop of Rosse, and his vicarius *Apostolicus*, with Letters to sundry Rebels, and twelve thousand pounds, as the President was credibly informed by one called *Moylemurry Mac Edmond Boy Mac Swyny*, then a Rebelle, who saw it, besides munition, which did put such a fresh spirit into the Rebels, (who formerly were advising rather to breake and disperse then to endure a siege) as they solemnly vowed to persevere in the defence of the Castle, assuring the Messenger (which they confirmed by their Letters) that they would hold the same until Michaelmas, within which time they prayed aid, which the Messenger confidently promised; for (said hee) two thousand men were drawen to the Groyne, before I departed thence; And the next morning being the fifteenth, hee set saile for Spaine, carrying with him *Brian Okelly*, and *Donnagh Mac Mahon Obrian*: The distribution of the money by appointment in Spaine (as *Moylemurry* aforesaid affirmed) was left principally to the disposition of *Donnell Osulevan Beare*, *Owen Mac Eggan*, *James Archer* and some others, and *Ellen Cartie*, wife to *Owen Osulevan* then a prisoner with *Donnell Osulevan Beare*, did see some part of that treasure disbursed in manner following.

To *Donnell Osulevan Beare*.

1500. li.

To *James Archer* Jesuit.

1050

To *Donnagh Mac Cartie*.

3000

To *Ellen Mac Cartie*.

3000

The Spanish ship which arrived neere to Ardea, brought passengers, munition, and money to the Rebels.

The distributors and the distribution of some of the money.

To

To <i>Dermond Moyle, Florence his Brother.</i>	0300.li.	
To <i>Odorevan.</i>	0200	
To Sir <i>Finnin Odrifchall, and Conner his Son.</i>	0500	
To <i>Conner Mac Nemarra.</i>	}	0100
To <i>Richard Blake.</i>		
To the Lord of <i>Lixnaw.</i>		0100
To <i>John fits Thomas.</i>		0200
To <i>O Conner Kerry.</i>	}	0100
To the Knight of the <i>Valley.</i>		
To <i>Donniell Mac Cartie the Bast.</i>		0400

Summ. 3710. li.

And likewise the said *Moilmurry*, saw foure great Boat loads of wine, munition, and money, taken out of the patach, and caried on shore by *Ofulevan Beare*, into the Castle of *Ardea*; but how much munition was brought he did not know; part thereof was presently sent to *Donboy*, to encourage the Rebels in the Castle; *Owen Mac Eggan* wrote a Letter to *Richard Mac Goghagan*, which is here ensuing truely related, and an other written by *Archer* the Iesuit, to *Dominick Collins* the Fryer, and a third from *John Anias*, who conceived himselfe to be a good Ingeniere: All which Letters doe here ensue.

A Letter from *Owen Mac Eggan* to *Richard Mac Goghagan* at *Donboy*.

MAfter *Richard*, I commend mee unto you, being very glad of the good report I heare of you, whereby I cannot but expect much (with God his assistance) in that lawfull and godly cause of you: I am sorry, but it was my lucke to conferre with you, and with the rest of your company, and informe you of all the State of the matters of Spaine; but upon my credit and conscience, there is no peece of service now in hand in all Christendome for the King of Spaine, then the same that yee haue: How great is to God, and necessary for our Countrey affaires you know: Moreover within few dayes you shall haue releefe of men come to helpe you thither out of Spaine: the great Army of fourteene thousand men are forth coming, you shall all be aswell recompensed, both by God and by the Kings Majestie, as any Ward that is in all the world againe; haue me I pray commended to all, and especially to father *Dominick*, and bid him bee of good courage; there comes with the Army a father of the company an Italian, for the Pope his *Nuncius*, in whose company I came from Rome to the Court of Spaine, and there hee expects the

Armies

1602.

of our side was onely the hurting of seven men, but none of matke; the skirmish being ended, wee lodged that night upon the same ground neere unto Castle *Dermond*.

C H A P. VII.

The Spanish ship which arrived neere Ardea brought Passengers, Munition, and Money to the Rebels. The distributers, and distribution of some of the money. A Letter from Owen Mac Eggan unto Richard Mac Goghagan at Donboy. A Letter from James Archer Jesuit to Dominick Collins Jesuit at Donboy. A Letter from John Anias to Dominick at Donboy. A Letter from John Anias to the Burgh of Lixnam a litle before his execution.



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To *Donogh Mac Cartie*.

200.

To *Patrick Mac Cartie*.

200.

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The distributers and the distribution of some of the money.

To

To <i>Dermond Moyle</i> , <i>Florence</i> his Brother.	0300.li.	
To <i>Odonevan</i> .	0200	
To Sir <i>Finnin Odrifschall</i> , and <i>Conner</i> his Son.	0500	
To <i>Conner Mac Nemarra</i> .	}	0100
To <i>Richard Blake</i> .		
To the Lord of <i>Lixnaw</i> .		0100
To <i>Iohn fits Thomas</i> .		0200
To <i>O Conner Kerry</i> .	}	0100
To the Knight of the <i>Valley</i> .		
To <i>Donnell Mac Cartie</i> the Bast.		0400

Summ. 3710. li.

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1602.

Armies comming hither, hee shall giue all a benediction, yea I hope within your Castle there, spite of all the devils in hell: From the Catholike Campe this present Wednesday. 1602.

Your assured Friend,
Owen Hegaine.

Postscript.

In my sacrifice and other poore prayers I will not faile, but commend you and your good cause to God; our shippe did arriue three dayes agon, and our Letters is come to the King by this time, *Nisi Dominus custodierit civitatem, &c.*

A Letter from Iames Archer Iesuite, to Dominick Collins, Iesuite, at Donboy.

YOUR Letters of Thursday last came to our hands, but our disagreeing in some matters, makes to bee slacke in performing your desire, yet you must take better order for the premises; in the meane while, how ever becomes of our delayes, or insufficiencies, bee yee of herodical minds, (for of such consequence is the keeping of that Castle, that every one there shall surpasse in deserts any of us here; and for Noble valiant Souldiers shall passe immortall throughout all ages to come; for the better incouraging, let these words be read in their hearing: Out of *Spaine* we are in a vehement expectation, and for Powder, Lead, and Money, furnished: Now to come to more particular matters, vnderstand that there are but two wayes to attempt you, that is, scaling with ladders, or Battery: for scaling, I doubt not but your owne wits needs no direction; and for Battery, you may make up the breach by night. The higher you rayse your workes every way the better, but let it bee thicke and substantiall: raise of a greater height that worke Captaine Tirrell made, betwixt the house and the cornell: make plaine the broken house on the South side: For fire-worke direction doe this, prime the holes, and stop in the balls with powder mixt through the materiall well, and some powder vppermost that shall take fire; the rest you know, as you haue heard mee declare there: by all meanes possible send me one Ball, and the rest of the Saltpeter. This in haste till better leasure: Campe this Thursday.

Your loving Cousen,
JAMES ARCHER.

To Father Dominicke
Collins, these in haste.

A Letter

A Letter from John Anias, to Dominick Collins,
Iesuite, at Donboy.

BE carefull of your fortifying continually, with a most speciall care raise
in height the West side of your Port; fill your Chambers on the South
and North side with Hides, and earth; what battery is made suddenly re-
payre it like valiant Souldiers; make plaine in the South side the remnant
of the broken houses; make wayes out of the Hall to scower and cast stones
upon the Port, and if the Enemy would attempt the like, dig deepe that place
wee first begun, and a trench above to defend the same, as I haue sayd unto
you. Although wee expect speedie reliefe out of Spaine, yet bee you wise
to preserve the store of Victualls discreetly: Devise your selues all the In-
vention possible to hold out this siege, which is the greatest honour in this
Kingdome: with the next I shall prepare shooes for you: send mee the cord
or long line, and the rest of the Saltpeter, withall the yron borriers, seven
peeces in all. Salute in my name Richard Maghoghegane, praying God
to haue of his speciall Grace that care of your successe. From the Campe,
the of June, 1602.

Your loving Cousen,

John Anias.

To Father Dominick,
Beere-haven, these.

In Norember following, this John Anias, (who in October was ta-
ken prisoner by John Berry, the Constable of Castle Mange) was ex-
ecuted by Martiall Law: Whether he was a Priest or no, it was held
doubtfull: The day before his execution he wrote this ensuing Let-
ter to the Lord of Lixnaw.

A Letter from John Anias to the Baron of Lixnaw,
a little before his execution.

IN trust is treason: So Wingfield betrayed me; my death satisfies for-
mer suspicions, and giues occasion hereafter to remember mee; and as
over I aspire to immortalize my name upon the earth, so I would request
you by vertue of that ardent affection I had toward you in my life, you would
honour my death in making mention of my name in the Register of your coun-
trei: Let not my servant Cormock want, as a faithfull servant unto mee;
let my Funerall and Service of the Catholique Church bee observed for the
Soule. Heere I send you the Passe, and Letter of that faithlesse Wingfield,
having charged the Bearer upon his duetie to God, to deliver this unto your
hands.

1602

hands. Ofulevan was strange to mee, but inures himselfe to want me. Com-
mend mee to Captaine Tirrell, Oconnor, your sister Gerode Oge. This
the night before my execution, the eighth day of November, 1602. and upon
this sudden I cannot write largely.

Your loving Bedfellow sometimes,

Ismarito.

CHAP. VIII.

The Lo. President vieweth the Castle of Donboy. The Lord President finds good ground
to encampe in, and to plant the battrey contrary to all mens opinions. Two Espials
of the Rebels hanged. The Artillery landed. The Campe entrenched, and the Ar-
tillery dramen into the Market place. Our Approaches begun. The Island of the
Dorries taken, and in it divers Rebels slaine and taken prisoners besides Artillery,
Munition, and much other spoyle. The Rebels taken in the Dorries executed, and
the fort rased. Captaine Kingmill maymed with a shot. An attempt of the Re-
bels given on our Campe. Sir Samuell Bagnall brings Letters to the Lord Pre-
sident from the Lord Deputy, and from Don Iuan de Aguila. A faire escape.
The Artillery planted before Donboy. Donboy bastered and a breach made. The
breach assaulted. Divers of the Rebels slaine in seeking to escape by a salley. Others
slaine in the water. The Lord Presidents colours placed on the top of the Castle, but
the Vauls still mainetayned by the Rebels. Sundry Rebels voluntarily yeilded them-
selves. The remaynder made election of a new Captaine, whose resolution was ex-
traordinary. A battrey made upon the Vauls. The rest rendered themselves. A
desperate resolution of Richard Mac Goghagan. Eight and fifty Rebels executed,
the rest reserved for a time. The whole number of the Ward in Donboy. The losse
wee received in the siege. Captaines, men of quality and others wounded. Artillery,
Munition, and spoyle gotten in the Castle.

THE seventh, the President drew his forces to a necke of
land within a mile of Donboy, opposite against it, an
Arme of the Sea passing betweene the Castle and the
Campe: from whence the President taking Sir Charles
Wilmot, and one hundred Foot for a Guard with him,
stole out of the Campe, and marched directly to the Castle to view
it, and the grounds adjoyning; in doing whereof some small hurt
was bestowed upon them, but none other hurt done then Sir Charles
Wilmot horse shot in the foot. There they found (contrary to the
reports of all men that had scene the same) a faire place of good
ground, and of capacity sufficient to encampe in, within tweluescore
of the Castle, and yet out of the sight of it, by reason of a rising
ground interjacent, & also upon the top of a small ascen in the midst
of the rockes, a faire Greene plot of ground, not an hundred and for-
tie yards distant from the Castle, like unto a naturall platforme, of a
just

7. Iunij.
The Lo. Pre-
sident view-
eth the Ca-
stle of Don-
boy.

Contrary to
all mens opi-
nions the Lo.
President
found both
good ground
to encampe
in, and to
plant the
battrey.

THE
SOUTH
EAST
ASIAN
ARCHIPELAGO
AND
ADJACENT
WATERS
AND
COASTS
OF
INDIA
AND
AFRICA
AND
THE
MAGNETIC
DECLINATION
AND
VARIATION
OF
THE
MAGNETIC
FORCE
AND
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MAGNETIC
DIP
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MAGNETIC
AZIMUTH
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MAGNETIC
ANGLE
AND
THE
MAGNETIC
DISTANCE
AND
THE
MAGNETIC
TIME



Fig. 5

THE MAP

The 7 of June the
Army lodged here
Opposit to Dunboy

The Castle of Dunboy taken
by assault, the 17 and 18
of June 1602: blowne vpp
w powder the 22: of the
month afore said,

Part of the great
Iland where y^e Earl
of Thomond spake
wth Richard M^{ch} Gaghagan

THE BRIDGE OF DUNBOY

The Martin

The Spanish Bay

The Hye and
Boates transpor-
tinge of the
ordnance,

Here were two
Minions planted,

The Batterie plan-
ned the 16 of June

The 10 June y^e Campe
Was quartered and
entrenched on the 11th

Here y^e Ordin-
ance Landed y^e
10 of June,

Ayal Sconce
betwixt the Campe
and the Bridge

THE

CONTRYE

OF

BEARE

THE WAY

OF DAWSON

THE WYATT LOGS

the
v
h
C
h
a
f
O
v
d
w
no

just largenesse to plant the Artillery upon. At their returne the report being made, it was hardly beleaved. For the Lord Barry, the white Knight, Cormuck Mac Donnell, Captaine John Barry, and Owen O'Sullivan, who was borne and bred in the Castle, all of them being in the Campe, did evermore constantly aver, that there was no other then rocky ground neere unto it, and surely I conceiue they did thinke it to bee so, supposing that the plots of ground afore mentioned, were too little to lodge in, and to plant the Artillery. Further the President assured them, (with Gods favour) hee would plant the Ordnance without the losse of a man; and within seven dayes after the battery was begun, to bee master of that place, whereat the whole Army much rejoyced: for the generall opinion was, that it would be a long siege, but afterwards (as you shall heare) the President kept his promise aforesaid. The same day, seven great shot was made from the Castle to the Campe, but no harme done.

The eighth wee planted two Falcons taken out of the Queens Pinnace, upon a poynt of land, on the North side of the Castle, hard by our Campe, which beat upon the Enemy, who were then carrying of turffe, and earth to aduance their workes. And the same day, the Hoy was brought aground, and two Culverings unshipt, and put into boats, and two spies sent by the Enemy into our Campe were taken and hanged: And wee also sent Soldiers to the Wood, to cut Gabion stuffe, and to bring the yafers of halld Church, to make loyces for the platforme, to plant the Ordnance on.

The ninth, the Sergeant Major, Captaine George Flower was sent by Sea to take view of the Spanish bay neere Donboy, to see whether there were any good landing for the Ordnance there, and found the ground rocky and unfit for draught.

The tenth, Captaine Francis Slingsby (whom I cannot too much commend) in the Hoy with the Demy Cannon, and the three Boats laden with two Culverings, and one Demy Culvering, past the poynt underneath the Castle, within one hundred shot of the same, from whence their great shot were made at the Hoy, but all without harme, for his Muskets so plyed the Artillery, the Gunners durst scarcely stand by the same: And the same day wee landed the two Culverings, and the Demy Cannon, and encamped within musket shot, but not within sight of the Castle, by reason of a rising ground aforesaid which shadowed us, although oftentimes their great and small shot came over the Campe, and amongst us to the same.

The Ordnance was not possible to be drawne from the place where wee landed, unto the place where wee made our Quarters, but there was a small Creeke very neere unto the Castle of Donboy, which being once entered into, they might ride in safetie, being their covered

8. Iunij.

Two Espials
of the Rebels
hanged.

9. Iunij.

10. Iunij.

The Artillery
was sent
down to the
bay neere
Donboy.

The Army
lodged be-
fore Donboy.

The Rebels
were
driven
from the
place.

1602.

covered with a hill betweene them and the Castle, but all the way of their comming thither, was open to the play of the Ordnance of the Castle, untill they were within that Creeke, whose mouth was not aboute fortie yards distant from the Castle: The President commanded the Ordnance to bee shipped into Boats, and to carry them into that Creeke, which by the helpe of darke nights, and still rowing, was effected undiscovered: But the Cannon and Culverings were of that weight, that no Boat there could carry them, and none durst adventure in the Hoy to carry them by night. In this difficulty Captaine *Slingsby* did desire the President, that hee would commit that to his charge, and giue him but thirtie Shott, and he would (by Gods grace) carry that Ordnance by day light into that Creeke, or sinke by the way, if his Lordship would please to adventure the Ordnance; which was accepted and performed the same day without the losse of any man, though many shot were made from the Castle: for hee had placed all his Shot in the hold upon the Ballast, so that the Decke was breast high aboute them, so that they had onely their Peeces and head and shoulders aboute the decke, to play with their small shot, and he that steered the Hoy, might bee in safetie, (which much concerned the effecting of that service by his safe conducting) hee placed him in the hold, and ordered it so, that with two takles hee might steere the Hoy either to Starboard, or to Port, as hee was willed aboute by the Captaine, who stood aloft by the Misen Mast to order her course as he saw cause: but it was so fine and fresh a gale of winde, that though they sayled aboute halfe a league in play of the Ordnance and small shot of the Castle, yet shee made that way, that they could not aboute twice discharge and lade their Ordnance, before shee attained the Creeke, where she was then in securitie from any further annoyance of the Castle.

II. Iunij.
The Campe
entrenched,
and the Ar-
tillery drawn
into the
market
place.

The appro-
ches were
begun to bee
made.

The eleventh, wee entrenched our Campe, mounted our Ordnance, and drew them all into the market place; and the same day about eight of the clock in the evening, the Lord President gaue direction to haue a Demy Culvering drawen within shot of the Castle, which made but two shot that night, and was withdrawen: The Spanish Cannoniers finding the shot, willed the Irish to be of good courage, for that Peece would doe them no harme: Hee also caused two Minnions to bee landed out of the Queenes ship, and placed them upon a poynt of ground on the Northwest side of the Castle, which overlooked it, to annoy the Rebels; whilst we were about our worke, the same night wee began our approaches: the care whereof the President imposed upon Captaine *Francis Slingsby*, a discrete and dexterous Gentleman, making him Trench-master, who performed with commendations the charge which was layed upon

upon him, having all the day before employed a great partie of men to the Wood (which was a long mile and halfe distant from the Campe) to fetch more wattle, to make Gabions, and was constrained to send a strong guard with them for their defence: This day the Enemy out of the Wood made a salley upon some of our guards, but were immediatly repulied.

The twelfth of the same, understanding that the Enemy had fortified the Island of the *Dorries*, and caried thither three Peeces of Spanish Ordnance; and placed a strong Ward of fourtie choise men in the same, reserving that as their last and surest refuge: The Lord President made speciall choise of Captaine *John Bosstock*, and sent him with *Down Osulevan* and Lieutenant *Downings* (officer to Sir *Francis Barkley*) and gave them (as also to Captaine *Thomas Fleming*, who had command of her Majesties Pinnace) secretly in charge; (that now whilst their Army was occupied in besieging Dunboy, and making their trenches and approaches, and the Enemy secure from any suspition, that wee would give any attempt else where) that they should presently take her Majesties Pinnace and foure boats, and put into them one hundred and fittie foote men; and set saile for the Island of the *Dorries*, which charge they affected accordingly, and arrived there with the forces early the next day in the morning, and being on land drew to the North poynt of the Island, where they found the wals of a ruined Chappell; Captaine *Bosstock* under the assistance thereof lodged Lieutenant *Downings*, and a partie of men, and then returned aboard the *Queenes Pinnace*, to give direction what hee would have done, and thence took the Boat of the Pinnace and rowed about the Island, to discover a fit landing place for himselfe, and the rest of his Souldiers; then comming backe to the Pinnace (so soone as the tide served) caused the Pinnace to warpe up neerer the place, and appoynted thirtie Souldiers and a Sergeant to attend her, and sent unto Lieutenant *Downings* a shore, advising him, that at the very instant that hee should land in the East part of the fort, that hee should give an attempt on the North side. Then hee divided his men into three Boats, and the Pinnace beating upon the fort with her Ordnance; hee and Lieutenant *Downings* (at the other two places first agreed upon) assailed the uttermost fort, which after a good defence made, their resolution and valour caried it, and there they posselt themselves of three Iron Peeces of the Spanish Ordnance, and forced the Rebels into their second fort, where they entertayned a good fight for the space of two howers: But our men being encouraged with their first good fortune, gaue on them so eagerly, as the Enemy amazed rendered themselves, and presently all the weaponed men came forth, and delivered him possession of the fort, which

12. Junij.

The Island of the Dorries taken, and in it divers rebels slaine and taken prisoners, besides munition, artillery, and much other spoyle.

1602.

The Rebels
taken in the
Dorries exe-
cuted, and
the fort re-
raised.

Captaine
Kingsmill
maymed
with a shot.

13. Innij.

An attempt
by the rebels
given on our
Campe.

Sir Sa. Bag-
nall brought
letters to the
L. President,
from the Lo.
Deputie, and
Don Iuan de
Aguila.

14. Iune.

A faire
escape.

was a place of an exceeding great strength; and in the same, at the yeelding up thereof, was the wife of Owen O'Sullivan, who since February last had bene held prisoner by O'Sullivan Beare. There were found within the fort seven barrels of powder, with a small proportion of Lead, and above threescore shot for their great Ordnance, as also a quantity of Wheat, Oyle, and Vineger. In the hand there were taken five hundred gillib Goves, of the Rebels four were killed, two hurt, who with all the rest were brought into the Campe, and after executed. The fort for that it was conceived to be an unnecessary charge, and unnecess to be held, the Lord President caused Lieutenant Downings to raine, and lay it even with the ground. The same Night the Lord President, the Earle of Thomond, Sir Richard Percy, Sir Charles Willmon, Capitaine Francis Slingthy, and Capitaine George Kingsmill, with others standing round together in conference, a Musket shot came amongst them from the Castle, and shot Capitaine George Kingsmill through the left hand, and brake many of his bones.

The thirteenth about midnight, Tirrell with the Rebels forces came as neere to our Campe as he durst, and gave us a hot alarme, powring shot into our Campe, shot through many of our tents and cabbins, which did us little or no hurt, who being resisted from the North side of our Campe, where a little Sconce was the same day rayed to hold a Guard in, the charge whereof was imposed on Lieutenant Tafferey, and good Seconds sent from us, they ran away. This day Sir Samuelt Bagnall arrived at the Campe by Sea, and brought Letters unto the President from the Deputie, commanding him to send all the Forces unto his Lordship, (except those of the old List of Mounster.) Hee also brought with him a Letter from Don Iohn de Aguilas, which had come by a Merchant of Dublin to the Lord Deputies hands.

The fourteenth and fifteenth, our men were busie making of gabions, and drawing the trenches neerer the Castle, Capitaine Francis Slingthy being (as aforesaid) Trenchmaster.

The same day the President, the Earle of Thomond, and Sir Charles Willmon, taking a guard of Foot with them, rode (for recreation) out of the Campe towards our last camping place, and riding softly by the Sea side, (all three in ranke) having left their Foot behindo them, they espied a Gunner in the Castle murthering of a Peoce of Ordnance; This fellow (said the President) will make a shot at us, the word was no sooner spoken, but fire was given. The President knowing that Gunners doe evermore lay before a moving marke, rayned his Horse, and stood firme; The Earle and Sir Charles started forward, and the Bullet grazed even at their horse heeles, bearing some of the earth

1602.

earth upon them. The President glad to see them past danger, laughing, sayd, That if they had been as good Mechanicall Cannoniers, as they were Commaunders, they would haue stood firme as hee did. Also this day a whole Culvering was drawne out of the Campe, and certaine shot was made; the Bullets being found, the Gunners liked it not, and began to feare their successe. The day following, the whole Culvering having been formerly withdrawne, certaine shot was made out of the Demy-culvering aforesaid; Vpon sight of the shot they much rejoyced, supposing that our Culvering had received some mischance; and scorned at any offence wee could doe them.

The sixteenth, the Gabions, Trenches, and Platformes were finished, and in the night the Demy-Cannon, and the two Culverings were drawen downe, and planted against the Castle, within 140 yards.

16. June.
*The artillery
plated before
Donboy.*

The seventeenth, about five of the clocke in the morning, our Battery consisting of one Demy-cannon, two whole Culverings, and one Demy-culvering, began to play, which continued without intermission till towards nine in the forenoone, at which time a Turret annexed to the Castle on the Southwest part thereof, was beaten downe, in which there was a Falcon of yron placed, upon the top of the Vault, that continually played at our Artillery, which also tumbled downe; with the fall of that Tower, many of the Rebels were buried therein: That being ruinated, the Ordnance played on the west front of the Castle, which by one of the clocke in the afternoone, was also forced downe; Vpon the fall whereof the Enemy sent out a Messenger, offering to surrender the place, if they might haue their liues, and depart with their Armes, and a Pledge given for the assurance thereof; Neverthelesse they continued shooting all the while the Messenger was comming betweene them and us, whose Message being delivered, the Lord President turned him over to the Marshall, by whose direction hee was executed; And then the Breach being in our apparance assaultable, the Lord President gaue commandement to haue it entred: Whereupon the Captaines of the Lord Presidents Regiments, which were commanded by Captaine *Henrie Skipwith*, Lieutenant Collonell thereof, who were to giue the assault, and cast the Dice for the poynt, and who should giue seconds, and it fell to Captaine *Dodingtons* chance, and to be seconded by Sir *Anth. Cooke* their Lieutenants, *Francis Kirton*, and *Thomas Mewtas*, to giue on first, & the rest of the Regiment to second them. The Earle of *Thomonds* Regiment was to second the Lo. Presidents, and during the assault, the two Regiments of Sir *Richard Percy*, and Sir *Charles Wilmot*, were commanded to stand in Armes in the

17. June.

Donboy battered.

*A breach
made.*

1652.

*The breach
assaulted.*

market place, aswell to assure the Campe, as also to answer all other occasions; all things being thus disposed of, Lieutenant *Kirtou* according to the direction, giving on first, in entering the breach was at the push of the Pike, on the top of the same; who although hee received three shot and hurt in the right arme, yet with valour and resolution hee kept the place and made it good, till Lieutenant *Mewtas* came up to his second, and both they, untill the Lord Presidents colours and the rest did clime up, and placed their Ensignes upon a turret of the barbicon, reinforced with earth and faggots of great thicknesse, unto which was added a large spurre on the South west part of the Castle, of the hight of sixteene foote, as in like manner all the Turrets and Curtains of the Barbicon were reinforced, at the top whereof they barricadoed themselves with barrels of earth, and at the first approach there was within it, some of the Enemy with a Faulcon of Iron, whom our men forced to quit the place, and to retreat themselves into a Turret adjoyning upon the South side, which was rampiered with earth some sixteene foote high; flanking the first, it being well manned, and therein a Demy Culvering and a Saker of brasse, loaden with haile shot; the one whereof they presently discharged upon our men that were posselt of the South-west Turret and Spurre, and going to lade her againe, their Gunner was slaine at his Peece; whereupon they being for the present deprived of the use of those Ordnance, and the place wee posselt playing directly into it, they were forced to retreat under the safetie of the East part of the Castle, which was standing, where the Enemy had placed Pikes at the corners of the wals, to receiue them; (the way betweene it, and the Curtaine of the Barbicon, being but sixe or eight foote broad, which passage they so well defended, as we could neither annoy them, nor goe betwixt the two Turrets aforesaid, without disadvantage and apparant danger of great losse, where the shelter of the wall, and the narrownesse of the passage deprived both us and them of all use of shot, and there for the space of an hower and a halfe, it was disputed with great obstinacie on either side; the Enemy still making good defence, and beating with shot and stones upon us, from the staires and likewise from that part of the Castle, which stood from the top of the Vault, and from under the Vault, both with peeces and by throwing downe stones, Iron bullets and other annoyances, wherewith many of our men were slaine and wounded, and wee oppressing them in all those places by all meanes wee might, and still attempting to get up to the top of the Vault by the ruines of the breach, which was maintayned by the Enemy, as wee were divers times forced downe againe: And whilest in each of these places, our men were thus employed, Capitaine *Slingsbies* Sergeant

1602.

Sergeant who had gotten to the top of the Vault of the South-west Tower (by clearing the rubbish thence) found out that the ruines thereof had made a way, that lead to a spike or window that looked into it, and commands that part of the barbicon of the Castle, which the Enemy posselt and defended (hee having beene there two howers before hee discovered the same,) by which passage our men making their descent to the Enemy, and gayning ground upon them, they being then in desperate case, some fourtie of them made a salley out of the Castle to the Sea side, whither our men pursuing them on the one side, and they being crost by Captaine Blundell with a small party of men (on the out side of the Barbicon) on the other side wee had the execution of them all there (aving eight which leapt into the Sea to save themselves by swimming: But the Lord President supposing before that they would in their extremity make such an adventure to escape, had appoynted Captaine Gaben Harvie, and his Lieutenant Thomas Stafford, with three boats to keepe the Sea, who had the killing of them all, other three leapt from the top of the Vault, where our Souldiers killed them, amongst which a notable Rebelle called Mellaghlen Moore, (being the man that layed hands first upon the Earle of Ormond, and plucked him from his horse, when hee was taken prisoner by Oweny Mac Ronny) was slaine.

After this, the courage of the Enemy decreasing with their Numbers, and not able, nor daring to make such defence as they did before, we gave a new Assault to the top of the Vault, where having a difficult ascent, the shot from the foot of the Breach giving good assistance, (after some howers assault and defence, with some losse of both sides) wee gayned the top of the Vault, and all the Castle upwards, and placed our Colours upon the height thereof, the whole remaynder of the Ward being threescore and seventene men, were constrained to retyre into the Sellors, into which wee having no descent, but by a straight winding stony stayre, they defended the the same against us, and thereupon upon promise of their liues, they offered to come soorth, but not to stand to mercy. Notwithstanding immediately after, a Fryer borne in Yoghall, called Dominicke Collins, who had beene brought up in the Warres of Fraunce, and there under the League had beene a Commander of Horfe in Britany, (by them called Captaine Le Branch) came soorth, and rendered himselfe, the Sunne being by this time set, and strong guards being left upon the Rebels remayning in the Celler, the Regiments withdrawn to the Campe.

The eighteenth in the morning, three and twentie more likewise rendered themselves simply to Captaine Blundell, who the night before had the guard, and after their Cannoniers being two Spaniards,

Rr 3

and

Diuers of the rebels slaine, in seeking to escape by a Salley. Others that recovered the river, were slaine in the water. He which pulled the Ear of Ormond from his horse (who he was take prisoner) was slaine.

The L. Presidents Colours placed on the top of the castle, but the vault was still maintained by the rebels.

18. Iune. Sundry of the rebels voluntarily yeeld themselves.

1602

The remain-
der of them
made election
of a new cap-
taine, whose
resolution
was extra-
ordinary.

A Battery
made upon
the vault.

For feare of
being buried
in the ruines
of the vault,
the rest of the
rebels redred
themselves.

A desperate
resolution of
of Mac Gog-
hegan.

58. executed,
the rest of the
Rebels reser-
ved for a
time.

The whole
number of
the Ward in
Donboy.

The losse was
received in
the siege.

Captaines,
men of quali-
ty, and others
wounded.

and an Italian (for the rest were slaine) likewise yeelded themselves: Then *Mac Goghegan* chiefe Commander of the place, being mortally wounded with divers shot in his body, the rest made choise of one *Thomas Taylor*, an English mans Sonne (the dearest and inwardest man with *Tirrell*, and married to his Neece) to be their Chiefe, who having nine barrells of powder, drew himselfe and hit into the Vault, and there sate downe by it, with a light match in his hand, vowing and protesting to set it on fire, and blow up the Castle, himselfe and all the rest, except they might haue promise of life, which being by the Lord President refused; (for the safetie of our men) his Lordship gaue direction for a new battery upon the Vault, intending to bury them in the ruines thereof, and after a few times discharged, and the bullets entering amongst them into the Celler, the rest that were with *Taylor*, partly by intercession, but chiefly by compulsion, (threatning to deliver him up if hee were obstinate;) about ten of the clock in the morning of the same day, constrained him to render simply, who with eight and fourtie more being ready to come forth; and *Sir George Thornton*, the Sergeant Major, Captaine *Roger Harvie*, Captaine *Power*, and others entering the Vault to receiue them, Captaine *Power* found the said *Richard Mac Goghegan* lying there mortally wounded (as before) and perceiving *Taylor* and the rest ready to render themselves, raised himselfe from the ground, snatching a light Candle, and staggering therewith to a barrell of powder (which for that purpose was unheaded) offering to cast it into the same, Captaine *Power* tooke him, and held him in his armes, with intent to make him prisoner, untill he was by our men (who perceived his intent) instantly killed, and then *Taylor* and the rest were brought prisoners to the Campe.

The same day fiftie eight were executed in the Market place, but the Fryer, *Taylor*, and one *Tirlagh Roe Mac Swiny*, a follower unto *Sir Tirlagh O Brian*, and twelue more of *Tirrells* chiefe men, the Lord President reserved aliue, to trie whether he could draw them to doe some more acceptable service the their liues were worth: The whole number of the Ward consisted of one hundred fortie three selected fighting men, being the best choise of all their Forces, of the which no one man escaped, but were either slaine, executed, or buried in the ruines, and so obstinate and resolved a defence hath not bin seene within this kingdome. On our part we lost in the place *Thomas Smith*, Captaine *Francis Slingsbies* Lieutenant, and some others; many of our men were burnt with Powder and Fire-works, which the enemy cast amongst them as they were in fight: Men of note hurt, Captaine *Dodington* shot with two Bullets in the body, but not mortall, his Lieutenant *Francis Kirton* shot in the arme and thigh, di-

vers

vers Sergeants, and fiftie two Souldiers maimed and wounded, of which some are dead since, and others like to follow. And amongst the rest Sir Anthony Cooke, Sir Thome Harvey, Capaine Skypwith and Capaine Roger Manners received severall bruises with stones and Iron bullets flung upon them, but being well armed, they received no great hurt. In the Castle wee gayned ten Peeces of Ordnance, whereof fower were brasse, two of them being broken by our battery, and an other Peece of brasse was likewise broken by our Ordnance, before any part of the Castle fell, which the Prisoners say is so deeply buried in the ruines, as the search of the metall is not worth the labour; all the Carriages were by the fall of the Castle and by our Artillery so broken, as no one of them were left serviceable. Moreover there was of powder nine Barrells, some great shot, but their whole store by reason of the ruines, wee could not find out. There was also in the Castle some quantities of Wine, Vineger, Oyle, Corne, Bee fe and Hides, which the Souldiers made pillage of. And being so much taken, they should have found more. And besides

seconds and incomes were unavoidably left behind. (though the Spaniards came not) the service that they could doe in that Country, would not have beene charge in maintaining them: Therefore they resolved to bestow the powder in Turrells proffer for the redemption of his men. Our Ordnance (with those which were gayned there) shipped. The Sergeant propounded to Turrell beinge refused, and the reasons of his refusal. The Castle of Dunboy blown up with powder. Turrell men which were resqued executed. The Army shipped and transported into the great river. The Downings taken. Cleam-con Castle taken. The Castle of Liscatin-lesse taken and burnt. The Lord President returned to Cork. The Companies sent for by the Lord Deputy delivered over to Sir Samuel Baginbald. The confidence the Irish had of supplies from Spain, made them obstinate.

But Turrell and Downings beinge delivered, were carried into

THE nineteenth proffer was made by the sayd Turrell, to doe some acceptable service that might redeme the lives of his men, so their execution might bee resqued, which was for that time forborne. And the same day all our Ordnance, and those Spanish Peeces that wee gayned at Dunboy, were put aboard and shipped, as also our boats sent to the Island of the Dories, to fetch Lieutenant Downings, our men, and the Ordnance from thence, which were in number twelve, viz. Demy-culvering one, Sacres fower, Minions fave, Pauleons two.

The twentyeth Turrell (understanding (as is sayd) that his mens lives were resqued) sent his trusty servant *Laghtin Oadhy* to the Lord President, to signify unto him, that he would performe any service, that should be within his power, to purchase the lives and liber-

1601.
continued of I
be-hungory
ad. 1601. 10
d. 1601. 10
1601. 10
1601. 10
1601. 10

What munition, artillery and spoyle was gotten in the Castle.

19. Junij.
Turrell proffers for the redeeming of his men.

Our Ordnance with those which were taken shipped.

20. Junij.

1691

The services
propounded
to Tirrell be
refuseth.

The reasons
of his refusal

liberties of his followers: Answer was returned him, and a stratagem propounded, in the effecting thereof, he should obtaine pardon and libertie for himselfe and his Dependants, but the reply which he made hereunto was, that he would ransom the Prisoners with money, if that might bee accepted: but to be false to the King of Spaine (whom he termed his Master) or to betray the Catholike cause, hee would never: upon which answer his twelve Men (before respited) two dayes after were executed. The cause wherefore he so suddainly swarved from his first promise of service, was the hopes which hee received by Owen Mac Egan the Popes Bishop of Ross, lately arrived at Ardea, in the Bay (as aforesaid) of Glanmarrah. The President therefore perceiving that they conceived great hope of Spaniards, advised the day following with the chieffes of the Army, what course was best to be taken with the Castle of Dunboy halfe ruined, who were all of opinion, that a Garrison which should be left there could not defend themselves, or give any great annoyance to the Spaniard, if they should fortune to land there; for being so remote from all Seconds and succours, were unavoydably left to ruine: And besides (though the Spaniards came not) the service that they could doe in that Countrey, would not countervaile Her Majesties charge in maintayning them: Therefore they resolved to bestow the Powder which was recovered in the Castle to blow up the same, committed to the charge of Captaine Slingsbie.

The two and twentyeth, the Castle of Dunboy was accordingly blowne up with Powder, the out-Workes and Fortifications utterly destroyed, and the same day Lieutenant Downings, with our men and Boates returned from the Dorset to the Campe, as also twelve of Terrills chiefe men, formerly spoken of, were executed.

But Taylor, and Dominicke Collins the Fryer, were carryed Prisoners to Corke, where being found by due prooffe, that Taylor was one of the principall murderers of his Captaine, George Bingham at Sligo, besides an infinite number of other foule and traytorly acts, he was shortly after without the City of Corke (not farre from the North Gate) hanged in chaines; and the Fryer, in whom no penitence appeared for his detestable treasons, nor yet would endeavour to merite his life, either by discovering the Rebels intentions, (which was in his power) or by doing of some service that might deserve favour, was hanged at Youghall, the Towne wherein he was borne.

The same day also all our carriage and baggage layed aboard, at the enterance into our boats, because wee were not able to carie the Cowes, Horses, and Mares which wee had taken, being at least sixe or seven hundred heads; the President commanded they should bee killed, which was performed.

The

22 Junij.
The Castle
of Dunboy
blowne up
with powder.
Tirrells men
which were
respited, exe-
cuted.

The three and twentieth wee shipped our whole Army backe from Dunboy, who all arrived that day in the great Iland, and from thence the Earle of Thomond, and Sir *Charles Wilmot*, and both their Regiments were transported by shipping to Killaminog, being the place wee encamped in (as wee went) in Maintirbaie.

The same day the Lord President was advertised by Lieutenant *Saunders*, that hee had taken a great boat belonging to *Teg Mac Connor Odriscall*, brother to *Connor Oge Odriscall*, of the *Downings*, where in there was slaine *Dary Mac Connor* his brother, and three more of his best men, and that two dayes after, hee tooke the strong place of the *Downings*, which is seated upon a high rock in the Sea, disioyned from the land, so as there is no comming unto it, but over a little draw bridge of wood, resembling the seas of Dunluce in Ulster.

The foure and twentieth the Lord President, and Sir *Richard Percy* with their Regiments were embarqued, and they arrived in the evening at the Iland of Whiddy, where wee had no meanes for want of boats to unship our men, and the night approaching were enforced to leaue our two Regiments a shipboard, and the Lord President lay that night in the Iland.

The five and twentieth, the Earle and Sir *Charles* with their Regiments marched by land from Killaminog, to the old camping place at *Carew Castle*, whither when the boats came to us, wee unshipt the remayne of the Army, and there wee encamped all that night.

The sixe and twentieth, the Companies required by the Lord Deputie were assigned, and commanded to prepare themselves and attend Sir *Samuell Bagnall* till hee brought them to his Lordship: and the same day the Castle of *Leamcon* neere *Crookhaven* which the rebels warded, was recovered from them, by an officer and party of men, of *Captaine Roger Harvies* Company.

The seven and twentieth, the Earle of Thomond, and Sir *George Thornton* were embarqued in the *Queenes Pinnace*, to goe for England, and the Army dislodged from *Carew Castle*, and marched to a place in the Mountaine called *Becarien Eltagh*, where wee encamped that night.

The eight and twentieth the Lord President departed thence, taking the Captaines and Officers of those companies that were to goe into Ulster, along with him, that they might perclose their accounts, and dispatch all things at *Corke*, against their Companies should come thither, and by the way the Castle of *Letterinlesse*, belonging to *Conogher Sir Finnin Odriscals* Sonne, where the Enemy had a ward of *seventene* men; after some defence made and shot discharged, when they saw the Army drawe before the Castle, they sued for their liues, which granted them they yeelded it up; and after the

Sf

Souldiers

1602.

23. Iunij.
The Army
shipped and
transported
into the great
Iland.

The Downings taken.

24. Iunij.

25. Iunij.

26. Iunij.

Leamcon
Castle taken.

27. Iunij.

28. Iunij.

The Castle
of Letterin-
lesse taken
and burnt.

1602.

29. Iunij.
The Lord
President
returned to
Corke.

30. Iune,
The Compa-
nies sent for
by the Lord
Deputie de-
livered over
to Sir Sa-
muell Bag-
nall.
1. Iulij.

The confi-
dence which
the Irish had
of supplies
from Spaine,
made them
obstinate.

Souldiers had made pillage of the goods, wee burned and destroyed the Castle, and stone hall, and rod thence to Tymolagg, leaving the Army behind us that night in Rosse.

The nine and twentieth the Lord President went to Kinsale, and tooke view of the fortifications at Castle-Parke, and gaue order and direction for the better forwarding and ending of the workes there, and thence rode that night to Corke, appoynting the Companies that were to depart the Province, to march the shortest way, and to lodge at Downdanyer, *Donnell Mac Cartie Reughes* Castle, and the rest to come to Kinsale.

The thirtieth, those Companies which were to goe with Sir *Samuell Bagnall* came to Corke, and had their supplies delivered them, with order for their present departure.

The first of Iuly the Captaines that were to goe along with Sir *Samuell Bagnall*, spent the day in staying for their sicke men, which were comming after, and preparing themselves for their journey; and the day following they arose all from Corke, and marched thitherwards.

The President in his returne from Dunboy (as is said) passing through Carberry where many were still in action, not doubting but now they would haue submitted themselves, seeing their supposed impregnable Cittadell was destroyed, and *Dermond Moyle Mac Cartie* their *Ante-signane* slaine, hee found it much otherwise, for those which before offered to doe service for their pardons, stood aloofe, and those which before were distracted, and prepared to fly either to Spaine or Ulster, had received new life, and made fast combinations to hold out, till their expected aids from Spaine should arriue; yea and some also who before were Subjects, and forward to giue the best intelligence, did now palpably bewray both by their countenance, their words, and their actions, that their hearts were otherwise affected: All which alteration did arise from the arrivall of *Owen Mac Eggan* so often mentioned, who not onely bestowed the Spanish treasure, which hee brought with him bountifully amongst them, but put them in hope of more, with full assurance of a fresh Army to come to their succours; his credit, the feeling of a few duc-kets, and his perswasions so prevailed, as they verily beleaved, that they should within a few moneths bee so reinforced with Spanish aids, as to bee enabled to driue the English out of Ireland.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Supplies of a thousand Foote sent out of England for Mounster. Sir Charles Wil-
mot with his Regiment sent into Kerry. James Archer, and Connor O-
driscall fled into Spaine. Sir Owen Mac Carties sonnes revolts. Drovers Castles
taken in Carbery by the Garrisons ibere. The description of Beare-haven. The
description of Baltimore-haven. The description of Castle haven. The Spa-
nish hostages licensed to depart. A Letter from the Lord President to Don
Iuan de Aguila.

THE President being come to Corke, he found Sir Edward Wingfield with a thousand supplies lately come forth of England; all which were disposed in the weake Companies that came from Dunboy; in the taking whereof, and the marching thither with the returne, ten weekes were consumed; many men lost by the way, and by sicknesse very much weakned: Notwithstanding so many of the Army, as were about the old List of Mounster were presently sent to the Lord Deputie by Sir Samuell Bagnall, who came for them (as aforesaid) whilst the President was at the siege of Dunboy; Sir Charles Wilmot with his Regiment was sent againe into Kerry (which Countrey having therein great store of Corne and Cattle, would otherwise haue beene left open to the Rebels reliefe) with direction to remoue all the Inhabitants with their goods and cattle, over the Mountaine into the small county of Limerick, and such Corne as could not be presently reaped and conuayed (as aforesaid) hee was commanded to burne and spoyle the same; the reason whereof was, for that the President having occasion of service neere the heart of the Countrey, as you shall hereafter heare; and also receiving daily intelligence of a great Army provided in Spaine, did not thinke it safe nor convenient, to employ so great a part of his forces in places so remote, considering that good and strong Garrisons were needfull in the chiefe Cities of the Province, which otherwise would bee open to the Enemy that should attempt them: But in effecting hereof, the Governour found great difficulty; for the harvest (by reason of that winterlike summer) was very backward, and (besides the Irish) the Bishop of Kerry, and certaine English families, which had of late planted themselues there (whose whole estate consisted in that Summers profit) importunately solicited some longer stay: The President being acquainted herewith, unwilling to giue any just occasion of grievance to the Irish, and losse to the English, consented to tollerate their stay for the present, requiring the Governour (in the meane while) to put in execution such services upon the Rebels, as occasion might minister:

Supplies of a thousand foote from England for Mounster.

Sir Charles Wilmot with his Regiment sent into Kerry.

1602

5. Jul.
James Ar-
cher and
Conner O-
driscall fled
into Spaine.

Sir Owen
Mac Car-
ties sonnes
revolt.

10. July.

Divers Ca-
stles taken in
Carbery by
the Garri-
sons.

The descrip-
tion of Bear-
haven.

The fifth of July, *James Archer* the Iesuit, and *Connor Odriscall*, the eldest Sonne of *Sir Finnin Odriscall*, having gotten a small Barke fled into Spaine.

The two Captaine *Harries* were left at their old Garrisons in Carberie; Captaine *Roger* at Baltimore, the Lord Presidents Horse there, Captaine *Gavin* at Castlehaven, the Lord *Barries* Company at Litteronlesse, the Treasurers Company at the Abbey of Strory, Captaine *Stafford* at Old Court, Captaine *Slingsby* at the Church of Shadone, where they wasted and foraged the Countrey, as in a small time it was not able to giue the Rebels any reliefe, having spoiled and brought into their garisons the most part of their corne being newly reaped; from whom the President was certified that the *Carties* of that Countrey did dayly relapse, insomuch as *Donnab Moyle Mac Carties* and *Finnie* his Brother, with their followers, (who attended the President at the Siedge of Dunboy) had received three hundred pounds Impresse, from *Owen Mac Eggan*, (commonly called the Apostolicall Vicar) in the name of the King of Spaine: They lay upon the tenth of July 1602 joyned with the Rebels; but in the end they could not greatly vaunt of their winnings, for Captaine *Roger Harry* got severall Draughts upon them, whereby hee tooke their preyes, and had the killing of many of their men; besides hee tooke from them diverse Castles strongly seated, neere unto the Sea, where Ships might safely ride, and fit places for an Enemy to hold, as namely, the Castles of *Donmanies*, *Learn-con*, *Donnegall*, the *Downings*, *Rancoliskey*, and *Cape Cleere*, and in a word, all that stood upon the Seacoast, betweene Dunboy and Castlehaven, except onely the Castles of *Kilkoe* and *Cloghan*.

But because we have had often occasions in this relation to speake of the three famous Harbours of Beerehaven, Baltimore, and Castlehaven, it seemes to mee necessary in this place to speake something more particularly thereof, according to an exact view taken by the Lord President, and by him remised to the Lords of Her Majesties Privy Counsell. First therefore, the Haven of Beere is situated twelve Miles to the Northward of that Promontory, or fore-land (so well knowne by the name) of *Myssenhead*, or *Caronhead*: That which wee properly call *Beere-haven*, is the Sea which entreth betweene the great Iland (before mentioned) and the *Maine*, or Countrey called *Beere*, or *Ofullerans* Countrey: At the entrance of the Harbour, it is not above a Musket shot over, I meane from the Castle of *Dunboy* to the great Iland, being entred, the Tydes are slack, good Anchorage, and convenient places to bring ships on ground, smooth water, five fadomes deepe at low water marke; towards the North ende it groweth much larger, at the least a league over, and

and of capacitie sufficient to containe all the Ships of Europe.

The great Iland and the Maine as aforesaid makes the Haven, which Iland is seven miles in length, at the South end whereof it joyneth with the Bay of Bantry: When Donboy was unruined, it commaunded this spacious and goodly Haven, which affords no small profit to *Osulevan Bears* whilst his Castle was standing: for the coast yeelds such abundance of Sea-fish, as few places in Christendome doe the like, and many Ships, whereunto at the season of the yeare, (I meane at the fishing time) there was such a resort of Fishermen of all Nations, as *Communibus Annis*; (although the duties which they payed unto *Osulevan* was very little) yet at the least it was worth unto him five hundred pounds yearly.

The second of these Harbours nominated, is Baltimore, called by the Spaniards Valentimore, which is likewise caused by an Iland called Innisherkan, two leagues to the Eastward of Cape-cleere, the Havens mouth (at the South end of the Iland aforesaid) ten fathome at low water, but exceeding narrow, by reason of a great Rock that lyeth in the same (abwayer above water) which being within halfe Galliver shot of the better shoare, giveth good opportunity to secure the port; after you are entered, there is a poole about halfe a league over, where infinit numbers of ships may ride, having small tides, deepe water, and a good place to carene ships; at the other end of this Iland (with good pilotage) a ship of two hundred Tunne by day may safely come in, but by reason of many sincke Rocks, that lye in this enterance, it is not possible for the best Pilot in the world (by night) to assure his entrance. The President for the safetie thereof, thought it meete to erect Blockhouses there, which undoubtedly hee would have done, if he had continued any long time in Mounster, being so exceeding dangerous to fall into the hands of a powerfull Enemy, as it would bee a worke of much difficulty (after it were once fortified) to displant him, besides an Enemy there seated would command the best part of Catbery, the soile whereof is good, whereby hee might furnish himselfe with victuals at easie rates.

The last, and indeed the least of these three Havens, is Castlehaven, by the Irish called Glanbaraghan, renowned for that memorable Sea fight (lately acted there) by Sir Richard Lewson against *Pedro de Zubizar* (commonly called *Suryago*) the Spanish Admirall: the passage into the Harbour is so narrow, that a ship of great burden, especially in a storme, cannot safely enter, and being entered, there is no great space for any number of ships to ride in; but for all other commodities like to the Havens before mentioned, for there is eight fadomes at low water marke, the Castle aptly commands every part of the Harbour, but the grounds round about it, so commands the

The description of the haven of Baltimore.

The description of Castle haven.

1602.

The Spanishe
Hostages li-
censed to de-
part.

Castle, as it can by no reasonable charge bee made teneable against the Cannon: but to proceed.

When the composition was made with Don John de Aguila, for the rendring of Kinsale, among other Articles it was agreed, that the Spanyards should be shipped away in English or Irish Bottomes, and for the safe returne of the Ships into Ireland, there was three Spanishe Captaines (as is formerly declared) left in Corke as Hostages: The Spanyards being all safely arrived at the Groyne, and the Shippes returned, the Lord President according to the Composition, set the Pledges at libertie, and having provided a Barque for their transportation, he wrote unto Don John de Aguila, which letter (Englished) was as followeth:

*A Letter from the Lord President to Don
Iuan de Aguila.*

According to the agreements made at Kinsale, betweene the Lord Deputie and your Lordship, these two Captaines, Pedro Suazo, and Diego Gonzales Sigler, (which remained in Corke Pledges for the securitie of the Ships, and the Subjects of the Queene my Mistresse, which transported the Spanyards to the Groyne, are now in this passage in a Ship called the Marie of Corke) returned into Spaine: The third Pledge Don Pedro Morijon, went with the Lord Deputie to the Citie of Dublin, from whence (as I understand) hee is departed into his owne Countrey. Now the agreements which were made betweene the Lord Deputie and your Lordship is on either part fully accomplished; your Lordships Letter of the second of Aprill I haue receiued, but the Wine and Fruits came not to my hands: Nevertheless I acknowledge my selfe much obliged, and render your Lordship humble thanks for your favours, and especially in that I am retained in your memorie: the occasion I did not receiue them, was my being at that time at the siege of the Castle of Beerehaven, which I thanke God is taken, as also many others possess and held by the Rebels, and the Defendants of them chastised, as appertaineth to Traitors: Your Lordships Present unto mee was delivered by the Messenger to the Lord Deputie, hee conceiuing that it had beene directed to his Lordship, whereof I am extreame glad, and am as well satisfied with it, as if it had come to my owne hands, for the loue I beare unto his Lordship, is no lesse then unto my selfe: I am much grieved, (and at nothing more) then to see that this Countrey produces not any thing worthy to bee presented to your Lordship, that I might in some proportion manifest in what esteeme I holde the favour of a man of your qualitie, Honour, and Merit: If Ireland may yeeld any thing which may bee to your Lordships liking, you may bee assured that your Lordship hath power (at your pleasure) to commaund both it and mee: So being ready to doe your Lordship all the possible

possible service I may, the differences betweene our Sovereignes reserved, in the which both your Lordship and all the world shall evermore finde mee to bee a true Englishman, and a faithfull servant to my Queens and Mistresse: I recommend your Lordship to God, beseeching him to preserve you. Corke, the thirteenth of Iuly, 1602.

Muy Illustre Sennior.

Beso las Manos de V. S.

Su Servidor,

GEORGE CAREW.

CHAP. XI.

The taking of the Castle of Dunboy was the cause that the Army prepared in Spaine for Ireland was stayed. Two thousand supplies of foote were sent out of England for Monister. John fits Thomas his practise to deceine the Lord President, was failed. A false rumour of a Spanish fleet on the Coast of Monister. Sir Samuel Bagnall with his Regiment commanded to stay in Monister.

TH E President daily received advertisement, aswell by some of the Countrey that had conference with Owen Mac Egan, as also by Merchants and their Agents out of Spaine; which did all agree in one, that succours being prepared and ready to embarque for Ireland; (understanding the losse which the Rebels had received in Beere, and the Castle of Dunboy rased, where they purposed to secure their landing) new directions were brought from the Court of Spaine to the Earle of Carracena, Governour of the Groyne, to stay their proceedings in the voyage, till the Kings pleasure were farther knowen, but yet the Army was not dissolved: the examinations sent by the Lord President into England to the Lords, were found to agree with the intelligence which was sent to her Majestie out of Spaine; wherefore to prevent what danger hereby might ensue, it pleased her Majestie to take present order, that the fleet of ships, some her owne, and some Merchants, that had beene upon the Coast of Spaine (the most part of all the Summer) should bee revictualled, and lye off and on, in the height of Cape-finister, till towards Michaelmas, that if they proceeded in the intended invasion, either they might fight with them at Sea, or at least follow them to such Harbours of Ireland, where they should arrive, and there distresse them: but the happy successe in the siege of Dunboy altered the Spanish Councils, for now they had no place in Ireland that held for them: Nevertheless the coming of new forces from Spaine for Ireland, being still doubted, there was

The taking of Dunboy was the cause that the Army which was prepared in Spaine for Ireland was stayd.

sent

1602.

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Muy Illustre Sennior.

Beso las Manos de V. S.
Su Servidor,

GEORGE CAREVV.

CHAP. XI.

The taking of the Castle of Dunboy was the cause that the Army prepared in Spaine for Ireland was stayed. Two thousand supplies of foote were sent out of England for Mounster. John fits Thomas his practise to deceiue the Lord President, but failed. A false rumour of a Spanish fleet on the Coast of Mounster. Sir Samuell Bagnall with his Regiment commanded to stay in Mounster.



HE President daily received advertisement, aswell by some of the Countrey that had conference with Owen Mac Eggan, as also by Merchants and their Agents out of Spaine, which did all agree in one, that succours being prepared and ready to embarque for Ireland; (understanding the losse which the Rebels had received in Beere, and the Castle of Dunboy raised, where they purposed to secure their landing) new directions were brought from the Court of Spaine to the Earle of Carracena, Governour of the Groyne, to stay their proceedings in the voyage, till the Kings pleasure were farther knowen, but yet the Army was not dissolved: the examinations sent by the Lord President into England to the Lords, were found to agree with the intelligence which was sent to her Majestie out of Spaine; wherefore to prevent what danger hereby might ensue, it pleased her Majestie to take present order, that the fleet of ships, some her owne, and some Merchants, that had beene upon the Coast of Spaine (the most part of all the Summer) should bee revictualled, and lye off and on, in the height of Cape-finister, till towards Michaelmas; that if they proceeded in the intended invasion, either they might fight with them at Sea, or at least follow them to such Harbours of Ireland, where they should arrive, and there distresse them: but the happy successe in the siege of Dunboy altered the Spanish Councils, for now they had no place in Ireland that held for them: Neverthelesse the comming of new forces from Spaine for Ireland, being still doubted, there was
sent

The taking of Dunboy was the cause that the Army which was prepared in Spaine for Ireland was stayd.

1602

2000. Sup-
plies of Foot
for Mouster.

*Ioh. fits Tho-
mas his pra-
ctise to de-
ceive the Lo.
President,
but failed in
the same.*

*A false ru-
mour of the
Spanish fleet,
on the coast
of Mounster.*

sent from England two thousand foote for the supplying of the Lift. By this time Sir *Charles Wilmot*, as hee was directed, was come out of Kerry, and all the Subjects with their goods and Cattle, were drawen on this side the Mountaine of Slewlogher, whereby the *Bonnoghs* that had lived these five moneths, principally upon *Osule-ran Beare*, (and by that meanes eaten him up) began to consult about leaving of the Province, there being no man now in action that was able; (for the *Carties* in Carbery had beene so much wasted and impoverished by the two *Harvies*) as though their hearts were good, yet their meanes failed them to uphold a warre, or any long time to hold them together: Therefore *John of Desmond*, brother to the Sogan Earle, (prisoner in the Tower of London) laboured *Terrill* very instantly, to take Bonnacht of them in Connilogh, and for that purpose had inveighed *Morris fits Thomas*, called the Lord of the Clenlis to deliver unto him the strong Castle of Glancoyne, the custodie whereof (to saue her Majesties charge) had beene committed to him the year before, and because no suspicion might be conceived of the said *John fits Thomas* practise, hee now became a sutor by *James Walsh* (who had beene his brothers Secretary) for a protection, desiring, as hee pretended, to become a Subject upon these conditions: First, if his brother *James* (the titular Earle) might bee set at libertie, hee would bee content to become a Pledge for him, either in the Castle of Dublin, or else where the State should appoynt; which being refused and rejected, hee offered to doe service; so that hee might haue his pardon, and some meanes to releue him in the future: But as the President would not bee drawen to accept any of these conditions; so it was thought hee would haue flyen backe if they had been accepted: But all this Negotiation was but to colour his practise laid for Glancoyne, which Castle and the Fastnesse neere adjoyning would haue commaunded a great part of that Countrey. But all these Iuglings were discovered by one *V. B.* whom the President without suspicion maintained amongst them: Wherefore hee sent *Philip Northcot*, the Sherife of the Countie of Limericke, with private Instructions, to surprise both *Maurice fits Thomas*, and the sayd Castle, but either to take both (at one instant) or to meddle with neither. The Sherife watching many opportunities, and not speeding of his purpose; the President to prevent future danger, committed the custodie of the said Castle to Sir *Francis Barkley*, and so disappointed the Rebels of that hope.

About the latter end of this moneth of *August*, a rumour was generally divulged through the Province, that the Spanyards were upon the coast, and that certaine Ships were discovered from the olde Head of Kinsale, and presently after that foure and twentie sayle were

were arrived at Bearehauen, and hereupon you might see Horsemen galloping this way, and that way, to and fro, with such signes of gladnes & apparant joy, as though the day of their deliverance were neere at hand; but as it fell out, this was but a false allarme, the Ships that were discryed being a Fleet of Easterlings bound to the Southward. The President heereby discerning with what assured hopes they apprehended their comming, and with what glad hearts they should be welcome, (being come) he became an earnest & humble suitor to the Lord Deputie: That Sir *Samuel Bagnals* Regiment lately called out of Mounster, (by his Lordships Command) might with his favour bee returned againe. The Lord Deputie taking an honourable care of that Province, finding by his owne intelligence, that the Spanyards were purposed to make their discent, either in Mounster, or in the parts of Connaght, (not far dis-joyned) condiscended unto the Presidents request, whereupon the said Colonell with his Regiment were directed to Limrick, there to remaine in Garison.

*Sir Samuel
Bagnal with
his Regiment
commanded
to stay in
Mounster.*

During the siege of Kinsale, there was a young Gentleman of the *Carties*, called *Teg. Mac Cormock*, soone to that well deserving Gentleman, Sir *Cormock Mac Teg*, who being of the Presidents Troope of Horse, through the inticements of the Rebels, and promises of the Spanyards, was induced to combine with the Enemy, and stealing away his Horse and Hackney, entred into action; But the successe of his Confederates not proving so fortunate (as they hoped) hee grew weary of the Rebellion, and made himselfe a Suitor to the President to be received to mercy, as may appeare by his Letter here ensuing.

Tt

CHAP.

1602.

C H A P. XII.

A Letter from Teg Mac Cormock Cartie to the Lord President, intreating the remission of his offences. Cormock Mac Dermond Cartie accused of sundry treasons. Cormock Mac Dermond committed. The Castle of Blarney in the custody of Captaine Taffe. The Castle and Abbey of Killcrey rendred to the Lord President. Mocrumpe besieged. Cormocks Wife and Children imprisoned. Cormock Mac Dermond plotted his escape.

A Letter from Teg Mac Cormock Cartie to the Lord President, intreating the remission of his Offences.

Right Honourable, my dutie most humbly remembred ; Having long forborne , though thereby disquieted in mind, and ashamed of my selfe to send unto your Honour : Yet presuming upon her Majesties mercie and your favour, I haue made bold to become a Petitioner to your Honour, that it may please you to admit me therunto, and to forgiue and forget my faults , considering they were not malicious, but youthfull, and not of pretence to hurt her Majestic or her Subjects , but in hope to recover against my Cosen Cormock Mac Dermody , some meanes to maintaine my decayed estate, and still likely to be suppressed by his greatnesse , who will by no meanes giue me a portion of Land to liue upon , as was promised upon the delivery up of Killcrey by your Honour, wherein as of the rest , I doe againe humbly beseech your favour , and so as with a repentant and penitent transgressor of the Lawes , I doe humbly submit my selfe to her Majesties grace, and will endeavour my selfe hereafter by my good deeds and services, to wipe out the memory of my former follies : Expecting your favourable Answer, I most humbly take my leaue. From Carrigifuky this ninth of Iune, 1602.

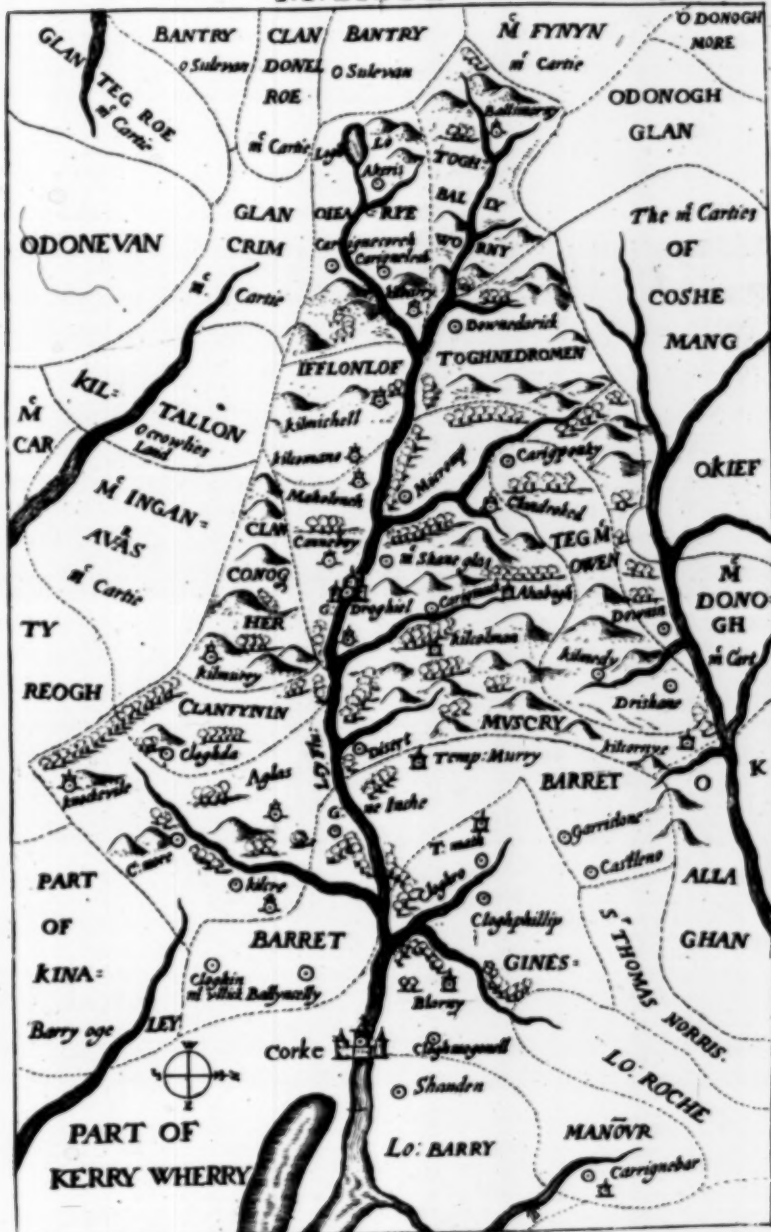
Your Honours most humble
to commaund,

Teg Mac Cormock Cartie.

But the President had conceived such a deepe displeasure (and not undeserved) against him , as hee protested against all favour to be extended towards him , except hee did merite and deserue the same by some signall service. This young man finding himselfe exposed to a desperate fortune, and abandoned to ruine, unlesse hee could worke his

MVSKRYE

between: Page. 330 & 331



his reconciliation ; and besides bearing no goodwill to his cosen *Cormuck Mac Dermond* the Lord of Muskerry, for some controversie about title of Lands betweene them, desired a safe conduct to come to the President, promising to reveale unto him, such matters of importance, as might happily make satisfaction for his former offences; his motion was hearkned unto, and a protection granted for three dayes, within which time hee presented himselfe before his Lordship, and delivered to him in private, that hee was able to avouch and proue divers capitall matters of notorious treasons, in his kinsman *Cormock Mac Dermond*: First that hee had underhand traffique with *Don Iohn de Aguila*, Letters ordinarily passing betweene him and the said *Cormock*; and in particular, hee averred, that hee saw *Don Iohn* himselfe to deliver unto *James Galde Butler*, (*Cormocks* wiues brother) two Letters, the one from the King, and the other from the Church; but from what particular Church-man hee could not certainly affirme, but by all probability it should seeme to bee from the Pope; these two Letters were by him sent, to bee delivered to *Cormock* aforesaid, together with his owne commendations in these words: Commend me to your brother in law *Cormock*, and deliver him these two Letters, the one from the King, and the other from the Church, which were the same night delivered: Moreover hee was deposed (by vertue of which oath he affirmed) that upon his knowledge, *Cormock* had secret conference with *Owen Mac Egan*, since his last arrivall out of Spaine, and that from him hee had received eight hundred duckets impresse, and thereupon had accorded to yeeld into the Spaniards hands (immediatly upon their landing) his strong Castle of the Blarney, situate within two miles of Corke, which deposition was afterwards confirmed by the testimony and evidence of sundry other credible personages: these informations concurring with the examinations of *Dermond Mac Cartie*, by the Spaniards called *Don Dermutio* (executed at Corke, of whom before you have heard) and also manyfold proofes, existing of his often combination with *Tyrone*, *Odonnell*, *Florence Mac Cartie*, and *James fits Thomas*, with other triviall treasons, ordinary amongst these Provincials: The President with the advice of the Provinciall Councell, thought it a matter of very dangerous consequence, to permit such grosse and palpable treasons to escape unpunished, the tolleration whereof might breed such intollerable boldnesse in these people, that her Majesties politicke government, and authority temporall, would grow no lesse contemptible then the Ecclesiasticke; against the which the best seeming Subjects were refractory; to prevent therefore such future mischief as might ensue by longer protraction, it was thought fit, that during the time of these Sessions (then in hand) the said *Cormock*

*Cormock
Mac Dermond
Cartie
accused of
sundry treasons.*

1602.

18. August.

*Cormock
Mac Der-
mond com-
mitted to
prison.*

mock should bee apprehended, and committed to safe custody, untill such time as the originall and depth of his offences (being found out) hee might bee brought to his triall, according to due course in Law: the day and time therefore being appoynted for his commitment, which was about the eighteenth of August, the President the same morning (to avoyd all suspition, tooke a journey to Kinsale, to view the fortifications in Castle ny Parke, leaving behind him double directions concerning *Cormock*; first for his Castle of Blarney, which is one of the largest and strongest Castles within the Province of Mounster, for it is fower piles joyned in one, seated upon a maine Rock, so as it is free from myning, the wall eightene foote thicke, and well flanked, at each corner to the best advantage: considering therefore the difficulty that might grow in taking this Castle by force, the President gaue direction to Sir *Charles Wilmot*, and Capitaine *Roger Harvie* (taking for their guard a Sergeant with foure and twenty foote) to make shew of going only to hunt the Bucke in the parts neere adjoyning, and being hot and weary, betweene the houres of ten and eleven of the clock in the forenoone, to take the said Castle in their way homeward, and calling for wine and vsquebagh (whereof Irish Gentlemen are seldome disfurnished) should (if it were possible) themselves first, and their Souldiers afterward draw into the Castle, and gaine possession thereof; and the chiefe Iustice *Saxey* likewise had direction to call *Cormock* before him in the publicke Sessions; and taking occasion of defect and delay, about certaine prisoners, whom hee should haue forth comming at these Assises, should at the same hower (before appoynted) commit him to the Gentleman Porter, till the Presidents pleasure should be farther knowen at his returne from Kinsale: this later order concerning his person was accordingly effected, but the former stratageme about the Castle was frustrated; for the Warders, whether out of the jealous custome of the Nation in generall (which is not to admit any strangers in their masters absence to come into their Castles,) or whether *Cormock* in his guiltinesse had given them such directions, I know not, but sure I am that neither Sir *Charles*, though hee much importuned to see the roomes within) nor any of his company were permitted to goe into the Gate of the Castle, nor hardly to looke within the gate of the Bayne: The President was no sooner returned to Corke, but one of *Cormocks* Followers, saluted him with a Petition, relating at large the hard measure that his Master had received from the chiefe Iustice, to whom answer was made, that hee would call for the chiefe Iustice before him, and being satisfied from him of all particulars, order should bee taken that no unjust, nor sinister proceedings should be taken against him; in the meane time

he

hee must be content to submit himselfe, and be menable unto Law: Now did the time better permit the offences formerly committed, to be pursued by course of Iustice, for could he but haue gathered by probable conjecture, of the discovery of any part of these treacheries (before his apprehension) he had in readinesse one thousand men of his owne Followers) well armed to haue stept with him into action upon the first alarme.

The combination lately by *Cormocke* contracted with the Priest *Owen Mac Eggan*, being manifestly proved by severall witnesses, subject to no Exceptions, the Gentleman Porter, (called Master *Raph Hammon*) was commaunded to bring the Prisoner before the President and Councell, which were assembled at *Shandon* Castle, who making his apparance, was charged with the severall Treasons afore recited, who insisted very much upon his Iustification, pretending that those accusations were injuriously devised, and slanderously suggested by his Enemies, especially for the last Article concerning the Conspiracie with the Priest *Mac Eggan*, (which indeed was so cunningly and secretly caryed, as he supposed, that it was rather presumed then proved against him; Hee renounced all favour and pardon, if it would bee justified by lawfull testimony. The President replied, that this was the onely matter of substance that he was charged withall, the former being pardoned since the perpetrating thereof, being onely inducements and presumptions whereby they were the rather mooved to give care and credit to the latter accusation: But hee still persisting in his Innocencie, was at last urged with this *Dilemma*, namely, that either hee should confesse his fault, and so intreat her Majesties mercy, or else in token of his loyall and guiltlesse heart, he should deliver unto the State his Castle of *Blarney*, upon condition, that if the fact whereof he was charged, were not evidently proved against him, the sayd Castle should be redelivered to him or his assignes by a day appoynted. At first hee seemed very inclinable to the motion, but in processe it was perceived that hee intended nothing but juggling and devices; wherefore a Warrant from the whole Body of the Councell, was directed to the sayd Gentleman Porter, straightly charging and commanding that he should be kept in yrons closer then before, untill he should demean himselfe in more dutifull conformitie; And besides, they appoynted Capitaine *Taffe*, (in whom *Cormocke* reposed much trust) to perswade him to surrender the sayd Castle into the Presidents hands, undertaking upon his credit, to retaine the same, and all the goods in it, or neere thereunto, belonging either to himselfe or his followers, from losse and danger, either by Subject or Rebell. *Cormocke* at last finding that the President was resolved either to make him bend or breake,

1602

*The Castle
of Blarney
in the custo-
dy of Cap-
taine Taffe.*

*The Castle
and Abbey
of Kilcrey
rendred to
the Lo. Pre-
sident, but
the Castle of
Mocrumpe
was detayned
from him.*

*Mocrumpe
besieged.*

*Cormock's
wife & chil-
dren impris-
oned.*

*Cormock
Mac Der-
mond plot-
ted his
escape.*

caused his Constable, (though much against his will) to yeeld the said Castle to Captaine Taffe, so that no other (whatsoever) might haue the charge or custodie thereof. The Prisoner besides the Castle of *Blarney*, had two places (kept by his Dependants) of good importance to commaund the Countrey; the one an Abbey called *Kilcrey*, distant from *Corke* sixe myles, and the other a Castle called *Mocrumpe*, sixteene miles distant from *Corke*; the former scituated upon the South, and the latter upon the North side of the River of *Lee*. The Castle and Abbey of *Kilcrey* was rendred to Captaine *Francis Slingsbie*, sent thither by the President; But *Mocrumpe* seated in the heart of *Muskrey*, and invironed round about with woods and bogges, could not be gotten without the countenance of an Armie; therefore the President sent first Captaine *Flower*, and afterwards Sir *Charles Wilmott*, with competent numbers of Foot and Horse to lye before it, untill such time as they might gaine it by Sapp or Myne, or by some other stratageme, as time and occasion should minister opportunity. During this siege the President cast about for his wife and children, and having gotten them likewise into his hands, confined them within the walles of *Corke*. These things thus accomplished, the President dispatched Letters both to the Lords of her Majesties Privie Councell of *England*, and also to the Lord Deputie and Councell of *Ireland*, relating unto them the apprehension of *Cormock*, and the reasons inducing him thereunto, desiring also to receiue their Lordships pleasures for his further proceedings in this businesse; but before answeere could bee returned, an unfortunate accident unexpected altered the whole platforme of this intended service: For *Cormock*s followers had plotted his escape, and likewise to procure *Cormock* Oge his eldest sonne, (who was then a Student in *Oxford*) to bee convayed secretly out of the Vniuersitie, and to be brought into *Ireland*, or as some thought to bee sent into *Spaine*; for effecting whereof, *Iohn O Healy*, one of *Cormock*s old theeves, was (the next passage) to be sent into *England*: Advertisement hereof was brought to the President, who for preventing of both these Designes, first sent for the Gentleman Porter, delivered unto him at large the great prejudice that should arise to her Majesties Service, if the prisoner should escape, that the Queenes charge, and his owne paines and laborious travell, were all frustrated: yea if the Spaniards should arriue (as they were expected) the whole kingdome of *Ireland* should receiue hazard and prejudice by it: Wherefore he charged him upon his duty to the State, his allegiance to her Majestie, and in the loue he bare unto himselfe, that hee would bee no lesse carefull of his safe keeping, then of his owne life, which in some sort depended thereon: Answer was made by *Hammon*, that his

his Lordship should not need to trouble his minde with any such imaginary doubts: for if shackles of yron, walles of stone, and force of men, (for hee had certaine Souldiers allowed him for a Guard) could make him sure, then should the Prisoner bee forthcoming, whensoever the State should bee pleased to call for him, and for *John O Healy*, the President held a watchfull eye over him, but it was not thought good to make stay of him untill he should be aboard the ship, that such Instructions and Letters as should bee sent by him, might with himselfe bee apprehended, whereby the whole circumstance of these plots, and the chiefe Agents therein might bee discovered: to make short, the wind was faire, the Master hasteth aboard, the Marriners and Passengers purposing to set saile the next tyde; amongst the rest *John O Healy* unregarded (as hee thought) is also on shipboard, but hee was much deceived in his opinion, for presently a Messenger sent from the State, found him in the hold; when he began to search him for his Letters, he making shew to deliver them willingly (upon a suddaine) threw both his Letters and money into the Sea; which although it did plainly demonstrate apparant guiltinesse, yet could hee never afterwards bee wrought to confesse either the contents of the one, or the summe of the other, pretending ignorance in both, whereupon hee was committed to the common Goale.

But let us leaue *Cormock* for a while with the Gentleman Porter, and his man in the Goale, and speake of other accidents and matters of State, which at this time were handled.

Vpon the second of September, the Lord President received Letters from the Lords of the Councell, wherein they signified unto him, how well her Majestie and themselves liked of his services performed in Mounster, with many other things worthy to be remembered, which importeth me in this place to relate the true copie of the originall Letter.

2. Septemb.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

A Letter from the Lords of the Councell to the Lord President. Instructions for Captaine Harvie to write into Spaine. A Letter written by her Majesties owne hand to the Lord President. A Letter from the Lord President to her Majestie. A Letter from Captaine Harvie to Pedro Lopez de Soto, the Spanish Veador. A Letter from O Donnell to O Connor Kerry. A Letter from Don Iuan de Aguila to the Lord President. A Letter from the Lord President to Don Iuan de Aguila. Captaine Harvies Passeport sent to the Veador. The Lord Presidents Passeport for Captaine Edny into Spaine. Spanish intelligence sent from Master Secretary Cecil to the Lord President. The Lord Presidents opinion sent to Master Secretary of a defensive warre in Ireland.

A Letter from the Lords of the Councell to
the Lord President.



AFTER our very hearty Commendations: Wee haue (according to our dueties) imparted to her Majestie your dispatch of the seven and twentieth of Iuly, who hath conceived so great liking of your proceedings, as she hath commanded us to take notice of the same, in the most gracious tearmes that our owne heart could wish, being likewise most desirous that the Army (under you) as well in generall, as those Gentlemen and Officers in particular, who haue so valiantly exposed themselues to danger (as appeareth by your particular relation) may know, that they haue ventured their liues for a Prince, who holdeth them so deare, as if shee could preferue her estate and them, without the losse and hazard of them, there is nothing which she possesseth (of her owne) which she would spare to redeeme their trouble and danger. It remaineth now that wee acquaint what is done by her Majestie, to prevent the purposes of the King of Spaine, wherein wee cannot but much commend the apprehension you take of those advertisements you haue, and the judgement you use in applying the same, for the safetie of that Province, the defection whereof, as wee are sorry to find by so understanding a person as you are: So doe wee hope when it shall appeare (as it doth daily in all parts of Ireland) that God doth blesse her Majesties Army against the Rebels, and that the King of Spaine shall find himselfe not so at ease, as to employ any Army there in haste, that, that lacke of duety and ingratitude (which doth now liue in them) will either dye in it selfe, and turne to the contrary, or else that God will (as hee hath begun) confound them in their owne malicious inventions: It is very true, that her Majesties owne advertisements doe confirme, that a Pinnace of fiftie Tunne, was sent with some of Odonnells Followers, and some treasure, to assure the Rebels of an Army to come into Ireland, which Pinnace being once put to Sea, was forced backe againe to Vinera, but they parted thence againe within three or fower dayes after

after, which is the same that landed at Ardea, whereof your Letters make mention: Wee haue also assured advertisements that her Majesties fleete, (being kept on the Coast) hath much hindered the Spanish designes, not that they were fully ready to come forth, but because the fleete kept their preparations from drawing to a head, for this next moneth is the time, which is the fittest for them to put to Sea, if her Majesties fleete doe not hinder them: For which purpose, though now most of her ships (being long at Sea, and come in with the carrick, yet they are going out againe with all possible speed. You shall further understand, that her Majestie hath beene acquainted of the Letters of complements, betweene Don Iohn and you, the Copies being sent over by the Deputie, by Sir Oliver Saint-Iohn, whereof you now send the originall. At which time, hee sent her Majestie his owne and kept no counsell, that hee had intercepted your great bribe: Wee haue also seene the Letter of Soto, to Captaine Harvie, and the Passeport of whose conference (from which Passeport also proceeded) her Majesty conceiveth that you may make some good use for her service, in this forme following: Where it doth appeare by Odonnells Letter to O Connor Ketty out of Spaine, that hee is desirous to understand the State of Ireland; but so as if there bee any bad, it may bee concealed from the Spaniards; Captaine Harvie may in requitall of the Veadors curtesie towards him use this freedome (of a Gentleman) though an enemy, to let him see how much the King of Spaine is abused by the Rebels, who seeke to engage him upon false hopes, and conceale just causes of doubts, for which purpose hee shall send him Odonnells owne Letter, which hee cannot deny, and withall in any case (it being well overseene by you) make him a relation of the successes of her Majesties Army; now if it may bee said, that they will thinke this Letter is aposted, and take this to be a finenesse in Harvie; the worst that can come, is, that this good may ensue: That under colour of sending that to him, there may some person goe in the ship, who may discover what preparations there is in that place; for the better colouring whereof, hee may reply, that where hee hath sent him a Passeport for the safe conduct of any person whatsoever, hee should send to negotiate in the matter (which passed betweene them in conference) that he looked rather to haue received from him, (who was the Propounder of the same) with so great affection, some such overture from that side as might haue given him foundation to breake with the Deputy, or your selfe, to send over to her Majesty about it, for which purpose he may offer him, as good a Passeport for any of his Messengers, as he hath sent to himselfe, it being very great reason that such a motion should proceed from that side rather; which hath opened it selfe with greatest violence, then from any of her Majesties ministers, who haue in steed of their malicious attempt, performed all offices of honour and humanity. And so much for answer of that point.

For your opinion concerning such places as are fit to bee fortified, her Majestie doeth very well approoue the reasons whereupon the same is

V u

grounded,

*Instructions
for Captaine
Harvie to
write into
Spaine.*

1602.

grounded, being such indeed as ought to sway her Maiesties Iudgements either one way or other; for as it is true, that charge is well forborne which draweth with it perill, so it is a double danger to spend in any place, where safetie followeth not such a charge: And therefore if you doe continue in the minde, that Baltimore is like to bee of greatest use to the Enemy, both in regard of the Haven it selfe, and of the Countrey adjoyning, and that some such Fortification may bee rayed as may commaund the Haven, without any great charge, her Maiestie is content that you doe proceed; Otherwise if you doe thinke that whensoever any forces shall descend, that the place so fortified cannot hold out for any time, then her Maiestie doeth like it better, both there and elsewhere, that those Castles which you doe winne from the Irish, seated upon the Sea, bee utterly demolisbed, rather then to bee left for the Rebells to nestle in at their first arrivall, and easier to be furnished by them for their great advantage. In which poynt of Fortifications, because you may see the temper of her Maiesties mind, that useth meane in all things, and knoweth when to spend, and when to spare, in both which never Prince was so little subiect to private humour, either one way or other, further then stood with the safetie of her state and people, over which her care is rather to bee admired then matched: Wee doe send you an extract of her owne Letter to the Lord Deputie, how hee should governe himselfe in that poynt, whereof wee feare you haue not yet had notice, in respect that the distance betweene you and him, is well neere the longitude of Ireland. For the Artillery which you haue taken, if you finde them necessarie for that Kingdome, hee is well pleased that they bee detayned, as well to serue for a scourge to them that brought them, (if againe they renew their attempt) as to prevent the inconveniencie and charge of their transportation thither: But if you finde them not necessary for that place, but that Iron may doe as good service, you may transport them in some of the Victuallers, when they doe returne from that Province; And so wee doe commit you to Gods protection. From the Court at Greenwich this eighteenth of Iuly, 1602.

Your very loving Friends,

Thomas Egerton. C. S.
Notingham.
Robert Cecil.

Thomas Buchurst.
John Stanhope.
John Fortescue.

At the same time also he received a gracious Letter written by her Majestie with her owne hands, which multiplied his comforts, thinking all his laborious endeavours to bee fully recompensed, in that they were so graciously accepted.

A Letter

*A Letter written by her Majesties owne hand
to the Lord President.*

Your Sovereigne, E. R.

MY Faithfull George, how joyed Wee are, that so good event hath followed so toyle some endeavors, laborious cares, and heedfull travells, you may guesse, but Wee can best witnesse; and doe protest, that your safetie hath equalled the most thereof: And so God ever blesse you in all your actions.

Not many dayes after the receit of this gracious Letter, the President in his next dispatch into England, wrote vnto her Majestie this Letter following.

*A Letter from the Lord President to
her Majestie.*

SACRED MAIESTIE,

IF I could sufficiently expresse the Ioy which my heart conceived, when I beheld a Letter written by your Royall hand, and directed unto mee, (who in your service haue merited little, though in zeale, faith and loyalty equall to any) your Maiestie would not in your more then abounding Charitie, mislike your paines, having thereby raysed the dejected spirit of a poore Creature, exiled from that blessing which others enjoy in beholding your Royall Person, whose beautie adorne the world, and whose wisdom is the myracle of our age. Gracious Sovereigne, three yeares are now almost fully expired, since my imploiment (into this kingdome) tooke his beginning; during which time, rest in body and minde hath been a stranger unto mee; and overwearied in both, I doe most humbly beseech your Maiestie, (if this Realme bee not invaded from Spaine, whereof in a few dayes true Iudgement may be made) to graunt mee leaue, but onely for two moneths this Winter to attend you in your Court; which small time of respiring, and at that time of the yeare, can bee no hinderance to the Service, and yet sufficient to releue my minde, and enable my body, which now is not so strong (as I could wish) to doe your Maiestie that service I ought. Ireland is destitute of learned men of English birth, and with Irish Physicians (knowing the good will they beare mee) if they were learned I dare not adventure: The longer I

1602

am without remedy, the lesse, and the lesse time I shall bee able to serue you : But as I am your Majesties Creature, so I doe submit the consideration of my humble and just suite to your Princely consideration, at whose Royall feete, and in whose Service I am howerly ready to sacrifice my life. From your Maiesties Citie of Corke the nine and twentieth of September. 1602.

Your Sacred Majesties most
humble Vassall and Servant,

GEORGE CAREVV.

After the President had received their Lordships instructions (in their Letters afore mentioned) hee framed an answer for Captaine Harvie, written in French to the Veador ; and also a French Passeport, the copies whereof Englished, I thinke it meete to relate, and with them the Letter from Odonnell, formerly touched by their Lordships.

*A Letter from Captaine Harvie to Pedro
Lopez de Soto, the Spanish
Veador.*

SIr, after your departure it pleased God to visit mee with such extreame sicknesse, as all my thoughts were fixed upon another life, supposing that my dayes had beene determined: By reason whereof, together with my feeblenesse and absence, I had not the meanes to acquaint the Lord President, with the passages betwixt us untill now, that the time prefixed in your Passeport is almost expired, which I could not by any meanes remedy: Sir I haue of late received a Letter from you, dated the ninth of Aprill, 1602. by the which I perceiue, that you are desirous that I should send a Messenger, to giue you a taste (as I conceiue) concerning the discourse which passed betweene us, which truly I would willingly haue done, if I had not beene visited with sicknesse: But now finding by the opinion of all men, that his Majestie is resolved to continue the warre against the Sacred person of my Sovereigne: Although in my heart (as a Christian) I wish a firme vnity betweene their Majesties, the which by their Ancestors hath beene so long time (to the comfort of their Subjects) religiously continued: Yet now understanding of the great preparations which the King is in making, for the invasion of her Majesties Dominions: I confesse I am not so passionate for the peace as I was, and I haue no reason to make any overture of your discourse to the Lord President, there being so little probability of a peace to ensue: Wherefore if you thinke it good, that the matter we
speake

speake of, should be set on foote, because you were the first mover of it (wherein you manifest your zeale) I pray you to write unto mee, that I may understand, whether his Majestie will giue eare to a peace or no, whereof you need not be scrupulous to speake freely, since you see by experience, that when your designe did giue us cause of revenge, we did intreat you with honour and humanity: when I shall know your answer, I will deale effectually with the Lord President; with whom aswell in kindred as in affection, I haue such interest as you haue heard, and of whose worth and sufficiencie you haue bin well informed, assuring you that if hee will put his hand unto it, it will much advance the busines: I am not in despaire of his inclination to a peace, if by your answer hee may perceiue, that you proceed roundly: I marvell much that his Majestie and the Lords of his Councell, lends their eares so much unto this traitorly barbarous nation, who from their Cradles haue beene nourished in falsehood and treasons, masking (of late) their actions under the vaile of religion, whereof the truth is, that in their hearts they haue neither feare of God, nor faith to men: And that from henceforth you may not bee blinded, and see their fraud, wherewith they beguile his Majestie, unto whom they protest sincerity. I doe send you here inclosed a Letter signed by the hand of the Traytor *Odonnell*, written to a friend of his in this Province of Mounster, called *O Connor Karry*, which was found in the Castle of Beerehaven, the which by her Majesties forces (under the conduct of the President in person) was within the space of seven dayes taken and razed, and the Rebels put to the sword, their Companions with all their forces lodging neere unto them, but (according to their custome) they durst not second nor aid them, but left them to destruction: By the which Letter you shall see (as cleere as the day) how this Traytor *Odonnell* onely tempers a baite to deceiue the King your Master, like unto all the rest of this nation, who doe but temporize to worke their advantage by it: To relate unto you truely in what estate these Rebels live at this present, howsoever they may protest and dissemble their affaires, or write from hence, I protest upon my soule, that *Tirone* workes all he may to bee received into the favour and mercy of our Sovereigne, and that all the Lords and Chiefs of the North that followed him on the day of the rowt at Kinsale, and others of those parts haue submitted themselves to the Lord Deputie, and for securitie haue put in their Pledges for their future loyalties: And *Tirone* (with his weake Troupes) haue beene so sharply prosecuted, that as a fugitiue (being enforced to quit his owne Countrey) hee seekes out Coverts, Bogges, and Woods; The Lord Deputie without impeachment passes from place to place, and holds all Vlster in subjection: The other Provin-

1602.

ces of Leinster and Connaght, are reduced to obedience, and the Province of Munster (where I remaine) is so much at the commandement of the Lo. President, as if he would receiue to mercy all the Traytors that seeke to bee received, and promise to liue as good subjects, there would bee no rebels left; And amongst others, *Ojulevan*, who hath given you the best assurance, and of whom (as I think) you haue most confidence, doth daily make suit to be restored to the Queens favour, and this I assure you from the mouth of the Lo. President. Moreover (as the vulgar can informe you) the President absolutely commands in this Province, and the traitors (whose requests he rejects) are so few and so weake, as they liue like unto wolues and foxes, flying from one place to another, onely to assure their liues, which kind of life cannot long endure. But if the King your Master will persevere to ayd these poore traitors, you shall see us (when you shall enterprise it) in better point then wee were, it not being in your power to surprise any Port or place of importance, and if it be your chance to come hither in person, you shall find it to be true, whereof in my particular (in regard of the honor I beare you) I should be exceeding sorry. The Bearer hereof *Walter Edney* my Lieutenant, whom you know by sight, in his fatherly loue to his dearest Son, whom he placed in the service of Capitaine *Pedro Enriques de Tejada*, lately deceased, hath intreated the Lord President to licence him to see his sonne, to the end that he might supply his necessary wants, for default wherof he may otherwise perish; which occasion I willingly embraced, whereby I might write unto you, & by that meanes receiue your answer, beseeching you to extend your favour unto him, during his abode in *Spaine*, I will doe the like for all such as depend upon you, if they shall happen to arriue in this Kingdome. And to the end that I might the more fully know your answer, and haue the better meanes to treat the more effectually in these affayres, which are of such consequence, I pray you to send one from you well instructed, that I may bring him to the Lo. President, which will much advance the businesse you desire. And as you haue given mee a Passport for such as I should send unto you, (whereof by reason of my sicknes I could make no use) I doe send you the like here inclosed, which shalbe of force untill the end of *February 1602*: Even so Sir, being ever ready (my allegiance to my Sovereigne excepted) to doe you all friendship & service, I pray God to preserue you in health according to your own desire. From *Corke* the 17 of *September. 1602.*

Tours affectionately to doe you Service,

A Monsieur,

*Monsieur Pedro Lopez de Soto, Veador
generall for his Majestie of Spaine,
deliver these at the Groyne.*

Roger Harvie.

Sir,

Sir, I had forgotten one thing, which is to pray you to afford your favour to my Lieutenant, that hee may vent his Merchandises transported thither, and returne others, which he carries onely by the meanes of Traffique, for the defraying of his charges. I will doe the like for any of yours that you shall send hither.

Roger Harvie.

**A Passeport of Captaine Harvies sent to
the Veador.**

IRoger Harvie, Captaine of a foote Company, and Governour for her Majesty of Castle-haven and Baltimore, &c. For certaine causes concerning her Majesties service, I doe give this free Passeport to such ship and Messenger as Don Pedro Lopez de Soto (Veador generall for the King of Spaine) shall send into this Province of Mounster in Ireland, betweene the date of this present, and the last of February 1602. And if it shall happen that any of her Majesties ships, or any other of her Subjects, shall meete with the said Ship, or that by force of Wind they shall be enforced upon the Coast of England, or into any part within the Realme of Ireland: In her Majesties name I pray and require every of them, that they may bee friendly entreated, and that the Messenger without any impediment, may be permitted to have free recourse unto me, and to vend their merchandises being requisite for the Queenes service: Dated at Corke the seventeenth of September, 1602.

Roger Harvie.

To all Admirals, Viceadmirals, Governours, Magistrates, and Officers, and to all other her Majesties loyall and obedient Subjects, unto whom this shall or may appertaine.

A Letter from Odonnell to O Connor Kerry.

WHat newes are here, the Doctor and Dermond Odrischal may largely report unto you; but of this one thing you may bee fully assured; that the King will not omit the winning of Ireland, if it cost him the most part of Spaine: His Majestie doth send you money and munition. I pray let our enformation of you bee found true, and your service encourage our King to further merit you: I pray you send mee the relation of the newes of our Countrey, in such sort, as if there be any bad, it be concealed from the Spaniards,

1602

niards, and known to me : where the Deputie with the Queenes forces are occupied, or where they are in Garrison : At the Groyne the foure and twentieth of May, 1602.

Your loving Friend

To his loving Friend O Connor Kerry,
these giue in Ireland.

Hugh Odonnell.

At the same time, when *Pedro Lopez de Soto* the Veador, wrote to Captaine *Harvie*, *Don Iohn de Aguila*, did write unto the Lord President, and sent him a present of wines, Lymmons, Orenge, &c. And to doe him a farther curtesie, hee gaue him assurance, that his Passports should bee sufficient for any man, that hee would employ into Spaine, if hee had any cause to send thither : This Letter the President sent to the Lords of the Councell in England, who authorised him both to write unto him, and to returne him a Present, if he were so disposed : The copie of *Don Iohns* Letter, and the Presidents unto him translated out of the Spanishe doe here ensue.

A Letter from *Don Iuan de Aguila* to the
Lord President.

MVy illustre Sennor : To say the truth, I am very glad that I am in Spaine, and that the passage was good which I was to make. I confesse unto your Lordship, that I am so much obliged, for the honourable and good termes, which the Lord Deputy and your Lordship vsed there in the service of your Prince, in all things which concerned me, that I desire some apt occasion to manifest my selfe to be a good Paymaster (as I ought) for those curtesies, and for the assurance thereof, your Lordship may send securely to me, to command anything you please for your service : And that your Ship and Passport shall bee friendly received : And for that in this Countrey, there is no fruit of more estimation then Wines of Ripadavia, Limmons and Orenge, these few are sent to make a prooffe thereof, and the willingnesse I haue to serue your Lordships ; whom I commend to God : From the Groyne the second of Aprill, 1602.

Muy illustre Sennor.

Beso las manos a V. S.

Su Servidor.

Don Iuan de Aguila.

A Letter

A Letter from the Lord President to Don Iuan de Aguila.

M*Vy illustre Sennor*, I doubt not but that your Lordship hath received my Letters of the thirteenth of Iuly, sent in answer of yours of the second of Aprill, by the Captaines *Suafo* and *Sigler*, and I rest so well satisfied of the good tearmes, wherein wee stand, as I am desirous to doe your Lordship some agreeable service; at that time there was no occasion for mee to make use of the Passeport, and offer your Lordship made me, for security of that man or ship which I should send into those parts: But now this bearer Captaine *Walter Edney*, whose Sonne served Captaine *Pedro Enriques de Tejada* (lately deceased) having prayed mee to giue him licence, and my Passeport to see his Sonne: To supply him of his necessary wants, I beseech your Lordship that he may (according to your promise) safely and securely passe and returne, which favour I shall thankfully acknowledge: And whensoever your Lordship shall haue occasion, to send any of yours into these parts, hee shall bee vsed with the like courtesie: I haue received profit by the booke of fortification which your Lordship left mee at your departure, and hold it as a Relique in memory of you, and as a good Scholler I haue put some things in practise, whereof your Lordship at your returne hither againe (which I hope in God will be never) may be a witnesse, whether I haue committed any error in the art or no. My greatest defect hath beene the want of the helpe of so great a Master as your Lordship is, of whom I am desirous to learne, not onely that art, but in all else concerning military profession, in the which I doe giue your Lordship the preheminence: To conclude, I rest in all I may (my dutie reserved to the Queene my mistresse) affectionately ready at your Lordships service, and so kissing your hands. I beseech God to preserue you with many happy yeares: From Corke the seventeenth of September, 1602.

Although here is nothing to be had worthy the presenting unto your Lordship, yet I make bold to present you with an ambling Hackney.

*Muy illustre Signior,**Beso las manos a**V. S. su Serridor.*

GEORGE CAREVV.

The man whom the Lord President made choise of, to carry these Letters to *Pedro Lopez de Soto*, and to *Don Iohn de Aguila*, was *Walter Edney*, Lieutenant unto Captaine *Harvie*, who was an ingenious man

1602

of good discretion, and well experienced, aswell in Land as Sea service, and the better to disguise his employment, hee had a Sonne in Spaine, a Page unto Captaine *Pedro Enrique*, who after rendering of Kinsale (the Captaine aforesaid) casting an affection to the boy, moved *Don Iohn*, to entreate the President that hee might haue the youth to serue him, which was granted, and within a few moneths after the Spaniards returne the Captaine dyed; and to put a farther maske upon his employment, the President fraighted a small Barke loaden with Irish commodities, and in it a choise Irish horse, with a rich pad and furniture, and some other trifles which hee sent to *Don Iohn de Aguila*: and for his safetie hee had two Passeports with him, the one from Captaine *Harvie*, the other from the President, the Presidents Passeport ensueth.

By the Lord President of Mounster
in Ireland.

The Lord
Presidents
Passeport
for Captaine
Edney into
Spaine.

I SIR GEORGE CAREVV, Lieutenant generall of the Artillery, for her Sacred Majestie the Queene of England, in that her kingdome, and her Highnesse Lord President for the Province of Mounster in Ireland, doe certifie that I haue licensed Captaine Walter Edney to goe into Spaine, to visit his Sonne remayning there, and to returne hither within two moneths after the date hereof; this being agreeable with the allowance and power which *Don Iohn de Aguila* did give me (at his being here) the cobby whereof is beereunto annexed. Given at Corke the seventeenth of September, 1602.

G. C.

Of these dispatches for Spaine enough being said, it is time to returne to the passages in Mounster, but first I must relate unto you, the newes from Spaine sent in a Letter from Sir Robert Cecill unto the Lord Deputie; and the same transcribed (by master Secretaries direction) unto the President: the Letter bare date the seventh of August, and arrived at Corke the second of September following, whereby the Reader may see, that the King of Spaines eyes were yet still (notwithstanding the rowt at Kinsale, the dishonour hee received in the returnes of his troopes, and the losse of Dunboy, whereby his footing in Ireland was meereley lost) open upon that kingdome.

Although Queene Elizabeth of happie memory was dead before Lieutenant Edney returned, yet I hold it not impertinent in this place to recount his successe. When hee was landed at the Groyne, hee understood that *Don Iohn de Aguila*, by the accusation of the Irish Fugitives, was in disgrace confined to his house, where (of griefe) shortly

shortly after hee dyed. His Letters and Passports were taken from him by the Earle of *Caraxena*, and sent to the Court, and himselfe stayed untill the Kings pleasure was knowen. The Irish Traytors inveighed much against him, saying, That under pretext of Trade, and bringing of Presents, hee came as a Spie; Neverthelesse he was well intreated, and had the libertie of the Towne, and to weare his Sword, with allowance from the King of a Duccat *per diem* for his dyet: His goods were solde for the best advantage, and his Barque returned into *Ireland*; But the Presidents present to *Don Iohn*, the Earle of *Caraxena* detayned to his owne use; And after nine moneths restraint, *Edney* was enlarged, and returned into *England* in *July*, 1603.

A little before this time Sir *Robert Cecil*, her Majesties principall Secretary, wrote unto the Lord Deputie the Newes of *Spaine*, a branch of which hee also sent to the President, dated upon the seventh of *August*, and received the second of September, I hold meet to insert, wherby the Reader may understand that the King of *Spaine* had still his eyes open upon *Ireland*.

Spanish intelligence sent from Master Secretary Cecil to the Lord President.

One great cause of my writing this private Letter, is this, that where I see how much it doth distract your mind to thinke of *Spaine* behinde you, and of the North before you, fearing to bee diverted from the conclusion of your labours, you may perceiue in what estate the preparations of *Spaine* are now, as I am certainly advertised by one of mine owne, who is newly arrived from the Port of *Lisbone*, where he tooke shipping the 21 of *July*.

There are two great Ships, each of them of a thousand Tunnes, one called the *Andrew*, & the other (which shall be the Viceadmirall) the name forgotten: Besides, there are twelue ships of two hundred tunnes and downeward, in which it is resolved to send some fiftene hundred men, to haue releued the siege at *Bearehaven*; the Newes of the taking whereof was first knowen by a Ship from *Waterford* to *Lisbon*, and not before: Of the fiftene hundred men, eight hundred came from the Groyne, being part of those which were transported out of *Ireland*. In the Groyne remaineth *Odonnell*, and there is onely the great Saint *Philip*, with ten small Barques, with which he mightily importuned to be sent to the North. If these had been sent unto *Beerehaven* in *Mounster*, hoping upon his arrivall with some fiftene hundred men, to haue raised the siege, possessed some parts, and made a beginning of a plantation, heereof great benefit must needs haue growen to the Rebels: for as those small numbers which should haue been landed at *Mounster*, with the bruite of the rest to follow, (which is alwayes multiplied) would haue made a distraction of the *Vlster* prosecution, &c. Lastly, in the said Letter he prayed

1602.

the President to set downe his opinion, what course were best to be taken in a Defensiuē warre; if the King of *Spaine* did invade *Ireland* with a Royall Armie. The next passage, to giue Master Secretarie satisfaction, the Lord President wrote unto him a long Letter; but because many private things were handled in the same, I will onely relate so much of it, as concernes his opinion, touching a defensiuē warre in *Ireland*.

*The Lord Presidents Opinion sent to Master Secretary,
of a Defensiuē Warre in Ireland.*

GRanting that the Enemy will come no lesse powerfull then is reported, and that the Irish will joyne with them (whereof there is no doubt) then consideration is to bee had, what in such a Sea of troubles, is meetest to bee done, that may best preferue the Queenes army with lest charge, and the way to weary the enemy and the countrey. Because my opinion may perchance differ from other men, whose Authority, Greatnesse, and better iudgement (in the worldes opinion) beares more sway, I will forbear to deale in so waightie a businesse any farther, then to your selfe, vsing the libertie you haue euer giuen me, to say what I conceiue to be the best Counsaile, if the army of *Spaine* be so great as is both reported by those that come from thence, and expected heere, let us make no doubt, but he will bee Master of the field (for the present) and will so hold himselfe, except the Armie of *Ireland* bee reenforced to a farre higher List; the charge whereof will make (if I bee not deceived) both *England* and *Ireland* to groane: Wherefore the best way (in my conceit) to moderate such huge Expences, is for the present to be carelesse of the Countreys generally throughout the kingdome; for in seeking both to defend them, and to make head against the Enemy, will be too heauie a burden. The principall regard which we ought to haue, is of the Cities, in every of which I doe wish a strong Garison both of Horse and foot, able to defend a siege: when the Enemy shall see that wee are dispersed into Garrisons, either hee will presently (in his best strength) goe to besiege one of those places, or else disperse, (because hee hath the Countrey to friend) as wee doe, if he attempt the besieging of any of our places aforesaid, there is no doubt, but in such a businesse he will unite all his forces in one, then may wee be bold to draw all our forces from their severall Garrisons, to a head to releue that place; and with Gods fayour make no doubt but to enforce the Enemy to rise; if hee disperse, then those Garrisons will be able to master the Countries about them, and leaue no habitation to releue either Spanyard or Irish; and upon occasion

two

two or more of these Garrisons may assemble and meet, to effect greater services, then otherwise can bee done: This fashion of a warre will in a short time destroy all the Countrey, make the Irish to curse the Spaniard and themselves, for drawing them hither, driue the King to an inestimable charge, and hazard by Sea, to victuall and releue his Army, which otherwise will perish, ease the Queenes charge, and secure the chiefe Townes, which is chiefly (and aboue all other things) to be respected. Supposing the Army would land in Mounster, in it I would haue principall regard of Corke, Limerick, and Waterford, in either of which Cities I doe wish there might be a strong Garrison of three thousand foote and three hundred horses, one thousand foote more to be disperfed for some poorer places meet to be kept, so as the Queenes forces should consist of ten thousand foote and one thousand horse; the rest of the kingdome (where the Spaniards are not) may bee held in awe with some Garrisons upon them as now they are: This manner of warre (in my conceit) would little or nothing increase the charge the Queene is now at, and in a short time weary both the Spaniard and the Irish.

To make it appeare more probable unto you, that these Garrisons will be able to ruine all the Countrey at their pleasures, although the Enemy bee never so strong: it cannot bee denyed but sixe thousand foote and sixe hundred horse may bee drawen from the Garrisons; and yet those left against the Irish, and Townesmen sufficiently guarded; with such a light Army, the Commander may goe where hee list, and lodge as neere the Spaniard (without harme) as hee thinkes good: for wee haue the same advantage upon them, as the Irish in lightnesse haue of us, and with such an Army (of the Irish) there is no doubt to bee made, then it followes that wee shall be able to goe into every part of the Province, and retreat at our pleasures: To the contrary, if the Spaniard be strong, and wee in his strength doe fight with him, the event of battels (being dangerous and uncertaine as they are) the losse of one field or one dayes disaster, would absolutely loose the kingdome, if hee come with like numbers as he did the last yeare, (which I cannot beleue, because the example hath taught him more wit) yet I doe not wish that wee should (doe as wee did) presently besiege him; for Kinsale was bought at so deare a rate (as while I liue) I will protest against a winter siege, if it may be avoided: I doe speake within my compasse, I doe verily beleue, that at that siege, and after (the sicknesse there gotten) we lost aboue sixe thousand men that dyed: Thus may your honour see what a fashioned warre, I doe conceiue to bee least in charge and most of use; but for a farther helpe, it will be needfull for some of the Queenes ships, to bee evermore upon the coast, to keepe the Spaniard from reliefe of

1602.

victuals; and then there is an apparant hope, that a Spanish Army cannot any long time subsist in Ireland, for betweene us and them, and the swarmes of Irishie that will draw into Mounster, the Province will be so harassed, as neither the Spaniards or Rebels can avoid starving. I protest unto your Honour, I doe not project this manner of a warre for any particular respect unto my selfe, hoping thereby to haue the managing of it, being unmeet for the Lieutenant of the Kingdome, to bee where there is not a royall Armie in the field, to confront an Enemy; and therefore lest I may bee mistaken, if the motion bee liked of, let it not bee mine: But the Reason that leads mee to that opinion, is, because I am sure it is the easiest warre for charge, the surest from hazard, and in the end must prevaile. *Dar*
11. August, 1602.

G. C.

CHAP. XIII.

Cormock Mac Dermond makes escape. The Castle of Mocrump taken, and most of the Ward put to the sword. Olulevan and Tirrell repayre with their forces into Muskrey. Cormock Mac Dermond makes meanes to bee received to her Majesties mercy. The Reasons that mooved ib: Lord President to accept of Cormocks submission.



Ormock Mac Dermond being all this time in the Gentleman Porters custodie, and his intended escape (as hath been said) made knowen to the Lo. President, the same also came after to the eares of the Lo. Bishop of Corke, who according to his duty both of a subject & a Councillor, acquainted the Lord President with it, who made answer, that himselfe heretofore having Intelligence thereof, and had seriously admonished the Gentleman Porter to take an extraordinary care of his Prisoner: Yet because that could not be too often repeated, that can never be too sufficiently learned, he intreated the Bishop that he also (for *Abundans cautela non nocet*, would call for *Hammon*, and giue him warning to bee vigilant and circumspect in his charge, knowing how much it concerned both himselfe and the State. The Bishop having performed grauely and pathetically the Presidents desire, left the execution thereof to his future care. Lastly, *Dominicke Sarsfield* (the Queenes Attorney for that Province) came to the President upon the same errand, agreeing in all Circumstances with the former Intelligence: whereupon the sayd Officer was againe called, the practife revealed unto him, and for a perclose, commaunded to keepe him close prisoner in an Hand-locke, either with his owne Servant, or
some

Some Souldier of especiall trust: Notwithstanding all these repetitions, and reiterations of warnings, within two dayes this last caution given, namely upon Michaelmas day betweene seven and eight of the clock at night, *Cormock* having no other attendant, but his trusty Servant *Maghon Oge Olyne*, who had broken up a window that looked into the Streete, stripping himselfe forth of his clothes, creepeth in his shirt out of the window, where were divers mantlemen wayting of purpose to receiue him; an English woman comming alongst the street (in the very instant) while he was creeping forth, perceived his white shirt, and thereupon rayled the cry, they within the house (hearing the cry) looked for the Prisoner, and finding the window open, and Chamber empty follow the pursuit, but all in vaine, for he having the darke night, the Towne and Countrey to friend, was conuayed over the Citie wals and so escaped. The President although infinitely grieved with this unfortunate accident, yet thought it more necessary to prevent future dangers, then to lament passed disasters, and therefore wrote presently, first to *Sir Charles Wilmon* (being still before *Mocrumpe*;) that if he could not gaine the Castle that night, hee should raise his siege, and retreat with his forces the next morning; for nothing was more certaine, that now (*Cormock* being escaped) all his Followers and Dependants (who did infinitely loue him) would presently turne Rebels, which if they should, and joyne with *Tirrell*, and *Donnell Ofuleran* (as most likely) they would intercept the places and passages twixt him and *Corke*, that he should not bee able to retire without great danger and losse: These being sent away by a Horseman, other Letters were instantly written to the Lord *Barry*, and the Lord *Roch*, that they should make stay of all *Cormocks* Followers and goods, that were as yet residing in their Countries, not suffering either the one, or the other to start aside, till from himselfe they should receiue farther directions.

Sir Charles was exceeding much distracted with these Newes, being exceeding sorry to raise his siege before the worke were finished, yet purposed to obey his directions; behold a meere casualty gaue him opportunitie to effect his desires: for the Warders having killed a Swine for their provision, and having no plentie of water to scald the same, were constrained to singe her (as the manner of some Countreyes is) with straw, feare, and such like, as they had within the walls. This fire not carefully regarded, tooke hold upon a Cabin within the Bawne adjoyning to the Castle wall, and the thatch thereof (fired and flaming aloft) happened (through a window) to catch hold of certaine tallow, and such combustible matter within the Castle, raging so violently withall, that the Rebels were constrained to quit it, and to make the Bawne their last refuge, wherein they

1602.
29. Septemb.
Cormocke
Muc Dermond made
an escape out
of prison.

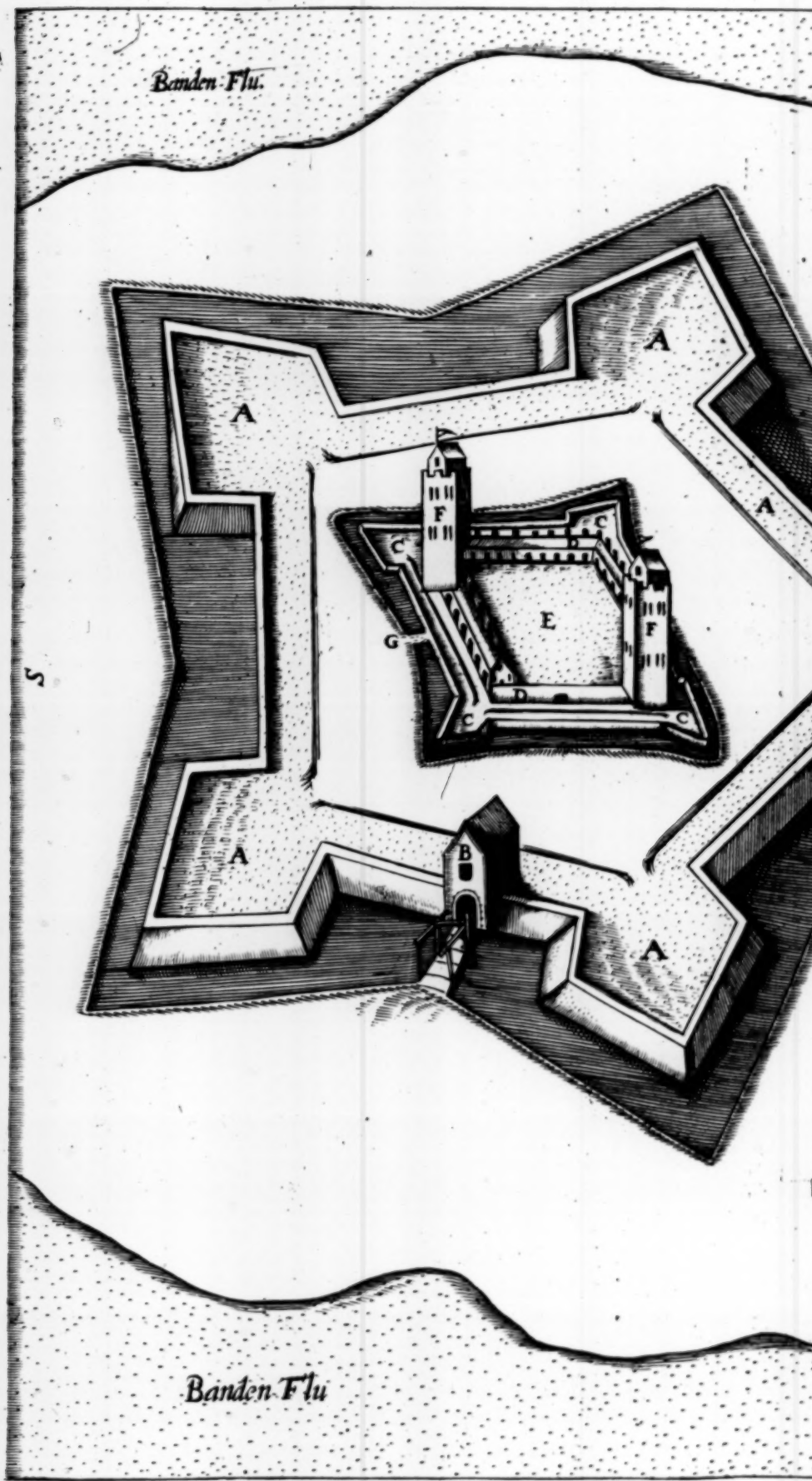
The castle of
Mocrumpe
taken, & most
of the ward
put to the
sword.

1602.

*Osulevan &
Tirrell re-
paire with
their forces
into Muskerry*

had little hope of safety: for they saw the two Captaine *Harvies*, brethren, and Captaine *Thomas Boys*, ready to assault it, wherefore (mistrusting that weake defence, which could not bee maintayned) they resolved to sally, and to adventure the recovery of the woods adjoining; in which attempt, about fiftie of them were put to the sword, the rest were but few, who by favour of the darke night escaped; at length the violence of the fire being somewhat appeased, all industry was used to make the Castle tenable, and a Company being left within, well victualled and furnished with all necessaries, the Army the next day returned towards Corke: the rumor of *Cormocks* escape being come to the eares of *Osulevan Beare*, and Captaine *Terrill*, they incontinently drew their forces forth of Kerry and Desmond into the borders of Muskerry, to conferre and joyne with *Cormock*, making no question but their decayed party should receiue great strength and encouragement by the Lord of Muskerry, his strong Countrey, and multitude of dependants. The President both to terrifie *Cormock*, and to secure the goods of the Subjects in the Lord *Roches* Countrey, sent for Sir *Samuell Bagnall* with his Regiment from Lymrick, to lye upon the confines of Muskerry, not making any other account, but to beginne a new warre, chargeable to her Majestie, painefull to himselfe, and nothing profitable to the Captaines or Souldiers, the Countrey being already much impoverished with the former siege, the Corne destroyed, and the Cattle fled into places of greatest strength, when as it pleased God contrary to all expectation, to giue this turbulent beginning a short and peaceable end, considering that the hopes of Spaine began to bee desperate and calme: For this Irish escaped Lord having conferred with *Terrill* and his associates, and discerning that they being very needfull and halfe hungerstarved, (having been shut up so long within the Mountaines of Beare & Desmond) required bonnaght upon his Countrey, which was grievously wasted already by the English, found the unavoydable ruine and destruction of himselfe and his followers, if hee enter-tayned that course; and secondly, finding the English possessed of all his strong holds, both on the sides, and in the very heart of his Countrey; and lastly, his eldest sonne then by the procurement of the President prisoner in *England*, and his yonger son, with his wife, daughter, and some of his most respected followers close prisoners in Corke, thought it his wisest course to adhere unto the State, if his humble submission might bee accepted. Vpon this resolution the twelfth of *October*, he wrote severall Letters to the Bishop of Corke, to the Chiefe Justice, and to Captaine *Tasse*, earnestly solliciting every of these that they would become Mediators and Intercessors in his behalfe to the Lord President, that licence might bee graunted unto

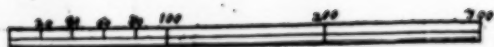
*12. Octob.
Cormock mac
Dermond
made meanes
to be recei-
ved to her
Majesties
mercie.*



HAVEN

CASTLE PARK

- A. The Bulworks and Ramparts of $\frac{1}{2}$ forte.
B. The gate house.
C. a small forte well rampied wth a
Stone wall of 16 foote hy.
D. an inner Square wth Soulders lodgings
on 3 sides, a Stonewall on the fourth
E. and a Courte with in marked E
F. two Square Castles wth flank the Sides
of the inner work, and Showre the
forte from the Battlements above
G. a drawbridge over the inner ditch



Scale of 300 foote

HAVEN

E

North

Barren Flu.

THE BARK

The bark is a small vessel
which is used for carrying
goods and passengers. It is
built of wood and is
very strong and durable.
It is also very fast and
can carry a large amount
of cargo. The bark is
usually used for long
distance travel.



1602.

unto him to make his repaire unto his Lordship, protesting that hee would doe any thing within his power to redeeme his former offences. The whole body of the Councell adjudging his suite reasonable, the President would not dissent from their unanime opinion, and therefore his request was granted. The one and twentieth of October he came to the President, falling downe vpon his knees, he humbly (and indeed more passionately then I haue seene any) besought her Majesties mercie, no way standing upon his iustification, but promising that his future Services should deserue her gracious favours; onely thus farre in modest tearmes hee alledged for his Excuse, (although he knew his Offences great, and himselfe thereby subject to Law) yet that in his heart he still retained the dutie of a Subject, and therein would remaine so long as life and breath should remaine within his body. The President and Councell beholding the man, and weighing his words, which proceeded from him not without evident testimony of inward griefe, and unfained sorrow, (although peradventure arising like *Esau*s teares from the sense of his losse, more then from Conscience, and feeling of his folly) thought good (upon advised deliberation) to receiue him into her Majesties grace and favour: And as you haue already heard the Motiues inducing him to demaund it: so shall ye briefly understand the reasons, by the weight and validitie whereof the State was perswaded to graunt it. First, considering the insupportable losse which hee had sustained since his imprisonment, in the taking of two, and burning his third Castle, wherein (as being the place of his most especiall abode) his best moouables (whereof hee was very well furnished) were consumed and burnt; and that the harvest of his Countrey, betweene her Majesties forces, and the Rebels, (for in the same they had made their abode for a whole moneth) was valued as might be esteemed at five thousand pounds, which as a just punishment was fallen upon him.

Secondly it was well weighed, what a helpe and courage his combination would haue afforded to the Rebels, if hee had obstinately run a rebellious course, for hee was at that time the strongest man of Followers of any one of the Irish in that Province, and his Countrey in strength and fastnesse equall with the worst part of the same, and that which required no lesse respect was the situation of his Countrey, reaching even to the wals of Corke, whereby the greatest part of her Majesties forces, must of necessity haue beene employed in Muskerry, which would haue given great impediment to the prosecution of the service in other parts, whereas by receiving him the warre would bee removed farther off, and the greatest tempest of disturbance avoyded: that hee was deeply infected, and fowly

Y y

staind

21. Octob.
He made his
submission to
the L. President.

The reasons
that moved
the Lo. President
to accept
of Cormacks
submission.

1602

staind with manifold treasons was too manifest, yet this difference was made betweene him and others, that they were in publike action professed Traytors, and he a lugling Traytor; and though hee had joyned with a forraine Enemy, yet not in so hainous a manner as some other: for they solicited strangers to invade the kingdome, but strangers having invaded the kingdome, solicited him to partake with them; the three Castles (before mentioned) no doubt were great bridles upon him, and in time (no doubt) would haue wrought the effects desired, which was to banish him out of his Countrey: But considering the charge and incumbrance subject to some losse, that would grow in victualling of them, and many lewde and unsettled persons ready to joyne with him (if they had perceived him inclinable to continue a Rebelle) which might haue bred newe broyles, and protracted the warres of Mounster *in infinitum*: Againe the benefit, that by his prosecution and extirpation might haue redounded to her Majesty, was that thereby his Land should haue excheated unto her, which in the opinion of all wise men would haue proved too deare a purchase: Farther, besides his submission and his Sonne that was prisoner in England, his second Son also and his Castle of Blarney were held as pledges upon him: And whereas the L. Deputie had devised the forme of an oath for the Northren Protectees, he was content to sweare and subscribe to the same oath, and lastly himselfe with foure of the best Barons of Parliament in Mounster, were bound in three thousand pounds for his future loyaltie and subjection, so that hee was bound in heaven and in earth, before God and before man, by Law and by Nature, and nothing but onely hell was remayning for his farther assurance.

CHAP. XV.

The Lord President offers the Lord Deputy to send him of his List one or two Regiments. Odonnells death. Tirrels quarter assailed by Sir Samuell Bagnall. The losse on the Rebels part. Tirrell rageth in fury against the Inhabitants of Muskry, and retireth into Beare and Desmond. The death of Captaine Harvie. Captaine Flower succeeded Captaine Harvie in the government of Carbury. Cloghane summoned. The Constables brother hanged, and the Castle rendred.

The L. President offers the L. Deputie to send him of his list one or two regiments

He advertisseth of Odonnells death.



Ormocke being now reduced, the Lord President wrote to the Lord Deputie, signifying him thereof; and withall, that if his Lordship had any use in Connaght for the forces of Mounster, that he might dispose of one or more of the regiment of the same as hee pleased: And also he certified him, that one called *James Blake*, of Galway, lately arrived from Spaine, did constantly affirme, that *Odonnell* was dead, both which you may belecue

belceue was welcome Newes unto the Lord Deputie.

The morning immediatly following the day of his submission, which was the two and twentieth of *October*, Sir *Samuel Bagnall* placed (as you have heard) with a Regiment of Foot, and one hundred Horse on the borders of Muskrey, had occasion of service by this meanes: *Tirrell* with eight hundred Foot, and fortie Horse, was still remaining in the westermost confines of Muskrey, environed with such fastnesse of woods and boggs, as he thought himselfe secure: The cause of his stay was, for that hee expected the returne of *Cormock*, by whom hee made account to be waged, for *Cormock* indeed had not acquainted him with his intent of submission: Sir *Samuell Bagnall* therefore conjecturing, that so soone as hee should heare this Lord of Muskery to become a Subject, hee would then retire himselfe to his old haunt in the Mountaines of Beare and Desmond, thought the time either now or never to doe service upon this lightfooted Enemy, and therefore hee called upon *Owen Mac Teg* of the *Driffban*, one of the *Mac Carties* of Muskery (whom the President had appoynted to attend his directions) and requested him (in the edge of the evening) to make tryall if hee could goe unperceived to *Tirrels* Campe, and bring him word in what place, and in what manner the Rebels were lodged: This *Owen Mac Teg* very willingly and faithfully performed his employment, and about midnight returned, and reported, that hee had found the Rebels secure (as hee imagined) from all feare or suspicion, and would undertake to conduct, and guid the forces directly to their Campe: upon this intelligence it was not long before Sir *Samuell* and his Companies were all in Armes, disposing them into two bodies, *Captaine Sidley* (who had the poynt) had five and twenty out of every Company, with officers proportionable for his numbers, and Sir *Samuell* himselfe with the rest marched close up after them, and the Horse came in the reare, for the night was darke, the wayes deepe and woody, in this manner they held on till they came so neere to the Rebels quarters, as that they might discerne their fires, then they made halte, and sent *Owen Mac Teg*, with his cosen *Owen Olough* one of the *Mac Swynes*, to discover whether they could perceiue any stirring amongst them, and to descry more particularly the manner of their encamping; they gathering courage by the countenance of the Army, which approached so neere, as they precisely viewed every part thereof, and returning to the Colonell, certified him that they were lodged in three quarters, a little distant the one from the other, at their backe a strong wood, before their face a maine bog halfe a mile broad, and on either side cragged and rocky Mountaines: The Colonell therefore directed *Captaine Sidly* with the Vanguard to divide his troopes,

1602.

22. Octob.

Tirrels
quarter as-
sailed by Sir
muell
Sagnall.

1602

The losse on
the Rebels
part.

Tirrell ra-
geth in fury
against the
inhabitants
of Muskery.

Heretireth
into Beare
& Desmond.

and to giue on upon all the three quarters at one instant, and commanded the Sergeant Major, Captaine *William Power*, and Captaine *Bostocke* with the battle to be his seconds; to make good their undertakings, himselfe marched in the reare, a very small distance from them; and because there was no ground for the horse to serue in neere the Campe, therefore they were commanded to attend Captaine *Minshaw* (Lieutenant of the Presidents Horse troope) upon the farther side of the bog to intercept them in their flight: These forces marshalled into this order, the foote were come up within lesse then a furlong of the Rebels quarter, and no doubt had surprised them unperceived, if a Peece by mischance had not fired by the stumbling of one of the new supplyes, which giving the alarme, some of them drew speedily into Armes, yet our men killed eightie of them dead in the place; *Tirrell* ran away in his shirt, leaving both his garments and weapons behind him, and his wife followed no better clothed: our men got fiftie horses and hacknies, one thousand Cowes, sheepe and garrans, great store of Armes and baggage, and that which seldome hath beene seene in Irish spoyles, some remnants of Velvet, Holland, Gold, and silver Lace, English apparell of Satten and Velvet, and some quantity of Spanish coyn, amongst the rest there was a Portmantua found by the Souldiers, wherein *Tirrells* Spanish money was confessed to haue bin, but they that got it had more wit then to proclaime it in the market place: But whosoever sweetned their mouthes with these Spanish drugs, sure I am that the Souldiers came all with good courage, well pleased to Corke, except only seventene which were hurt in the skirmish, all our Captaines and Commanders deserved well, and particularly Captaine *Minshaw*, who had his horse slaine under him, and himselfe wounded with a Pike: *Tirrell* finding himselfe to haue sustayned this irrecoverable losse of men, money, clothes and armes, and hearing withall that *Cormock* was with the President at Corke, imagining that this plot had beene contrived by him; (in revenge of this defeat) wreaked his anger upon divers Charles and poore people in those Fastnesse: First burning their corne and cabbines, and afterwards put them to the sword, wherein hee little offended the State; these being onely such as had fled from the Garrisons into those Fastnesse, because they would not be subject to Law, and this was towards the latter end of October: *Tirrell* having found by this wofull experience, that the Fastnesse of Muskery could not secure him from the pursuit of the English, retired himselfe into his old lurking dens, in Beare and Desmond, not fearing but that hee might quietly spend the remainder of this winter in those desolate parts, and the rather because he committed no outrage upon the Subjects adjoyning.

The

The President perceiving their resolution, being now freed from the cloud (he formerly conceived) of sordaine Invasion, and knowing them to be much discouraged, and out of heart, by reason of their late overthrow, which now was past hope to be recovered, either by *Spaine* or *Cormocke*, thought it a fit time (in these respects) to make a speedy prosecution, foreseeing, that the former good fortune effectually pursued, might strike a good stroke to breake the heart of the Rebellion in Mounster; towards the effecting whereof he incontinently resolved to inviron them with Garrisons: but the difficulties that did incounter him in this businessse, were many and great: the long wayes, being neere fourescore miles English from Corke to Beare, the Plaines so deepe and boggie, the Mountaines so rough and craggie, and the carriage, Garrans, that are never strong, were not able to travell sixe miles a day; and besides Easterly winds are so seldome upon this coast, as it would aske a long time to transport their Vi-
 ctuals and Munitions by Sea. Notwithstanding, wading through all those inconveniences with industrious travell, and laborious diligence, hee had planted Sir *Charles Blinco* with one Regiment at Donkerran, Sir *Richard Perle* at Kinsale, Captaine *George Flower*, the Sergeant Major at Bantry, and Captaine *Roger Harvie* at Baltimore. But the present service received no small prejudice by meanes of the untimely departure of Captaine *Roger Harvie*, whose heart being overwhelmed with an inundation of sorrowes, and discontentments taken, (though in my Conscience not willingly given) by one that had been his honourable Friend, as his heart blowen like a bladder, (as the Surgeons reported) was no longer able to minister heate to the vitall parts, and therefore yeilded to that irresistable fate, which at last overtaketh all mortall creatures. The untimely death of this young Gentleman was no small occasion of griefe to the Lord President, not onely that Nature had conjoynd them in the neerest degrees of Consanguinitie, but because his timely beginnings gaue apparant demonstration, that his continuall proceedings would haue given comfort to his Friends, profit to his Countrey, and a deserved Advancement of his owne Fortunes. Great were the services which these Garrisons performed: for Sir *Richard Perle* and *George Flower* with their Tribupes, left neither Corke nor house unburnt, betweene Kinsale and Rosse; Captaine *Roger Harvie* who had with him his brother Captaine *Gavin Harvie*, Captaine *Francis Slingsbie*, Captaine *William Stafford* with their Companies, and also the Companies of the Lord *Barry*, and the Treasurer, with the Presidents Horse, did the like betweene Rosse and Bantry.

Not many dayes after the death of Captaine *Roger Harvie*, Captaine *George Flower* having the charge of Baltimore, and the com-

*The death of
Cap Harvie.*

*Cap. Flower
succeeded
Cap. Harvie
in his go-
vernment.*

1602.
The Castle
of Cloghan
summoned.

The Constables
brother
hanged.

The castle of
Cloghan
rendered.

manding of the Garrisons thereabouts, which formerly was under Harvies direction, understanding that the Castle of Cloghan was guarded by the Rebels, and that in the same there was a Romish Priest lately come from Rome, taking with him Captaine Francis Slingsbie, and Captaine William Stafford with their Companies of Foot, (besides his owne) he marched unto it, in hope to gaine it, the rather, because he had in his hands one called Donnell Dorrogh, a traitor, brother to the Constable that had the charge thereof: Vpon his summons they refused to yeeld; then hee told the Ward, that if the Constable did not presently render the Castle unto him, that hee would hang his brother in their sight: they said the Constable was gone abroad (but therein they said untruely as afterward it was proved) in conclusion to saue the Priest (whose life they tendered) they persevered obstinately not to yeeld; whereupon Captaine Flower in their sight hanged the Constables brother: Nevertheless within fower dayes afterward the Priest being shifted away in safetie, the Constable sued for a Protection and rendered the Castle to Captaine Flower: I doe relate this accident to the end the Reader may the more cleerely see, in what reverence and estimation these ignorant superstitious Irish doe hold a Popish Priest, in regard of whose safetie the Constable was content to suffer his brother to perish.

CHAP. XVI.

A Branch of a Letter from the Lords of the Councell to the Lord President. The Ensignes of Magistracy redelivered to the Corporation of Kinsale. Of Spaniards defeated at Kinsale, in the time of King Richard the second. The Rising out of the Country committed to the charge of the Lord Barry. The Lord Deputy requires the Lord President to meet him at Galway. Sir George Thornton appointed to joine with the Lord Barry. A Messenger from the Rebel Tíreall to the Lord President, and his Answer. The Knight of Kerry defeated. The Knights of Kerry, Thomas Oge, and Osulevan Mores Sonne make their submission. A foule murder committed by Osulevan Mores Sonne.

A branch
of a Letter
from the
Lords of the
Councell to
the Lord
President.



THE Lords of the Councell, by the Letters dated the sixteenth of December, signified their pleasures unto the President, that in regard Florence Mac Cartie was a prisoner in the Tower, his children (to avoyd her Majesties charges) should bee set at libertie, and also the children pledges of others (except the President saw cause to the contrary) to bee enlarged; That her Majestie was pleased that the President should deliver unto the Corporation of Kinsale, their Charter and other Ensignes of Magistracie, and to impose upon them in stead of

stead of a fine, the reedifying of their wals at their owne charges, and certaine workemen towards the finishing of the Fort of Castle ny Parke: That her Majestie was pleased at the Presidents request, that a faire and strong house should be built for the President, where hee thought it convenient, to bee defrayed upon the fines and casualties of the Province: That the fort of Haleboling should be presently finished: Lastly, thanks in her Majesties name for his services, liking well of his proceedings with *Cormock Mac Dermond*, and for the courses he had taken in his returne from Donboy, and of the well disposing of the Garrisons, and his rayling and making of fortifications, &c.

By this Letter it appeares that the President was directed to redeliver unto the Burgesses of Kinsale their Charter, and other their Ensignes of Magistracie, among the which there was a faire large Standard of Damaske with the Armes of England in it: This Standard aforesaid was first delivered unto them (by the commandement of King *Henry the eight*) by *Sir George Carew*, the Lord Presidents cosen german, when hee arrived at Kinsale, who not long before the siege of Bollogne) was Admirall of some of the Kings ships: Into the hands of *Sir George* it was left in safe keeping, when the Spaniards arrived there; and by the same *Sir George Carew*, by *Queene Elizabeths* commandement, it was (as is said) redelivered unto them againe: although this petty note may seeme to some scarce worth the relating, yet for the rarenesse of the accident, I thought it meet to bee remembered: And that the Reader may also understand what a fatall place Kinsale hath beene unto the Spaniards in former times (as well as now) I thinke it not impertinent to relate, what hapned unto them in that port, in *Anno 1380.* and the fourth yeare of the Raigne of King *Richard the second*: My Author is *Thomas of Walsingham*, who lived in those dayes, and thus Englished in *Hollinshead*.

The Ensignes of Magistracie delivered to the Corporation of Kinsale.

IN this meane while that the Earle of Buckingham was passing through the Realme of France, the French and Spanish gallies did much mischief on the Coast of England, but about the later end of Iune, by a flecte of Englishmen of the West Countries, part of them were forced to retire, and take harbour in an haven in Ireland called Kinsale, where being assailed by the Englishmen and Irishmen they were vanquished: so that to the number of foure hundred were slaine, and their chiefe Captaines taken, as *Gonzales de vorse*, and his brother *Martin de Motrigo*, *Turgo Lord of Morrans*: Also the Lord of Reath, *Peers Martin of Vermew*, *Iohn Moditt of Vermew*, the Seneschall of *Wargarie*, the Seneschall of *Saint Andrewes*, *Cornellis of Saint Sebastiano*, *Paschale de Biskaya*, *Iohn Martinez*, *Sopogorge of Saint Sebastiano*, and divers others: There were taken
foure

The Spaniards defeated at Kinsale in King Richard the seconds time.

1602.

*The Rising
out of the
country com-
mitted to the
Lord Barries
charge.*

*The L. De-
puty requires
the L. Presi-
dent to meete
him at Gal-
way.*

*Sir George
Thornton ap-
pointed to
joyne with
the L. Barry*

*A message
fro the rebell
Tirrel to the
L. President,
and his an-
swere.*

four of their Barges, with a Ballenger, and one and twenty English vessels recovered, which they had robbed and taken away from their Owners: There escaped yet foure (of their notable Captaines) from the hands of our men, Martin Grantz, Iohn Perez Mantago, Iohn Husce Gitario, and one Garcia of Sebastiano: Thus farre Hollingshed, craving the Readers patience, for to some, this old story may seeme to bee a needlesse curiositie, but to proceed.

The President to make the speedier prosecution, and expedition in the affaires of the Province, caused the Rising out of the Countrey to bee assembled to the number of sixteene hundred (at their owne charges) under the conduct of the Lord Barry: These Provinciaall Forces were not prepared for any great need that was of their service, it was thought meet to draw as many hands together as conveniently might bee, who according to their manner, for spoyles sake, would not spare their dearest friends. And also it was thought no ill policie to make the Irish draw bloud one upon another, whereby their private quarrels might advance the publike service. The President had first determined himselfe in person with five hundred English, (joyned to the Provincials) to haue taken the field; but his intentions were casually diverted by Letters from the Lord Deputie, who signifying that his Lordship purposed to bee at Galway about the two and twentieth of December, required him (all other businesse set apart) immediatly to repayre thither, to consult about certaine affaires much importing the service of the State, by reason whereof the President appointed Sir George Thornton with 500. English Souldiers, Inhabitants as Vndertakers in Mounster, to accompany the Lord Barry with the Provinciaalls, and all these to meet together, about the twentyeth of this present, at Donkerran, which was the place of their rendezvous.

In this meane time the Rebell Tirrell, not liking to stay any longer in the Aire of Mounster, wherein hee had runne many dangers, be- thought himselfe of a retreat out of the Province, hoping that the President would condiscend to any composition, rather then to bee troubled with his company, whereupon he sent his inward servant Lagblin Odallye (afore mentioned in this discourse) unto Corke, who comming to the President, told him, that his Captaine (meaning Tirrell) would bee content to leaue the Province, and would heereafter this, (so as hee might haue a Pardon, a Pension, and a Company of Foot in her Majesties pay) serue the Queene, and deserue the reward demaunded by his future services. The President knowing that for want of food hee would be forced ere the spring of the yeare to depart; And also assuring himselfe (within that time) to get some good draught to bee drawen upon him by some of the Provinciaall Rebels,

Rebells, who now being heart-broken, would doe any thing for their Pardons, or for a little money, not onely sleightly rejected his offers, but bid *Odalley* tell him, That although hee were never so warie, yet hee doubted not before it were long, to haue his head sent unto him in a bag, willing him to forbear to send any more unto him.

While these forces aforesaid were gathering according to the directions afore-recited, the Governor of Kerry losing no opportunity, and forbearing no labour, had the like fortune upon the Knight of Kerry, as *Sir Samuel Bagnall* had upon *Tirrell*; for being conducted to his Quarter in the night, killed fortie of his men, and tooke from him all his whole substance, which consisted of five hundred cowes, two hundred garrans, and two moneths provision of Meale and Butter for his Souldiers; which small spoyle was a great losse to the poore Knight: for thereby hee being disfurnished of all his provision, & disabled to minister entertainment to his followers, and having no Castle whereunto he might safely retreat, was constrained (like a Wolfe) to shelter himselfe in waste woods and desolate mountaines, untill he could worke meanes with *Sir Charles* to accept his humble submission, which incontinently (upon his defeat) hee earnestly solicited, by the meanes of *Osuleran More*. And surely this Service was of good consequence for the settling of Kerry: for *Thomas Oge*, induced by the example of the Knight, and likewise *Donnell Osulevan*, Son to the said *Osuleran More*, did all joyntly submit themselues, and her Majesties Protection graunted them: The former performed as much as was promised; but the latter, in the interim that hee should haue put in Sureties for his loyaltie, (according to a Clause inserted in his Protection) did in the malice of his heart to our Nation, commit a most base and traiterous murder upon a Sergeant and ten Souldiers going after *Sir Charles* towards *Donkerran*, who not suspecting any false measure at his hands, being lately protected, were most cruelly butchered by that inhumane perjured Rebelle: His father, olde *Osulevan* conceived so great discontentment against him for his damnable fact, as hee threatned to withdraw from him his favour, Blessing and Birthright: But of this sufficient.

The Knight of Kerry defeated by Sir Ch. Wilmot.

The Knight of Kerry Th. Oge, & Osulevan Mores sonne, make their submissions.

A sonle murder committed by Osulevan Mores sonne.

1602.

CHAP. XVII.

Sir Charles Wilmot chiefe Commander of the forces in the absence of the Lord President. The Rebels make three divisions of their forces. Tirrell afraid flies the Province. The Lord Barry and Sir George Thornton joyne their forces with Sir Charles Wilmot. A skirmish entertayned. A prey taken from the Rebels out of the Fastnesse. Divers Rebels submitted themselves. William Burke, Iohn O Connor Kerry, and Osulevan Beare with the Bownoghs fled out of the Province. The Rebels losse in their passage through the county of Corke. And the hard shift they made over the Shenan. The good service done upon the Rebels by the Sherife of the county of Typperary. Captaine Henry Malby slaine. Beare, Bantry, and Dorsies spoyled, and the Castles of Ardea and Carrignesse rendred. Captaine Taffe employed against the Rebels in Carbery. The Popes Vicar slaine, and the Rebels defeated. The Carties of Carbery submit themselves to the Lord President.

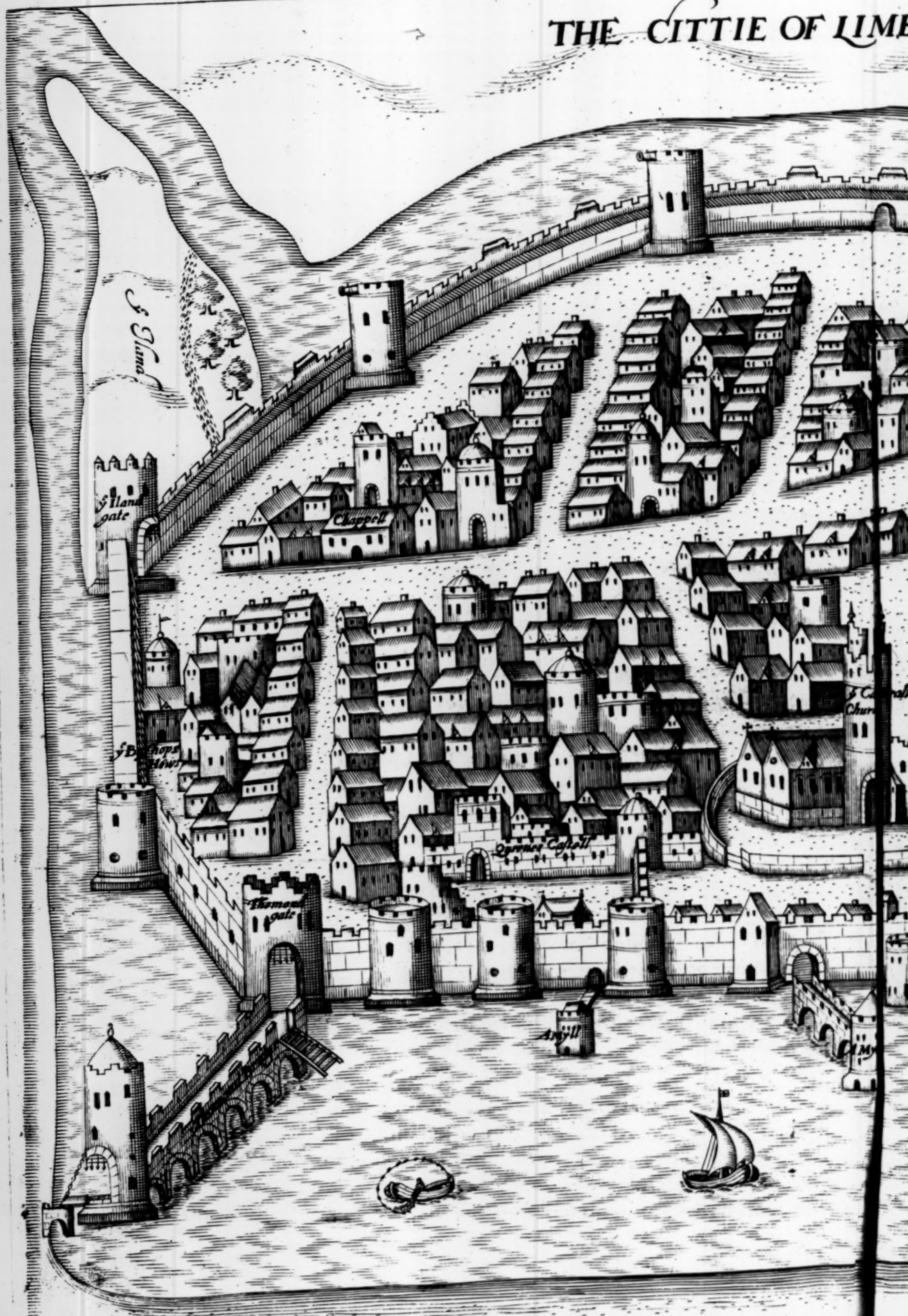
Sir Charles Wilmot chiefe Commander of the forces in the absence of the Lord President.

The Rebels make three divisions of their forces.

Tirrell afraid fled out of the Province.

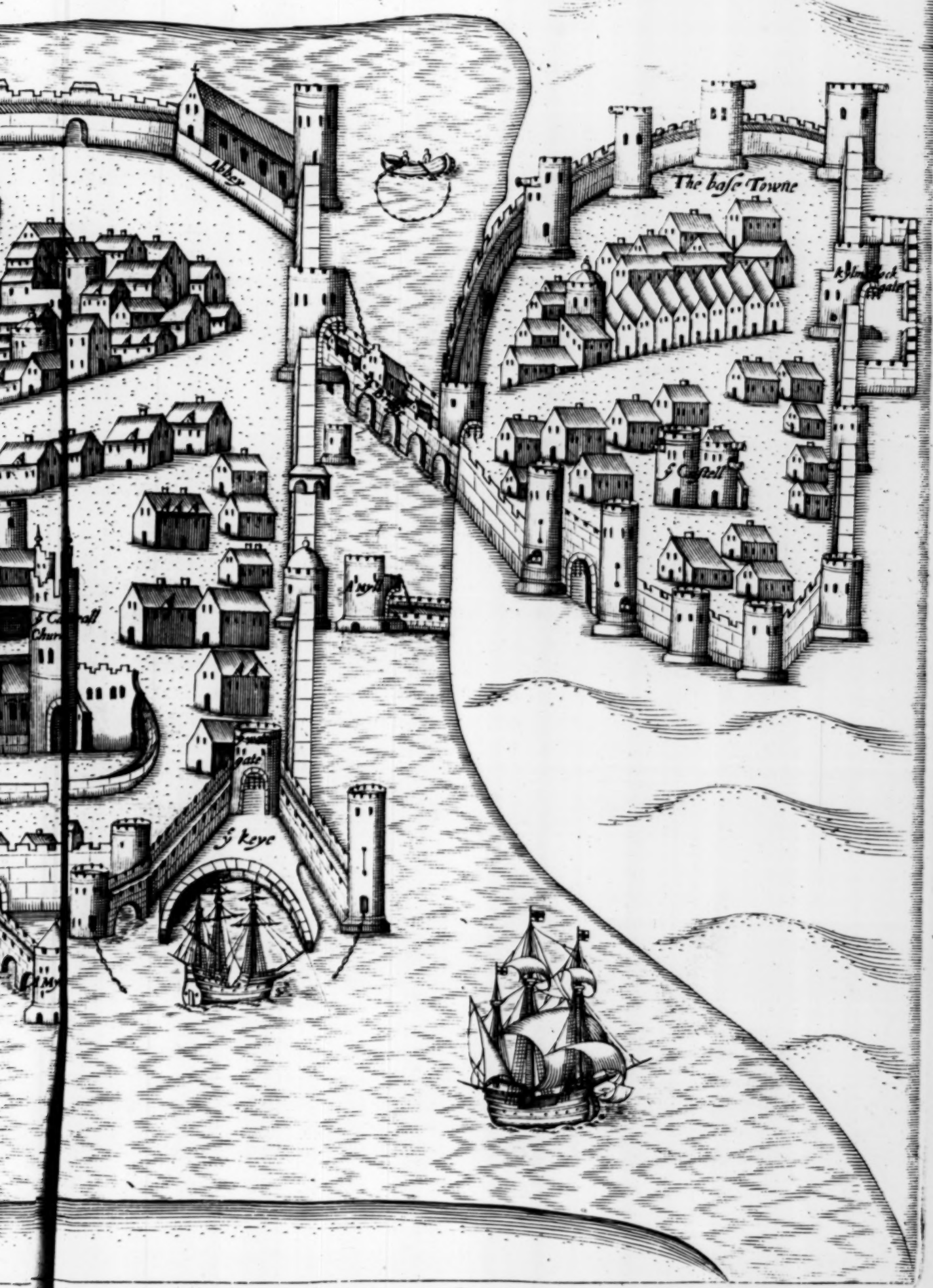
THE Lord Barry, and Sir George Thornton were now upon this their march towards their rendezvous at Donkerran, there to attend the directions of Sir Charles Wilmot, who in the Presidents absence (for by this time hee was upon his way to Galway) did command all that Army in chiefe, composed of the Garrison of Kerry, and of the Garrisons of Bantry, Kinsale, Baltimore, &c. aforementioned, who with great valour and discretion discharged the same: The Rebels understanding by continuall advertisement of the great preparations made, to rouse and hunt them out of their Fastnesse, thought fit in their Councils to divide themselves in three severall parts, to the intent that her Majesties forces then vnited, might likewise bee severed and divided in severall prosecutions, whereby each party might be the lesse indangered: For if the English should neglect any one part of them, they might harrasse and spoyle the Subject, for whose defence a good part of the Army must bee withdrawne: This resolution being taken, Osulevan Beare and William Burke with seven hundred men were appointed to remaine in Beare, other foure hundred was appointed for Carbery, to bee commanded by Sir Owen Mac Carties sonnes, and the third division (which was five hundred strong) and commanded by Captaine Tirrell, were to goe with the Lord Fits Maurice into Kerry: But Tirrell being upon his pretended march for Kerry, fearing to runne so hard a fortune, suddenly altered his former determinations, and notwithstanding that hee had lately received a great imprest of Spanish money from Osulevan Beare, and farther he promised unto him 1500. hundred more in good rials of plate, and one thousand Cowes to stay with him but three moneths longer, resolved with all possible expedition to leaue the Province, and therefore

THE CITTIE OF LIMES



F LIMERICK

between Page, 362 & 363



fore acquainting the Lord *Fits Maurice* with his intention, without farther consultation, giving a deafe care to any contrary persuasions, leaving all his carriages, sicke men, and other impediments behind him, set forward on his hasty Iourney, and never looked backe till hee came into *O Carrels* Countrey, which is from the Mountaine of *Shewlogher* (where hee began his march) no lesse then sixtie Irish miles, and this his departure was the same day that our forces should meet at their rendezvous, whose defection from the rest, made the worke in hand much more easie to bee effected.

Our forces under the Lord *Barry* and Sir *George Thornton* met with Sir *Charles Wilmot*, upon the seven and twentieth of December; the thirtieth wee camped in *Glangarrem*, on a little plot of dry ground, (environed with woods and bogs) of so small capacitie, as most of our Guards and Sentinels were held either on the bog or in the edge of the wood, and yet was there not so much firme ground together, within five miles of that place; within two miles thereof encamped *Donnell Osulevan*, and *William Burke* with his Bonnaghts: Before the Campe was settled, the Rebels entertayned a skirmish for an houres space, and hurt three of our men, whereof Captaine *Staffords* Lieutenant, *William Ieffries* was one; the same night they gaue us an alarme, and powred into our quarter a volley of shot, but being encountered with our Guards adjoyning were repulsed, and driven into the wood.

The one and thirtieth, there was a Convoy sent to *Donkerran* for Viſtuals; and the same day Sir *Charles Wilmot* sent foure hundred of the risings out under the command of Captaine *Iohn Barry*, and two hundred of the Armie in List under the command of *Thomas Selby*, Lieutenant to Captaine *Francis Slingsbie*, to beat the Fastnesse where the Rebels with their cattell lodged: their quarter was entred by our men, and their cattell seized, whereupon ensued a bitter fight, maintained without intermission for sixe howers, neverthelesse they kept the prey they had gotten; the Enemy not leaving their pursuit, untill they came in sight of the Campe: for whose reliefe two Regiments were drawen forth, to giue countenance, and *Downings*, Lieutenant to Sir *Francis Barkley*, was sent with one hundred and twenty choise men to the succour of *Barry* and *Selby*, who in the reare were so hotely charged by the Rebels, that they came to the Sword and Pike, and the skirmish continued till night parted them: many were slaine on either side, but the greatest losse fell upon the Traytors: there was taken from them in that dayes service, 2000 Cowes, 4000 Sheepe, and 1000 Garrans.

Immediatly vpon this Defeat, many of the Countrey that escaped, leaving the Rebels, having before lost all their goods, submitted them-

27. Decem.

30. Decem.

The Lord
Barry and
Sir George
Thornton
joyne their
forces with
Sir Charles
Wilmot.

A skirmish.

31. Decem.

A prey taken
from the re-
bels out of
their Fast-
nesse.

1602.

Divers Rebels submit themselves.

William Burke, John O Connor Kerry, and Osulevan Beare with their Bonnoghs fled out of the Province.

The losses which they sustayned in their passage through the County of Corke.

The hard shift they made to passe over the Shenan.

The good service done upon them by the Sherife of the county of Tipperary.

themselves to the Governour, and obtained mercie; *Hugh Mac Swine* and *Owen Grange*, with eightie of their followers, and other of the *Bownoghs* likewise became suiters for her Majesties protection, (which to weaken the adverse partie) was also graunted; whose revolt, or rather returne, so disturbed and distracted *William Burke*, the chiefe Commander of *Osulevans* forces, who did his endeavour, (by assaulting them in their way to *Sir Charles*) to resist their submission, wherein some men were lost; and not prevayling in the same, purposed to follow the steps of *Tirrell* his forerunner; and therefore wished *Osulevan Beare*, either instantly to rise with him, or else to shift for himselfe as well as he could: for a longer stay in those parts could promise him nothing but apparant ruine and destruction. And when the other urged the intertainment that hee had given unto him and his Company before hand: *Burke* answered, that hee had already lost, not that onely which of him was received, but whatsoever else he either brought into the Province, or gained therein, besides the slaughter of many his Followers and neere kinsmen, whom he prized and valued (in his affection) aboue all the King of Spaines treasure; and therefore with extreame passion (as was reported) cursing and damning himselfe for staying so long in Mounster; in all hast with two hundred men (for the rest were all either slaine or protected) hee fled and followed Captaine *Tirrell* into *O Carrols* Countrey: *Osulevan* finding his estate desperate, that either hee must starue in Mounster, or begge in *Ulster*, made choise of the lesse evill, and therefore himselfe and *John O Connor Kerry* kept Company with the *Bonnoghs*, content to partake with their fortunes, till hee might get to *Tyrone*.

As they passed by the skirts of *Muskery*, they were skirmished withall by the sonnes of *Teg Mac Owen Cartie*, where they lost some of their men, and most of their carriage; in passing by *Liscarell*, *John Barry*, brother to the Vicecount, with eight Horsemen and fourty foote charged their reare at the foord of *Bellaghan*, where he slew and hurt many of them, and of his part one Horseman was slaine.

When they came to the River of the *Shenan*, they finding the River high, and no boats nor troughs to passe them over into *Connaght*, they killed many of their horses, and made shift with their hides to make certaine little boats, called in Irish *Nevogs*, in the which they transported their men and baggage: Nevertheless before all were past the River, the Sherife of the county of *Typperarie*, fell upon their reare and slew many of them; being in *Connaght* they passed safely through the county of *Galway*, untill they came into the *Kellies* Countrey, where they were fought withall by *Sir*

Thomas

1602.

Thomas Burke, the Earle of Clanriccards brother, and Captaine *Henry Malby*, who were more in number then the Rebels: Nevertheless when they saw that either they must make their way by the sword or perish, they gave a braue charge upon our men, in the which Captaine *Malby* was slaine, upon whose fall Sir *Thomas* and his Troopes fainting, with the losse of many men, studied their safeties by flight, and the rebels with little harme marched into *Orrerkes* Countrey.

Captaine
Henry Mal-
by slaine.

The next morning being the fourth of January, 1602. Sir *Charles* comming to seeke the Enemy in their Campe, hee entered into their quarter without resistance, where hee found nothing but hurt and sicke men, whose paines and liues by the Souldiers were both determined: The governour sent the Lord *Barry* with some of his light foote after them, but all in vaine, for they flew so swift with the wings of feare, as passing by many preyes directly in the way (as they passed) yet they never made so much stay as to molest either the Cattle or their Keepers.

4. Januarij.

Heereupon Sir *Charles* with the English Regiments overran all *Beare* and *Bantry*, destroying all that they could find meet for the reliefe of men, so as that country was wholly wasted: He sent also Captaine *Flemming* with his Pinnace, and certaine Souldiers into *Osulevans* Iland; Hee tooke there certaine Boats, and an English Barke, which *Osulevan* had gotten, and kept for his transportation into *Spaine*, when he should be enforced thereunto; they tooke also from thence certaine Cowes and Sheepe, which were reserved there as in a sure storehouse, and put the Charles to the sword that inhabited therein. The Warders of the Castles of *Ardea*, and *Carricknesh* on the sixth of the same moneth dispayring of their Master *Osulevans* returne, rendered both their Castles and their liues to the *Queenes* mercy: so that although hee should haue *Animum revertendi* he had neither place of safetie whereunto hee might retyre, nor Corne or Cattell to feed himselfe, much lesse to uphold or renew any warre against the State.

Beare, Ban-
try, and the
Dorries stol-
led and left
wast.

The sharpnesse of this Winter journey did exceedingly weaken our Companies: for the Mountaines of *Beare* being at that time quite covered with snow, tasted the strong bodies, whereby many returned sicke, and some unable to endure the extremitie, dyed standing centinell: But whilest this service was in prosecution in *Beare*, the President on his journey towards the Lord Deputie, chanced to meet with some of the Countrey risings out, to the number of foure hundred foote or thereabouts, that came short of the rest, that were under the commands of the Lord *Barry*, and Sir *George Thornton*: And understanding that the Sonnes of Sir *Owen Mac Cartie*, and

6. Ia.
The Castles
of *Ardea*
and *Carrick-*
nesh rende-
red.

1602.

Cap. Taffe
employed
against the
Rebels in
Carbry.

The Popes
Vicar slaine,
and the Re-
bels defea-
ted.

Donnogh Keugh, brother to *Florence Mac Cartie*, were retyred with their Creats and Followers into the strengths of Carbry, his Lordship commanded *Captaine Taffe* (with the said risings out) fourtie of *Sir Edward Wingfields Company*, and his owne troope of Horse to draw into those parts, and to endeavour the best service hee could upon them: Whilest the rest were busied by the Governour of Kerry in Desmond as aforesaid, wherein it pleased God to giue him good successe, for on the fifth of Ianuary, his foote entering their Fastnesse, tooke a prey of two or three hundred Cowes and Garrans; the Rebels in pursuit of their Cattle, gaue them so braue a charge, as they were disordered, whereby some of them were slaine, which *Captaine Taffe* perceiving, being in the head of his Horse troope, in the skirt of the Fastnesse, and espying some of their Horsemen to doe much hurt upon our foote, charged them into the wood, slew foure of their Horsemen, and put all the rest to rout, wherewith our men being encouraged pursued them: *Owen Mac Eggan* (the Popes Aposto-like Vicar so often before mentioned) to put fresh heart into his Company, with his sword drawne in one hand, and his portius and beades in the other, with one hundred men led by himselfe, he came boldly up to the sword, and mainetayned a hot skirmish, untill hee was slaine with a shot, whereupon his men (together with a fresh charge of our horse) were so amazed and terrified, partly by his death, and partly by their owne danger, that they brake instantly, and for better expedition throwing away their Armes, leaped into the river Bandon, hoping by that meanes to escape, but that little availed them, for they all for the most part were either killed or drowned in the river; there were slaine in this service (besides *Owen Mac Eggan*, who was of more worth then all the rest) aboute one hundred and twenty Rebels, and of the Provinciaall rising out of our part, a good number lost their liues; and many of *Captaine Taffes* horses hurt, wee got the Armes of 100. and fourtie, and all their horses, cowes, sheepe and garrans, that were in the Countrey neere adjoyning: There was also taken a Papist Priest, being as it seemed a Chaplaine to *Mac Eggan*, whom the President (shortly after) caused to be executed in Corke.

Vpon this discomfiture, the *Carties* who formerly had beene Petitioners to the President for protection, but denied, became suitors to *Captaine Taffe* in the like, who not knowing of the good successe, that the Governour had against the other Rebels (according to direction before given him by the President, that hee should accept their submission, after a blow given them, if it were humbly sought) did grant protection to them and their Followers, and upon the Presidents returne from Galway, *Captaine Taffe* having then in his com-

pany

pany upon the high way, not farre from Moyallo, presented them to his Lordship, who with great shew of unfayned penitence, desired his allowance, and acceptation of their submission, who to gratifie the service of Captaine Taffe, and to ratifie his promise assented thereunto, whereby all Carbery (a very large and spacious Countrey) was wholly reduced to subjection, no one open Traytor remayning therein. A principall meanes of this suddaine and vniuersall reduction, was the death of that traitorly Priest *Owen Mac Eggan*, which doubtlesse was more beneficiall to the State, then to haue gotten the head of the most capitall Rebelle in Mounster, for the respect that was borne unto him (by reason of his authority from the Pope) and the credit which hee had obtayned in Spaine, was so great, as his power was in a manner absolute over them all, and he onely was the meanes of their obdurate obstinacie: his dignity in being the Popes *Vicarius Apostolicus*, did hold them in vassalage unto him, and the livings given him in Mounster by the Popes grant, were to be valued (if hee might quietly haue enjoyed them) at three thousand pounds *per Annum*. And farther to ingage the Popish Clergy of Ireland unto him, hee had power to dispose at his pleasure of all the spirituall livings in the Province of Mounster, by which authority, together with the credit he had gotten with the King of Spaine (well testified by the trust committed to him in transporting and disposing the Spanish money, last brought into Ireland) he had obtayned in a manner all power, both over the temporality and spirituality of Mounster, and to depaint him in his true colours, a more malicious Traytor against the State and Crowne of England, never breathed, which well appeared by the barbarous tyranny hee exercised upon his owne Countrymen; for as soone as any prisoners were taken (though of his owne Countrey, birth and religion) yet if they had served the Queene, he caused them first (in piety as he pretended) to bee confessed and absolved, and instantly (in his owne sight) would hee cause them to bee murdered, which religious tyranny in him was held for sanctity. The President upon his returne to Corke, employed certaine Messengers whom hee might trust, into the Countrey to make search in such places as *Mac Eggan* usually resided, for such bookes and papers as were belonging unto him: divers bookes of schoole divinity (for the most part) were gotten, all which by the Presidents gift fell to my share, and certaine papers, amongst the which I will onely insert three in this present relation; the first contayning large indulgences, granted by *P. Clemens* the eight, to such of the Irish as should beare Armes against Gods chosen Servant, and their annoynted Sovereigne the Queenes Majesty, the tenor whereof here ensueth.

1602.

*The Carties
of Carby
submitted
themselves
to the Lord
President.*

1602

CHAP. XVIII.

Pope Clement the eighth his Indulgence to the Irish that were in Rebellion. A Letter from Pope Clement the eighth unto Tyrone and the Irish Rebels, animating them to persevere in Rebellion. Pope Clement the eighth his Bull for the granting of spirituall livings unto Owen Mac Egan.

Pope Clement the eighth his Indulgence to the Irish that were in Rebellion.



Clemens P. 8. *Vniverſis, & ſingulis venerabilibus fratribus, Archiepiſcopis, Episcopis, & Prelatiſ, nec non dilectis filiis, Principibus, Comitibus, Baronibus, ac populis Regni Hiberniæ ſalutem, et Apoſtolicam Benediſtionem: cum jam diu, ſicut accepimus, vos Romanorum Pontificum Prædeceſſorum noſtrorum, ac noſtris & Apoſtolicæ ſedis Cohortationibus adducti, ad veſtram libertatem recuperandam, eamq; ad verſus Hereticos tuendam & conſervandam, bonæ memoriæ Iacobo Giraldino (qui durū ſervitutis jugū vobis ab Angliſ ſanctæ eccleſiæ deſertoribus impoſitum ſummo animi ardore depellere dum vixit pro viribus procuravit) Deinde Iohanni Giraldino ejuſdem Iacobi Conſobrino, & noviffime dilecto filio nobili viro Hugoni principi Onel, dicto Comiti Tironenſi, Baroni Dungenaniæ, et Capitaneo generali Exercitus Catholici in Hiberniā conjunctis animis et viribus preſto fueritis, ac opem et auxiliū preſtiteritis: ipſiq; Duces & eorum Milites, noſtrum Domini exercitum illis aſſiſtentes progreſſu temporis plurima egregia facinora contra hoſtes viriliter pugnare perſtiterint, et in poſterum præſtare parati ſunt; Nos, ut vos, ac Dux, et Milites prædicti alacrius in expeditionem hanc contra dictos Hereticos opem in poſterum etiam præſtare ſtudeatis, ſpirituallibus gratiis et favoribus vos proſequi volentes, eorundem Prædeceſſorum noſtrorum exemplo adducti, ac de Omnipotentis Dei miſericordiæ ac beatorum Petri et Pauli Apoſtolorum ejus auctoritate conſiſ, vobis omnibus & ſingulis qui prædictum Hugonem Tyronenſem ducem ejusq; exercitum Catholica fidei aſſertores & propugnatores ſequimini, ac illis vos adjunxeritis, aut Conſilio, Favore, Commeatibus, armis, alijsq; bellicis rebus ſeu quacunq; ratione eis in hac expeditione operam dederitis, ipſiq; Hugoni Duci ejusq; exercitus Militibus vniverſis & ſingulis, ſi verè poenitentes & conſeſſi, ac etiam ſi fieri poterit ſacra Communione reſerti fueritis plenariam omnium peccatorum ſuorum veniam & remiſſionem, ac eandem que proſciſcentibus ad bellum contra Turcas, & ad recuperationem Terræ ſanctæ per Romanos Pontifices concedi ſolita eſt, miſericorditer in Domino concedimus, non obſtantibus, ſi opus ſit, noſtris Decretis de non concedendis indulgentiis ad inſtare, ac ſuſceptionis Indulgentiarum occaſione anni Iubilæi alijsq; conſtitutionibus et ordinationibus Apoſtolicis ceteriſq;*

ceterisq; contrarijs quibuscunq;. Verum quia difficile foret presentes nostras ad omnium quorum interest noticiam pervenire volumus, ut earum exemplis etiam impressis manu alicujus Notarii publici subscriptis ac Sigillo personae in dignitate Ecclesiastica Constitutae munitis eadem fides ubiq; habeatur quae iisdem praesentibus haberetur. Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum, sub annulo Piscatoris, die decimo octavo Aprilis, 1600. Pontificatus nostri, Anno Nono
Subscrip.

The second which was found among Mac Egans Papers, was a Letter written from the holy Father Pope Clemens the eighth, unto Hugh Oneale Earle of Tyrone, to exhort him and all his Adherents, to persevere, (for the defence of the Catholique cause) in their unnaturall Rebellion; from the Originall whereof this following Copie is extracted.

A Letter from Pope Clement the eighth unto Tyrone,
and the Irish Rebels, animating them to
persevere in Rebellion.

Dilecte Fili Nobilis vir. Salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem cognovimus ex literis nobilitatis tuae & ex hijs quae dilectus filius Petrus Lombardus Civis nostrae praepositus Cameracensis nobis coram exposuit sacrum fœdus, quod tu & quamplures Principes & proceres, & Nobiles primarij regni istius Dei benignitate iniistis charitatis glutino Colligatum conservari & augeri quodque eiusdem Domini exercitum ope & virtute prospere à nobis pluries pugnatum est adversus Anglos Ecclesiae & fidei desertores magnam ex his voluptatem in Domino cepimus, ipsiq; Pari misericordiar' Deo gratias egimus, qui adhuc in regno isto reliquit sibi multa millia virorum qui non curaverint genua sua ante Baal. Hi enim impias haereses, & prophanas novitates non sunt sequuti, imo eas detestati fortiter pugnant, pro hereditate maiorum suorum, pro fidei salute, integritate et unitate cum ecclesia retinenda, quae una est Catholica et Apostolica extra quam non est salus, laudamus egregiam pietatem et fortitudinem tuam fili & principum, et ceterorum omnium qui tecum iuncti ac federati nulla pro Dei gloria pericula recusant, seq; maioribus suis qui bellicae virtutis & Catholicae Religionis studio, ac laude imprimis floruerunt dignos nepotes & justos Successores ostendunt et palam profitentur: conserve filij hanc mentem, conserve unionem, et consensionem vestram, & Deus Omnipotens, Deus Pacis & Concordiae erit vobiscum, & pugnabit pro vobis, & quemadmodum fecit prosternet inimicos suos ante faciem nostram; Nos autem qui Nobilitatem tuam & vos omnes avitae fidei & gloriae imitatores paternae, amamus & gerimus in visceribus Iesu Christi, non cessamus Deum orare
Aaa nostrum

1602.

nostrum pro vestra felicitate & salute, vestriq; solliciti sumus & erimus semper quantum cum Deo poterimus, atque ubi opus fuerit scribemus efficaciter ad Reges & Principes Catholicos filios nostros ut vobis & causæ vestræ omni ope suffragentur: Cogitamus etiam propediem mittere ad vos peculiarem Nuntium nostrum, & huius sanctæ sodalitæ, in qua Deo authore meritis licet imparibus præsidemus vestrum, pium, prudentem, zelo Dei predicti et nobis probatum, qui nostri erga nos honoris testis sit vobisq; omnibus in rebus ubi usus venerit adjumento sit ad salutarem & necessariam Unionem vestram conservandam, ac Catholicam fidem propagandam, ac omnia denique pro sui muneris Officio, officianda, quibus Dei honor & cultus in regno isto augeatur. Interea placuit has nostras literas ad vos præmittere testes amoris nostri, in vos et Regnum istud, et ut vos omnes tanquam filios nostros in Christo dilectos paterno affectu consolaremur; ipsum verò Petrum Lombardum, quem Nobilitas sua oratorem & negotiorum gestorem constituit apud nos, et jam libenter audivimus, et deinceps audiemus, tibi verò et cæteris qui tibi unanimes pro fidei Catholice propugnatione adhærent, nostram & Apostolicam benedictionem benignè impartimur; Deniq; precamur ut Angelos emittat in circuitu vestro, & pios conatus vestros suæ cælesti gratia dirigat vosq; dextra suæ potentie perpetuo tueatur. Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, sub Annulo Piscatoris, die 20. Ianuarij, Anno 1601. Pontificatus nostri anno 9.

Silvius Antonianus Cardinalis.

Dilecto Filio Nobili viro Vgoni
Principi Nalio, Exercitus Catholici in Hibernia Duci, &
Capitaneo Generali.

The third, is an instrument here immediatly following, comprehending the prescript forme of the Popes Bull, vsually granted in the presentation to spirituall dignities, together with the oath to the Popes supremacie, and of the Articles of faith, whereunto the Popish Clergie are enjoyned to subscribe: All which things being not so familiar in this land (thanked bee God) as in former ages, and many no doubt desirous to be made acquainted with the particulars thereof, although it may seeme somewhat tedious, by reason of the prolixitie, yet haue I thought good in this place, to transcribe the same verbatim according to the originall.

Pope

Pope Clement 8. his Bull for the granting of spirituall Livings to Owen Mac Egan.

Clemens Episcopus servus servorum Dei: Dermitio episcopo Corrag salutem & Apostolicam benedictionem: Romani pontificis providentiam circumspecta Ecclesijs & Monasterijs singulis, quæ vacationis incommoda deplorare noscuntur: ut gubernatorum utilium fulciantur præsidio prospicit diligenter, & personis Ecclesiasticis quibuslibet, ut in suis opportunitatibus, Congruum suscipiant relevamen subventionis auxilio, prout decens est, providet opportunè. Cum itaq; sicut accepimus Monasterium Abbatia nuncupatum loci de Namona sancti Benedicti, vel alterius ordinis, Corrag Dioc. certo modo vacaverit, & vacet ad præsens, licet quidam Larcus schismaticus autoritate pretensæ Reginae Angliæ, jam à multis annis citra Monasterium illiusque fractus redditus, & proventus usurpaverit, & in suos damnabiles usus converterit, & adhuc & convertit: Nos volentes tam eidem Monasterio, de gubernatore utili, & idoneo per quem circumspectè regi, & salubriter dirigi valeat, quum dilecto filio Eugenio Mac Egan dictæ Dioc. Baccibalaureo in theologia, et magistro in artibus apud nos de literarum scientia, vitæ ac morum honestate alijsq; probitatis, ac virtutum meritis multipliciter commendatos, ut commodius sustentari valeat de alicuius subventionis auxilio providere ipsumque Eugenium præmissorum suorum meritorum intuitu favore prosequi gratioso, & à quibusvis excommunicationis suspensionib; & interdictis, alijsque Ecclesiasticis sententijs censuris à jure, vel ab homine quavis occasione vel causa latis, si quibus quomodolibet accommodatus existat ad effectum præsentium duntaxat consequendum harum seriò absolventes, & absolutum fore censentes, nec non verum & ultimum dicti Monasterij vacationis modum, et si illo quavis reservatio generalis, & in corpore juris clausa resultet, præsentibus pro expresso habentes fraternitati tuæ per Apostolica scripta mandamus ostendamus, si per diligentem examinationem dictam Eugenique idoneam repereris ad ipsum Monasterium in commendam obtinendum, super quo conscientiam tuam oneramus, Monasterium prædict; quæ cura & conventu curet, ac cujus & illi forsannexorum fructuum redditus, & proventus centum & quinquaginta marcharum sterlingorum, secundum communem estimationem valorem annuū, ut dictus Eugenius asserit non excedunt quovismodo, & ex cujuscunque persona seu per liberam cessionem cujusvis de illius regimine & administratione in Romana curia, vel extra eam, & coram notario publico et testibus fide dignis sponte factam vacat, et si illius provisio ad sedem eandem specialiter vel generaliter pertineat, et super eodem regimine administratione inter aliquos bis habita, cujus statum etiam præsentibus haberi volumus pro expresso penderit indecisa Domini de tempore dat, præsentium eidem Monasterio de Abbate provisum, aut illud alteri commendatum canonicè non existat

1602.

existat, cum annexis huiusmodi ac omnibus juribus, & pertinentijs suis eidem Eugenio quatenus illud commendari consueverit per eum quoad vixerit, tenendum, regendum, gubernandum, ita quod liceat eidem Eugenio debitis & consuetis ipsius Monasterij supportatis oneribus, ac tertia parte illius fructuum reddituum & proventuum restaurationem ipsius fabricæ, seu ornamentorum emptionem, vel fulcimentum, aut pauperum alimoniam, prout major suaserit aut exegerit necessitas omnibus alijs deductis annis singulis impertita; de residuis illius fructibus, redditibus, & proventibus disponere & ordinare, sicuti ipsius Monasterij Abbates qui pro tempore fuerant, de illis disponere & ordinare potuerunt, seu & debuerunt, alienatione tamen quorumcunque bonorum immobilium, & preciosorum mobilium dicti monasterij sibi penitus interdicta auctoritate nostra commendes curam ipsius Monasterij, ac huiusmodi regimen & administrationem eidem Eugenio in spiritualibus & in temporalibus plenarie committendo. Ac illi in adipiscenda possessione, seu quasi regimini & administratione, bonorum Monasterij huiusmodi assistendo facias sibi à dilectis filiis, vassalis, & alijs subditis ejusdem monasterij consuetis servitiis, & jura sibi ab eis debita, integrè exhiberi contra dictores auctoritatis nostræ predicta appellatione postposita compescendo: Non obstantibus felicitis recordationis Bonifacii, P. 8. predecessoris nostri & alijs apostolicis constitutionibus, ac monasterij & ordinis predicti etiam iuramento confirmatione apostolica, vel quavis firmitate alia roboratis statutis & consuetudinibus contrarijs quibuscunque. Aut si vassalis & alijs subditis prefatis, vel quibusvis alijs communiter, vel divisim ab eadem sit sede indultum quod interdici, suspendi & excommunicari non possint per literas apostolicas, non facientes plenam & expressam, ac de verbo in verbum de indubitato huiusmodi mentionem. Volumus autem quod propter commendam monasterij huiusmodi monasterium predictum in spiritualibus, non ledatur & in temporalibus detrimenta non sustineat, sed illius congruè supportentur onera consuetas, utque postquam dictus Eugenijs repertus fuerit idoneus, & antequam dictum monasterium ei commendetur fidem Catholicam iuxta articulos pridem à dicta sede propositos, in manibus tuis juxta unam profiteri omnino teneatur, alioquin presens gratia, & omnia que inde sequentur nulla sint, tuque aliter commendans a collatione beneficiorum suspensus sis eo ipso, sicque suspensus remaneas donec relaxationem suspensionis huiusmodi à sede predicta merueris obtinere, ac quod antequam dictus Eugenijs regimini, & administrationi predictis se in aliquo misceat in eisdem manibus tuis nostro & Romanæ Ecclesiæ nomine fidelitatis debite solitum prestat iuramentum iuxta alteram formis presentibus adnotatur, ac professionis quam idem Eugenijs faciet, et iuramenti quod prestabit formas huiusmodi; nobis de verbo ad verbum per eius patentes literas suo sigillo immunitas per proprium munitionum quantocius destinare procures. Et insuper si dictus Eugenijs ad hoc repertus idoneus fuerit, ut prefertur, ei nunc perinde irritum decernimus, & mane si serius super bis à quoquam quavis auctoritate, scienter vel ignoranter

ranter attentari contigerit, ac si die dat' presentium eidem Eugenio ad id reperto idoneo monasterium predictum cum interpositione decreti huiusmodi mandavimus commendari: Forma autem iuramenti hec est. Ego Eugenius Abbas Monasterij, Abbatia nuncupati loci de Namona sancti Benedicti, vel alterius ordinis Corragen' dioc' ab hac hora ni antea fidelis ero obediens beato Petro sancteque Apostolica Romana Ecclesie, & Domino nostro Domino Clementi Papae octavo eiusque successoribus canonice intrantibus: Non ero in consilio aut consensu vel facto ut vitam perdant aut membrum, seu capiantur aut in eos violenter manus quomodolibet ingerantur vel injuria aliqua inferatur quovis quesito colore; consilium vero quod mihi credituri sunt per se aut Nuntios seu literas ad eorum dampnum, mesciente nemini pendam. Papatum Romanum & regale sancti Petri adjutor eis ero ad retinendum & defendendum contra omnium hominum legatum Apostolice sedis in eundo & redeundo, honorifice tractabo & in suis necessitatibus adiuvabo. Iura, honores, privilegia & auctoritatem Romanae ecclesie Domini nostri Papae et successorum suorum conservare et defendere, augere et promoveri curabo. Nec ero in consilio vel facto seu in tractatu in quibus contra ipsum dominum nostrum vel eandem Romanam Ecclesiam aliqua sinistra seu prejudicialia personarum nostri honoris status et potestatis eorum machinentur, et si talia a quibuscumque tractari novero, vel procurari impediam, hoc pro posse et quanto citus potero commode significabo eidem domino nostro vel alteri per quem ad ipsius notitiam possit pervenire. Regulas sanctorum patrum decreta, ordinationes, sententias, provisiones, reservationes, et mandata apostolica totis viribus observabo, et faciam ab alijs observari. Hereticos, Schismaticos, et rebelles domino nostro, vel successoribus predictis pro posse persequar, et impugnabo, vocatus ad Synodum veniam nisi propeditus fuero Canonica praepeditione; possessiones vero ad mensam meam pertinentes, non vendam, neque donabo, neque impignorabo, neque de novo infeudabo, vel aliquo modo alienabo, & cum consensu conventus Monasterii mei inconsulto Romano Pontifice, sic me Deus adjuvet & hac sancta Dei evangelia. Forma vero professionis fidei talis est. Ego Eugenius firma fide credo & profiteor omnia, & singula quae continentur in Symbolo fidei, qua sancta Romana Ecclesia utitur, viz.

Credo in unum Deum Patrem Omnipotentem factorem Caeli & terrae visibilium omnium et invisibilium, et in unum Dominum Iesum Christum filium Dei unigenitum, et ex Patre natum ante omnia saecula, Deum de Deo, Lumen de lumine, deum verum de Deo vero genitum non factum, consubstantialem Patri, per quem omnia facta sunt, qui propter nos homines, et propter nostram salutem descendit de caelis, et incarnatus est de spiritu sancto ex Maria Virgine, et homo factus est, crucifixus etiam pro nobis sub Pontio Pilato, passus et sepultus est, et resurrexit tertio die secundum Scripturas, et ascendit in Caelum, sedet ad dextram Patris, et iterum venturus est cum gloria iudicare vivos et mortuos, cuius regni non erit finis; et in spiritum sanctum domi-

num & unificantem, qui ex patre, filioq; procedit, qui cum patre & filio simul adoratur, et conglorificatur, qui locutus est per Prophetas, et unam sanctam Catholicam et Apostolicam ecclesiam; Confiteor unum Baptisma in remissionem peccatorum, et expecto resurrectionem mortuorum, et vitam venturi saeculi, Amen; Apostolicas et Ecclesiasticas Traditiones reliquasq; ejusdem Ecclesiae observationes et constitutiones firmissime admitto et complector. Itē sacram Scripturam iuxta eum sensum quem tenuit et tenet sancta Mater Ecclesia, cuius est judicare de vero sensu et interpretatione sacrarum Scripturarū admitto, nec eam unquā nisi juxta unanimē consensum patrum accipiam et interpretabor; profiteor quoq; vere et propriē septem esse Sacramenta novae Legis à Iesu Christo Domino nostro instituta, atque ad salutem humani generis licet non omnia singulis necessaria, viz. Baptismum, Confirmationem, Eucharistiam, Pœnitentiam, extremam Vñctionem, Ordinem & Matrimonium; illaq; gratiam conferre, ex his Baptismum, Confirmationem & Ordinem sine sacrilegio reiterari non posse. Receptos quoque & approbatos Ecclesiae Catholicae Ritus in supradictorum omnium Sacramentorum solenni administratione recipio, & admitto omnia & singula quae de peccato originali, et de Iustificatione in sacro sancta Tridentina Synodo definita, et declarata fuerunt amplector, et recipio; profiteor pariter in Missa offerri Deo verum proprium & propitiatorium Sacrificium pro vivis & defunctis, atque in Sanctissimo Eucharistiae Sacramento esse verē realiter & substantialiter Corpus & Sanguinem una cum Anima & Divinitate Domini nostri Iesu Christi fierique conversionem totius substantiae Panis et Corporis et totius substantiae Vini in sanguinem, quam conversionem Catholica Ecclesia Transubstantiationem appellat. Fateor ut sub altera tantum specie totum atque integrum Christum verumq; Sacramentum sumi constanter teneo purgatorium esse animasq; ibi detentas fidelium suffragiis iuvare, similiter et sanctos unā cum Christo regnantes venerandos atq; invocandos esse eosq; orationes Deo pro nobis offerre, atq; eorū reliquias esse venerandos; firmissimē assero imagines Christi et Deiparae semper Virginis, nec non aliorum Sanctorū habendas et retinendas esse ac eis debitum honorem & venerationem esse impartiendum, Indulgentiarum etiam potestatem Christo in Ecclesia relictam fuisse, illarumq; usum Christiano populo unanimi salutarem esse affirmo sanctam Catholicam et Apostolicam Romanam Ecclesiam omnium Ecclesiarum Matrem et magnam agnosco; Romano Pontifici beati Petri Apostolorum principis successori ac Iesu Christi Vicario veram obedientiam spondeo ac Iuro. Cetera item omnia à sacris Canonibus & Oecumenicis Concilijs, ac præcipuē à Sacrosanctā Tridentina Synodo tradita, definita, & declarata indubitanter recipio; profiteor simulque contraria omnia atque Hæreses quascunq; ab Ecclesia damnatas & anathematizatas, ego pariter damno rejicio & anathematizo. Hanc veram Catholicam Fidem extra quam nemo salvus esse potest, quam in presenti sponte profiteor, & veraciter teneo eandem integram et inviolatam,

usq; ad extremum vite spiritum constantissime Deo adjutante retinere, & confiteri atq; à meis subditis, vel illis quorum cura in munere meo spectabit, teneri, doceri, & prædicari quantum in me erit curaturum. Ego idem Eugenius spondeo, voueo, & juro, sic me Deus adjuvet, & hac sancta Dei Evangelia. Dat' Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum Anno Incarnationis Domini, 1595. Pridie Calend. Novemb' pontificatus nostri Anno quarto.

Let the understanding Reader now surcease to marvell, that the Bishop of Rome doth striue and struggle to depose Princes, and to animate and incourage Subjects to heathenish and inhumane murders, and rebellions, since hee dareth (like the ancient Gyants) to attempt and assault Heaven it selfe, and to displant and displace from the Throne of his Majestie Christ Iesus himselfe, who is God to be blessed for evermore: what is it else, but to make the Precepts and Traditions of men, equivalent with the doctrine and Commandements of God? what is it else but to usurpe an absolute and universall power and authoritie over the flocke of Christ, (as his Lieutenant and Vicar) for the warrant whereof hee hath no Commission, nor was hee called thereunto as *Aaron* was? Lastly, what is it else, but to remooue and pull downe the Son of God from his triumphant glory, where he sitteth at the right hand of his Father, (and where he must abide, (the holy Apostle bearing witnesse) till all his enemies be subdued under his feet) and to bring backe his glorified body, and Deified soule, at the becke and word of every hedge Priest, into their sacrilegious Sacrament of the Altar; Surely a man need go no further for testimony, seeing the Antichristian lowing of this prophane Bull, doth liuely delineate, and plainly demonstrate that purple Harlot, which hath made all nations drunke with the dregs of her fornication, having seated her selfe upon the seven hils of Rome: I should be over troublesome to the Reader, to shake up all the trumpery, and rake in all the durt containd in his Bulls belly: yet one thing more I cannot passe over with silence, namely for as much as the Pope perceiveth that his kingdome cannot long stand, but that Babell must fall, and Antichrist must be consumed with the breath of the Lords mouth; therefore with prudent care, and politicke circumspection, hee suffereth none to bee initiated into his holy Sacrament of orders, nor preferred to any Ecclesiasticall promotion, but hee is first bound by his hand, word, and corporall oath, to mainetaine and defend the pompe, honour, priviledges, prerogatiues, and doctrines of the Sea of Rome, especially and namely such as are contradictorily repugnant to the written word of God: And that they shall persecute and impugne all those (whether Prince or people) that shall bee adjudged Heretikes or Schismatikes in the Popes consistory: Consider there-fore

1602

fore I beseech thee gentle Reader, whether any Priest that taketh this oath (for they all take it) can bee accounted a good Subject to the Crowne of England, but to proceed.

Many of the Traytors being put to the sword, the strangers banished, and the Provincials protected, as you haue heard; there were still remayning in action within Mounster (left for example to perdition) *Fits Maurice* the Lord of Lixnaw, *John fits Thomas*, the brother of *James*, the late titular Earle, the Knight of the *Glynn*, and *Thomas Oge*, a *Geraldine*, all which with their forces joyned in one, were not able to make two hundred men, lurking about the Mountaine of *Slewluher*, and in the Fastnesse of *Clanmorris*.

CHAP. XIX.

False rumors divulged of the State of Mounster. The Lord President sent one thousand foote munitioned and victualled to the Lord Deputy. A Letter from her Majesty to the Lord President concerning the Earle of Clanricard. A Letter from John Burke to the Lord President. A Letter from John Burke to Sir George Thornton. A Certificate from a Popish Bishop in the behalfe of John Burke.



HE President therefore, aswell to debarre these stragglers from releefe, as to prevent all meanes of succours to *Osulevan*, if hee should returne with new forces, caused all the county of Kerry and Desmond, Beare, Bantry, and Carbery, to be left absolutely wasted, constrayning all the Inhabitants thereof, to withdraw their Cattle into the East and Northern parts of the county of Corke; these things thus effected, his Lordship signified by his Letters to the Lords of her Majesties privie Councell in England; that although the hearts of the Irish were no lesse corrupt then heretofore, and that nothing but the sword held over their heads could containe them in subjection: yet would hee undertake (God assisting) that no rebellion should arise in the Province, except the Townes (who grew daily into more deeper discontentments, by reason of the new Standard) should peradventure revolt, which in his judgement was unlikely. About this time it was vulgarly reported in England, by some who had their tongues poynted with slander, and their hearts stuffed with malice, that Mounster was newly burning with fresh flames of rebellion, that the Vicount *Roch*, the Lord of *Cabyr*, and *Cormock Mac Dermond* had entered into open hostility, and that *Tirrell* was come againe into the Province, and had taken the prey of *Moyallo* from the Garrison at noone day; although the world may bee satisfied concerning these slanderous reports, by that which hath beene already delivered,

False rumors divulged of the State of Mounster.

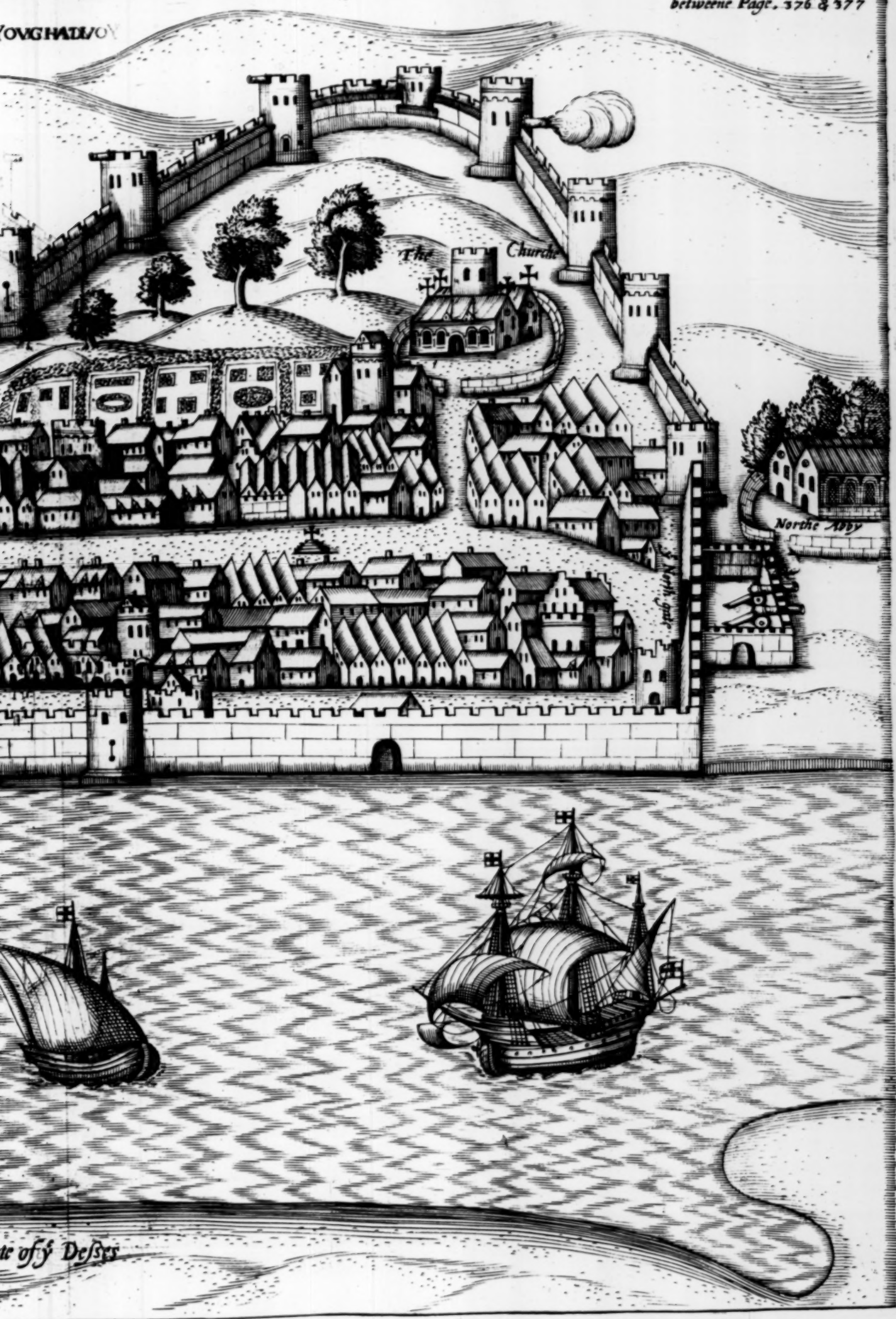
THE TOWNE of YOUGHAD

Parte of the Barrony of
Inchiguyn and within Imokyllie



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red, yet to giue more particular satisfaction to all, or to any that should make question hereof. First the Lord *Roch* he was never touched with the least spot of disloyaltie against her Majesty, yea such loyall constancie did hee alwayes embrace and practise, that in the vniuersall inundation of treasons, when all the Province in generall, and his father in particular, did combine against their annoynted Sovereigne, at that time, and ever since did hee continue himselfe within the lists of an obedient Subject, so that his Lordship herein was much wronged. Then for my Lord of *Cahir*; although it be true indeed, that at the first hee did run the common fortune of the rest, and peradventure would doe so againe if the like occasion were offered, yet that hee did ever relapse since the Presidents government, is meerely false and untrue; yea such outward obedience hath hee professed, that hee hath brought to execution some notorious Traytors. And as for *Cormock Mac Dermond*, since his submission, hee was himselfe in person with Sir *Charles Wilmot*, at the late service in *Glangarue*, and lost thirty of his best men in her Majesties service in *Carbry* with Captaine *Taffe*. Lastly for the burning of *Moyallo*, there was no Rebelle that ever durst attempt any thing against that Towne, or any part of the Cattle thereunto belonging, since the Presidents first comming into the Province, and to demonstrate the feare that the Rebels ever lived in since the siege of *Kinsale*; I can assure the Reader upon certaine knowledge, that all the spoyle that the Traytors haue taken from the Subjects, *Coniunctim* or *Diuisim*, doe not amount to three hundred Cowes, but haue lived in their strength, spending upon the Spanish wines, and their owne victuals.

The Lord Deputy having occasion to employ more forces into Connaght, hee with the Councell of estate, upon the eighteenth of Ianuary, wrote unto the President, to pray and require him to spare out of his List of Mounster (if hee might conveniently doe it) one Regiment of one thousand foote, with a competent proportion of victuals, which not many dayes after was accomplished: Also about this time, the President received a Letter from her Majestie, which although it doth concerne the Earle of *Clanricard* in his particular, yet that the Reader may informe himselfe, how much that noble gentleman was esteemed (and that worthily) of his Sovereigne Mistris, I doe thinke it meet to be related.

The Lord President sent one thousand foote munitioned and victualled to the Lord Deputy.

1602.

A Letter from her Majesty to the Lord President concerning the Earle of
Clanrickard.

Your most assured constantly
affected Sovereigne, E. R.

RI G H T trusty and well beloved, Wee greete you well, wee need not use many arguments to you, when wee resolve to recommend either man or matter, seeing you have made so good demonstration of your obedience, and entire affection to performe our will and pleasure, much lesse then the person or causes of this noble man (our cosen Clanrickard) whose carriage here doth challenge our extraordinary good opinion, as his merite there procured your owne plentiful testimony of the same; even when all trees did shew what fruits they bare: His coming over was to doe his duty to us, where hee was desirous (as other Noble-men have done) to have stayed some time, unlesse some occasion for our service should necessarily require his returne: Of which kind, because the one hath presented it selfe, by the going of our Deputy into that Province, where his possessions lye, and that the weake estate of his mother likewise falleth out to bee such, as (if Almighty God should call her before the same were better settled) many inconveniences might fall to the house by his absence, hee is now returned backe, with as much expedition as hee can: And therefore wee doe (as to one of our principall Councillors in that state) recommend him to you to be furthered and assisted in all his occasions, wherein as we know that publicke triall which hee hath made of himselfe (to the honour of the Nobility of that kingdome) whereof so many scandalous rumours have beene spread, onely to invite our Enemies under that opinion of their ill affection, both hath, and will invite you to love him, so wee doe thinke that wee have missed our markes in George, if hee shall not have the best fruits, which either your publike credit, or private friendship may afford, whosoever wee shall recommend as now wee doe this Noble-man (besides his publike desert) for many other constant professions of his humble and reverent affections towards our selfe: Let this therefore suffice for him, and for your selfe, of whom wee can say no more, then heretofore wee have done, either of our good opinion of you, or of our gratiow thanks, for all your great and honest services: Given under our Signet at our Pallace of Westminster the seventeenth of December, 1602. in the five and fourtieth yeare of our Raigne.

Now although the present estate of this Province, did promise a present reduction and future quiet, yet to make it appeare, that the false hearts of the superstitious Irish were no way addicted and inclined

ned thereunto, omitting many instances that I might remember; I will recite onely certaine particulars concerning *John Burke*, a gentleman of the county of *Limerick*, of whom wee haue spoken before in the beginning of the first booke, who much grieved (as it should seeme) that their expectations had beene frustrated concerning Spanish hopes; this last Summer would therefore take a Iourney to the Court of Spaine, as a generall Agent to sollicite the King for supplies against the next spring: And therefore suddenly leaving his wife (which was one of *Sir George Thormons* daughters) and family, about the middest of December last fled to the rebels Campe, not doubting but from them to bee furnished with all necessaries for this his employment: at his departure hee left certaine Letters with his wife to bee delivered to the President, and *Sir George Thormon* his Father in law, declaring his intention for a Iourney into Spaine, but to disguise his reasons hee made Religion a maske, by pretending a pilgrimage to *Saint Iames*, of *Compostella* and *Rome*; but because his dissenting may the better appeare, I will set downe the words of his own Letters written to the Lord President and *Sir George*.

A Letter from *John Burke* to the Lord President.

IF you remember Right Honourable (and my very good Lord) the first time I met your honour, how desirous I was to forsake the world, and to follow the service of God; from which determination I was (through the weaknesse of my spirit) restrained by the simple persuasions of certaine of my friends; since which time I haue beene so enamoured with the world, that I did not spare to walke in all the wayes where hee lead me either of envie, malice, deceit, flatterie or falshood (as I doubt not but your Lordship in some degree noted, when through envie and hatred I haue (for to procure their deaths) accused the Lord Burke and others of capital crimes of treason, and now being bound to satisfaction: I acknowledged mine error in speaking euill of my Neighbours: I haue as I said by all means carried my iour with the world; so that by seeking to make my selfe a friend vnto the world, I was thereby made an enemy vnto God, this being bound atted to repentance by the especiall grace of God, I haue vowed to goe to the pilgrimages of *Rome* and *Saint Iames*; and doe assure unto your Lordship, that I will carry alwayes as faithfull a disposition to the State of *England* (as I haue wished all honour, dignity, and prosperity) as any other of my calling; and doe desire your Lordship not to beleene any thing which should be said to the contrary: I haue left the little Lands and goods I had with my wife, and doe desire your Lordship to maintaine her in the same untill my comming: I would neuer come amongst these fellows; but for feare my friends would perswade your Lordship not to grant mee your Passport for to goe.

1691.

seeing it hath pleased your Lordship to grant mee her Majesties protection, I will remoue from this company, desiring your Lordship to send mee your Passeport for to goe to this pilgrimage, the which I will expect neere Corke. And now taking my leaue with your Lordship, I rest.

*Your Lordships loving Friend
Iohn Burke.*

A Letter from Iohn Burke to Sir George Thornton.

Right Worshipfull, and my very loving Father, for that I know you would bee much troubled in mind to thinke, what should moue mee to depart thus from my wife, friends and lands, I thought good to tell you the very truth, which I desire you without any scruple to beleue; I haue taken upon mee to be a Pilgrim for the space of two yeares. First I must visit Saint Iago in Spaine, and from thence to Rome: I haue sought the Letters of favour from certaine Priests in this Countrey, to their fellowes beyond the Seas: You nor my Lord President may not thinke, that I goe to procure any mischief to the English State, to whom I should be more willing to doe good, then able to doe harme, I doe not now speake unto you in the spirit of flattery or feare, falshood, or deceit, or for any worldly pollicie; I speake before God, (and God knoweth that I speake the truth;) I doe not goe with any intent to harme any person, but onely to doe judgement upon my selfe, for a satisfaction unto God for my sinnes; the little living I haue, I doe leaue with my wife, the which and her selfe I doe leaue to your fatherly care: And so I rest

*Your Sonne
Iohn Burke.*

Some man peradventure giving credit to these colourable protestations, would perswade himselfe that this professed Pilgrimage was the true and onely end of this his journey, and so should I, were not these vizards dismasked, and these frauds detected, by certaine Letters from sundry Priests, and Popish Clergie men, found and conuaied to the President. I will not trouble the Reader with needlesse transcripts of these severall Letters, I will onely relate one or two, which may apparantly convince his deepe dissembling, written from a Popish Bishop.

*A Certificate from a Popish Bishop in the behalfe
of Iohn Burke.*

NOs Mallachias Dei et Apostolicæ Sedis gratia Duacensis in Hiberniâ Episcopus, notum facimus Catholico ac invictissimo Hispaniarum Regi

Regi Philippo, Domino Matheo de Oviedo, Archiepiscopo Dublinensi, et Metropolitano Hibernia: Omnibusq; Christi fidelibus, tam spiritualibus, sive regularibus, quam secularibus personis ac si proprio nomine nominare Horum Latorem Iohannem Burk, Nobilē præstant' virtutis virum propugnatorē Heretica pravitatis acerrimū, refugium, ac defensor' religiosarum personarum esse, & ob id versari inter Anglos vera fidei desertores, in maximo vitæ, & bonorum quæ hereditario jure non sine multorum præsertim Catholicorum commendo, & utilitate adhuc possidet terras petere alienas, eo animi decreto ut aliquandō in propriam reversus patriam, & patriæ miles & decus esse possit.

Proindē vos omnes pietatis et veræ religionis anatores, Cathol cum Regem Philippum, Dominum Matheum supra dictos ceterosq; cujuscunq; nationū conditionisue sitis, quos una fides, unum baptisma, unus spiritus adjunxit: Oramus, obsecramus, & obtestamur in Christi visceribus, ut eum prædictum Iohannem Burke, omni fide, omni auxilio, omni favore, dignissimum Catholicum, de repub' optimè meritum, accipiat, benigneque tractetis. In cujus rei fidem, & testimonium, Sigillum ac Chirographum apposui, &c.

Malachias Duac' Episcopus.

Another that calleth himselfe Fryer Simon de S. S^{ro}. hath these words, writing to the said supposed Archbishop of Dublin.

A Certificate from a Popish Priest in the behalfe of *Iohn Burke.*

NOtum tibi facio, ut hoc invictissimo Regi notum facere cures harum Latorem Iohannem Burke, relietis bonis paternis te adire, quo illi ad Regem aditum præbeas sui temporis opportunitatem, ad peragenda negotia maximi ponderis & momenti, quæ unanimis hujus regionis saluti conducunt, &c.

If then as in the former Letter hee tooke upon him this Journey, to make himselfe an expert Souldier, whereby hee might proue in time a Champion, and ornament to his Countrey, or if the allegation of the later may bee credited, namely that hee hath busines with the King of Spaine, about affaires of great moment and consequence, for the good of this nation, then are his owne pretexts of religion, vowes and pilgrimages, devised onely for a blinder to conceale his trayterous complots: To prevent therefore such mischiefs as might grow unto the State, from his solicitations in Spaine, the President was content, that Sir George Thornton should send a messenger unto him (being then in the Rebels Campe) to revoke and recall him if it were possible, from this irreligious expedition, which at last was effected by the perswasions, which his mother, wife, and friends vsed unto him.

CHAP. XX.

The Lord Deputie sent to the Lord President for men and munition, and himselfe to re-
paire unto him. The List of her Majesties forces in Mounster. Sir Edward
Wingfield sent by the Lord President with five hundred foote into Carmaght. The
Lord of Lixnaw defeated by Captaine Boys. The Castle of Kilco taken by Cap-
taine Flower. The Castle of Berengary taken by Sir Charles Wilmot. Sir
Charles Wilmot and Sir George Thornton left by the Lord President Joynt
Commissioners for the government of Mounster. A Letter sent by the Lord Presi-
dent from the Lord Deputy to the Lords of the Councell.

The Lo. De-
puty sent to
the Lo. Presi-
dent for men
& munition,
and himselfe
to repaire
unto him.



HE Lord Deputie understanding now in what state
the Province of Mounster stood, directed his Letters
to the President, requiring of him, that if necessary oc-
casions of present service did not forbid, he would send
to Athlone (for the warre of Connaght) certaine foote
Companies and a proportion of victuals from Limerick, so much as
forth of her Majesties store, there might conveniently be spared, and
withall to repaire himselfe unto Dublin, from whence hee was to
take his Journey into England: The list of Mounster consisting at
that time of Horse and Foote as followeth.

The List of Mounster as it stood.

Of Horse.

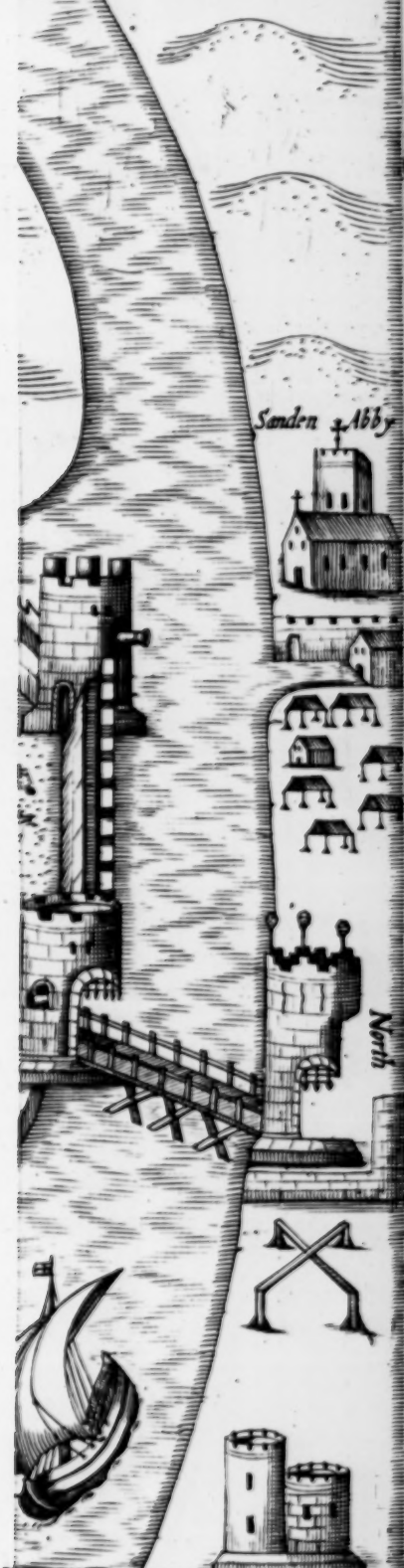
Lord President.	100.
Earle of Thomond.	50.
Captaine William Taffe.	50.
	200.

Of Foet.

Lord President,	200.
Earle of Thomond,	200.
Lord Audley.	150.
Sir Charles Wilmot,	150.
Sir Richard Percy,	150.
Sir Francis Barkelay,	150.
Sir George Thornton,	100.
Captaine Francis Kingsmill,	100.
Captaine George Kingsmill,	100.
Captaine George Flower,	100.
Captaine Charles Cotte,	100.
Captaine Gaven Harvie,	100.
Captaine Thomas Boyce,	100.
Captaine Francis Stingsby,	100.
Captaine William Stafford,	100.
	1900.

Although

The List of
her Majesties
Forces in
Mounster.



Steeple of y Cathedral Church

Abby in y land

between Page, 383 & 384

A marshie

A marshie

y Cathedral Church of old Corke

CORKE

Sanden Abby

The watch

S. Peter

Sheldis Castle

Christ Church

North

A marshie

A marshie

y Barris Castell

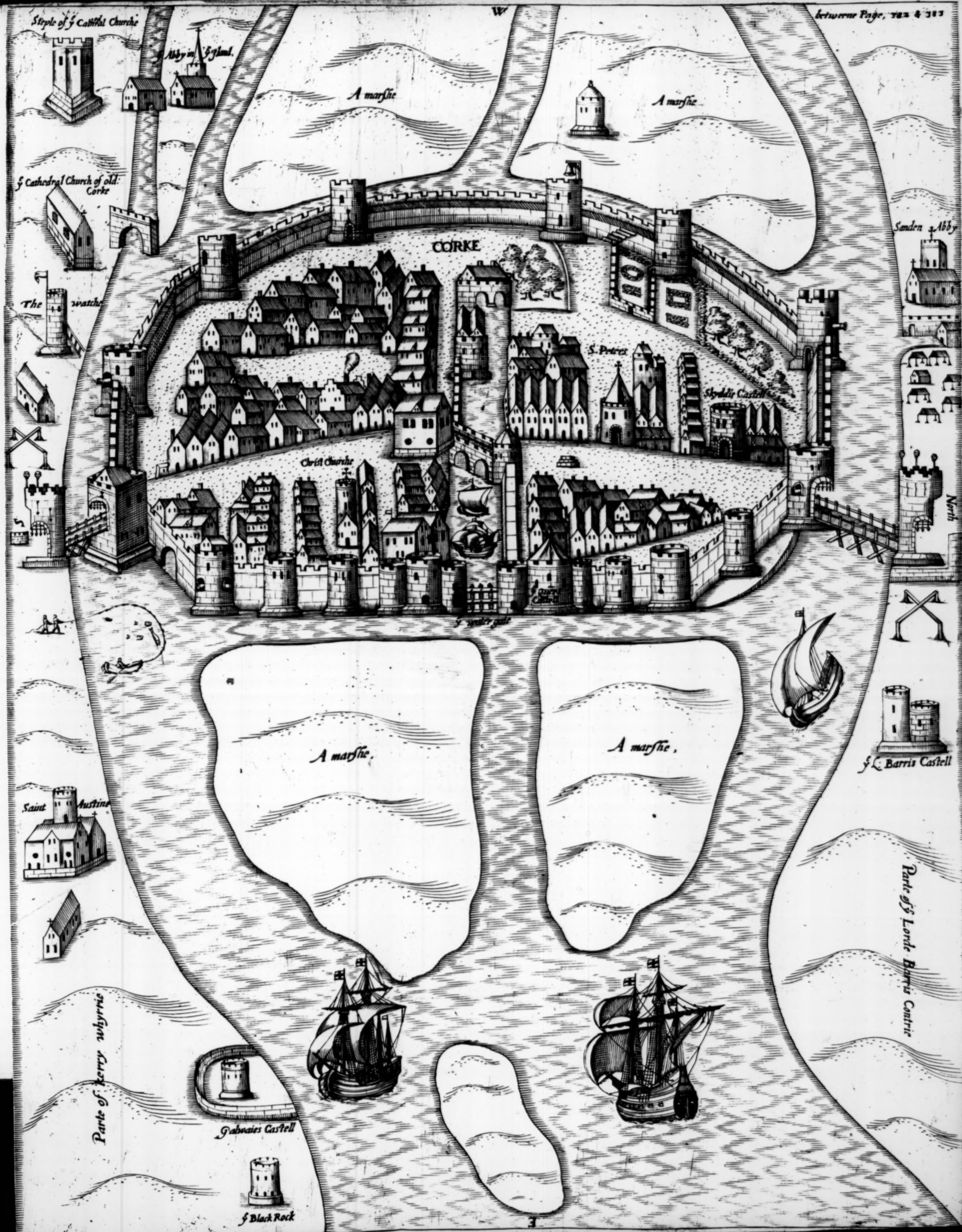
Saint Austine

Parte of y Lorde Barris Contrie

Parte of Kerry whyrie

Gabovies Castell

y Black Rock



Although there was never weary Marriner in a violent and tempestuous storme, more desired to arrive into his wished Harbour, nor a virgin Bride, after a lingering and desperate love, more longing for the celebration of her nuptiall, then the Lord President was to goe for England, yet was hee content to deferre his private affections, in regard of the publike charge committed unto him; and therefore first hee sent for Sir *Charles Wilmot* out of Kerry, acquainting onely him with that Iourney, because his purpose was, having before hand had good experience of his sufficiencie, to leaue him in Spectall trust with the government in his absence. Then hee tooke order for the satisfying of the Lord Deputie his demands, and therefore appointed Sir *Edward Wingfield* with five hundred foote, the three and twentieth of February to take his Iourney into Connaght: And lastly, having taken order, how the other forces should be disposed, he tooke his Iourney from Corke towards Dublin; about the beginning of February being newly come to Dublin, hee received Letters from Sir *Charles Wilmot*, that the Lord of *Lixnaw* having assembled some two hundred foote and twenty horse, in his Fastnesse neere Listall, Captaine *Thomas Bois* left by Sir *Charles* to command the Garrisons in Kerry, drew upon his quarter in the night, killed eighty of his men, tooke all his substance of Cowes, Hacknies, Garrans, and all his provisions of Wheate, Oatemeall, and Butter; so that although his Company, was not all slaine, yet were they for ever after unable to assemble together in any number: about the same time also Captaine *George Flower* tooke in the Castle of Kilcow, being a place of great strength, and the onely Castle in Carbery that held out in rebellion; presently after this defeat, Captaine *Bois* was advertised that the Lord of *Lixnaw* his brother, *Garret Roe Stack*, and some other Provinciall rebels were in the Castle of Berengary; whereupon that night hee blocked up the Castle with a sufficient guard of men, that none should issue forth, untill the Governour his Collonell might be acquainted therewith: Sir *Charles* receiving intelligence hereof, being then holding the Sessions at Limerick, instantly left the Citie, and taking with him by Sea two small Peeces of Ordnance, presented himselfe before the said Castle; the Warders and the rest within, perceiving no possible meanes to escape, yeelded themselves to her Majesties mercy: But the advertisement concerning the Lord of *Lixnaw*, himselfe failed, the remainder were all taken, the principals presently executed, and the rest were pardoned by the Lord Lieutenant at his comming to Corke: The Lord President having thus left Mounster, reestablished in a firme and vniuersall peace, by the assent of the Lord Deputy, having appoynted Sir *Charles Wilmot*, and Sir *George Thornton* (Ioynt Commissioners) for governing the Province,

Sir Edward Wingfield sent by the Lord President with five hundred foote into Connaght. 23. Febr.

The Lord of Lixnaw defeated by Capt. Bois.

The Castle of Kilcow taken by Captaine Flower

The Castle of Berengary taken by Sir Charles Wilmot.

Sir Charles Wilmot and Sir George Thornton left by the

pre-

1602

Lo. President
Ioynt Com-
missioners
for the go-
vernment of
Mounster.
26. Febr.

prepared himselfe for England; but before his departure, hee made an ample relation to the Lord Deputy and Councell, in what estate he had left his Province, and the Lord Deputy and Councell having likewise declared unto him, the present estate of the whole kingdome, and also they gaue him large instructions, to negotiate with her Majesty and the Lords touching the affaires of Ireland, which done, the Lord Deputy upon the sixe and twentieth day of February, tooke his Iourney towards Drogheda, to parley with Tyrone, and to receiue his submission as hee promised, and performed, and at his taking of his leaue with the President, hee delivered unto him this Letter directed to the Lords of the Councell.

*A Letter sent by the Lord President from the Lord Deputy
to the Lords of the Councell in England.*

May it please your Lordships; Although I am unwilling to informe you often of the present estate of this kingdome, or of any particular accidents or services, because the one is subject to so much alteration, and the other lightly delivered unto all that are not present, with such uncertaintie, and that I am loath to make any project unto your Lordships, either of my requests to you, or my owne resolutions heere, since so many things fall suddenly out, which may alter the grounds of either; yet since I doe write now by one that can so sufficiently supply the defects of a Letter, I haue presumed at this time to impart unto your Lordships that I thinke fit to bee remembered, or doe determine on: most humbly desiring your Lordships, that if I erre in the one, or hereafter alter the other, you will not impute it to my want of sinceritie, or constancie, but to the nature of the subject whereof I must treat, or of the matter whereon I worke: And first to present unto your Lordships the outward face of the foure Provinces, and after to guesse (as neere as I can) at their dispositions. Mounster by the good government and industry of the Lord President, is cleare of any force in rebellion, except some few unable to make any forcible head. In Leinster, there is not one declared Rebell: In Connaght there is none but in Orwrks Countrey: In Vlster none but Tyrone, and Bryan Mac Art, who was never Lord of any country, and now doth with a Body of loose men, & some Creaghts continue in Glancomkynes, or neere the Borders thereof. Cohonoght Macguyre sometimes Lord of Fermannagh, is banished out of the country, who liues with Orwrke, and at this time Connor Roe Macguire is possessed of it by the Queene, and holds it for her. I belecue, that generally the Lords of the Countreyes that are reclaimed, desire a peace, though they will be wavering, till their Lands and Estates are assured

assured unto them from her Majestie, and as long as they see a partie in rebellion to subsist, that is of power, to ruine them if they continue Subjects, or otherwise shall be doubtfull of our defence. All that are out, doe seeke for mercy, except *Orwrke* and *Ofulevan*, who is now with *Orwrke*; and these are obstinate only out of their diffidence, to bee safe in any forgiuenesse. The loose men, and such as are onely Captaines of Bonnaghts, as *Tirrell*, and *Brian Mac Art*, will nourish the warre as long as they see any possibilitie to subsist, and like ill humours, haue recourse to any part that is unsound. The Nobilitie, Townes, and English Irish, are for the most part as weary of the warre as any, but unwilling to haue it ended, generally for feare that upon a peace will ensue a severe reformation of Religion; and in particular, many bordering Gentlemen that were made poore by their owne faults, or by Rebels incursions, continue their spleene to them now they are become subjects; and having used to helpe themselves by stealths, did never more use them, nor better prevailed in them, then now that these Submittees haue layed aside their owne defence, and betaken themselves to the protection and justice of the State; and many of them haue tasted so much sweet in Entertainments, that they rather desire a warre to continue them, then a quiet Harvest that might arise out of their owne honest labour: so that I doe finde none more pernicious Instruments of a new warre, then some of these. In the meane time, *Tyrone* while hee shall liue, will blow every sparke of discontent, or new hopes that shall lye hid in a corner of the Kingdome, and before hee shall be utterly extinguished, make many blazes, and sometimes set on fire, or consume the next subjects unto him. I am perswaded that his combination is already broken, and it is apparant, that his meanes to subsist in any power, is overthrowne: but how long hee may liue as a woodkerne, and what new accidents may fall out while he doth live I know not. If it bee imputed to my fault, that notwithstanding her Majesties great Forces, hee doth still liue, I beseech your Lordships to remember how securely the *Banditoes* of Italy doe liue, betweene the power of the King of Spaine and the Pope. How many men of all Countreyes of severall times, haue in such sort preserved themselves long from the great power of Princes, but especially in this Countrey where there are so many difficulties to carry an Armie, in most places so many unaccessable strengths for them to flye unto; and then to bee pleased to consider the great worke that first I had to breake this maine Rebellion, to defend the Kingdome from a dangerous Invasion of a mightie forraine Prince, with so strong a partie in the Countrey, and now the difficultie to root out scattered Troopes, that had so many unaccessable Dennes to lurke in,

1602.

which as they are by Nature of extreame strength and perill to bee attempted: so it is impossible for any people Naturally and by Art to make greater use of them; And though with infinite dangers wee doe beat them out of one, yet is there no possibilitie for us to follow them with such agilitie, as they will flye to another; And it is most sure, that never Traytor knew better how to keepe his owne head, then this; nor any Subjects haue a more dreadfull awe, to lay violent hands on their sacred Prince, then these people haue to touch the person of their *Oneales*, and hee that hath as pestilent a judgement, as ever any had to nourish and to spread his owne infection, hath the ancient swelling, and desire of liberty in a conquered Nation to worke upon, their feare to bee rooted out, or to haue their old faults punished upon all particular discontents, and generally over all the kingdome, the feare of a persecution for religion, the debasing of the Coyne (which is grievous unto all sorts) and a dearth and famine which is already begun, and must of necessity grow shortly to extremity; the least of which alone, haue beene many times sufficient motiues, to driue the best and most quiet estates into suddaine confusion: These will keepe all spirits from settling, breed new combinations, and (I feare) even stirre the Townes themselves to solicit forraine aid with promise to cast themselves into their protection: And although, it bee true, that if it had pleased her Majesty to haue longer continued her Army in greater strength, I should the better haue provided for what these clouds doethreaten, and sooner and more easily, either haue made this Countrey a rased Table, wherein shee might haue written her owne Lawes, or haue tyed the ill disposed and rebellious hands, till I had surely planted such a Government, as would haue overgrowne and killed any weeds that should haue risen under it: Yet since the necessitie of the State doeth so urge a diminution of this great expence, I will not despayre to goe on with this worke, through all these difficulties, if wee be not interrupted by forraine Forces, although perchance wee may be encountred with some new irruptions, and (by often adventuring) with some disasters, and it may bee your Lordships shall sometimes heare of some spoiles done upon the Subjects, from the which it is impossible to preserue them in all places with farre greater forces then ever yet were kept in this Kingdome: And although it hath beene seldome heard, that an Armie hath beene carried on with so continuall Action, and enduring without any intermission of Winter breathings, and that the difficulties at this time to keepe any Forces in the place where wee must make the Warre, (but especially our Horse) are almost beyond any hope to prevent, yet with the favour of God, and her Majesties Fortune, I doe

I doe determine my selfe to drawe into the Field, as soone as I haue received her Majesties Commaundements by the Commissioners, who it hath pleased her to send over, and in the meane time I hope by mine owne presence or Directions, to set every partie on worke, that doth adjoyne, or may bee drawne against any force that now doth remaine in rebellion. In which Iourney the successe must bee in the hands of G O D; but I will confidently promise to omit nothing that is possible by us to bee done, to giue the last blow unto the Rebellion. But as all paine and anguish impatient of the present, doeth use change for a remedie: so will it bee impossible for us to settle the minds of these people unto a Peace, or reduce them unto Order, while they feele the smart of these sensible griefes, and apparant feares which I haue remembred to your Lordships, without some hope of redresse or securitie. Therefore I will presume, (how unworthie soever I haue been) since it concernes the Province her Majestie hath given mee, with all humbleness to lay before your graue Iudgements, some few things which I thinke necessary to bee considered of.

And first, whereas the alteration of the Coyne, and taking away of the exchange in such measure as it was first promised, hath bred a generall grievance unto men of all qualities, and so many incommodities to all sorts, that it is beyond the Iudgement of any that I can heare, to prevent a confusion in this Estate, by the continuance thereof, that (at the least) it would please your Lordships to put this people in some certaine hope, that upon the end of the warre, this newe Standard shall bee abolished or eased; And that in the meane time the Armie may bee favourably dealt with in the Exchange, since by the last Proclamation your Lordships sent over, they doe conceiue their case will bee more hard then any others: for if they haue allowed them nothing but indefinitely as much as they shall meerely gaine out of their Entertainments, that will prooue nothing to the greater part: For the onely possibilitie to make them to liue upon their Entertainment, will bee to allowe them Exchange for the greatest part thereof, since now they doe not onely pay excessiue prizes for all things, but can hardly get any thing for this Money; And although wee haue presumed to alter (in shew, though not in effect) the Proclamation in that poynt, by retayning a power in our selues to proportion their allowance for Exchange: yet was it with a minde to conforme our proceedings therein according to your Lordships next directions, and therefore doe humbly desire to know your pleasures therein. For our opinions of the last project it pleased your Lordships to send us, I doe humbly leaue it to our generall Letters: Only as for my selfe I made

1602

overture to the Councell in the other you sent directly onely to my selfe; and because I found them generally to concur, that it would prooue as dangerous as the first, I did not thinke it fit any otherwise to declare your Lordships pleasure therein. And whereas it pleased your Lordships in your last Letters to command us to deale moderately in the great matter of Religion, I had before the receipt of your Lordships Letters presumed to advise such as dealt in it, for a time to hold a more restraynt hand therein, and wee were both thinking our selues what course to take in the Revocation of what was already done, with least incouragement to them and others, since the feare that this course begun in Dublin would fall upon the rest, was apprehended over all the Kingdome: So that I thinke your Lordships Direction was to great purpose, and the other course might haue overthrowne the meanes to our owne end of Reformation of Religion: Not that I thinke too great precisenesse can bee used in the reforming of our selues, the abuses of our owne Clergie, Church-livings, or Discipline; nor that the trueth of the Gospell can with too great vehemencie or industrie bee set forward in all places, and by all ordinarie meanes most proper unto it selfe, that was first set forth, and spread in meeknesse; not that I thinke any corporall prosecution or punishment can bee too severe for such as shall bee found seditious Instruments of forraigne, or inward practises, not that I thinke it fit, that any principall Magistrates should bee chosen without taking the Oath of Obedience, nor tollerated in absenting themselves from publique Divine Service, but that wee may bee advised how wee doe punish in their bodies or goods, any such onely for Religion, as doe professe to bee faithfull Subjects to her Majestie, and against whom the contrary cannot bee proved. And since, if the Irish were utterly rooted out, there was much lesse likelihood that this Countrey could bee thereby in any time planted by the English, since they are so farre from inhabiting well any part of that they haue already; & that more than is likely to be inhabited, may be easily chosen out and reserved in such places by the sea side, or upon great Rivers, as may bee planted to great purpose, for a future absolute reducement of this Countrey, I thinke it would as much avayle the speedy settling of this Countrey as any thing; that it would please her Majestie to deale liberally with the Irish Lords of Countreyes, or such as are now of great reputation among them, in the distribution of such Lands as they haue formerly possessed, or the State heere can make little use of for her Majestie; If they continue as they ought to doe, and yeeld the Queene as much commoditie as shee may otherwise expect, shee hath made a good purchase of such Subjects for such Land. If any of them heereafter be disobedient

dient to her Lawes, or breake forth in Rebellion, shee may when they shall bee more divided, ruine them more easily for example unto others, and (if it bethought fit) may plant English or other Irish in their Countreyes: For although there ever haue beene, and hereafter may bee small eruptions in some places, which at the first may easily bee suppressed, yet the suffering them to grow to that generall head and combination, did questionlesse proceed from great error in the judgement heere, and may be easily (as I thinke) prevented hereafter. And further, it may please her Majestie to ground her resolution for the time and numbers of the next abatement of the List of her Armie somewhat upon our poore advise from hence, and to beleue, that wee will not so farre corrupt our Iudgements with any private respects, and without necessitie, to continue her Charge, seeing wee doe thoroughly conceive how grievous it is unto her Estate, and that wee may not bee precisely tyed to an Establishment that shall conclude the payments of the Treasure, since it hath ever been thought fit to bee otherwise, till the comming over of the Earle of *Essex*; and some such extraordinarie Occasions may fall out, that it will bee dangerous to attend your Lordships Resolutions, and when it will bee safe to diminish the Armie heere, that there may bee some course thought of by some other Employment, to disburthen this Countrey of the idle Sword-men, in whom I finde an inclination apt enough to bee carried elsewhere, either by some of this Countrey of best reputation among them, or in Companies as now they stand under English Captaines, who may bee reinforced with the greatest part of Irish; That it may bee left to our discretion to make Passages and Bridges into Countreyes, otherwise unaccessable, and to build little Pyles of stone in such Garrisons as shall bee thought fittest, to bee continuall Bridles upon the people; by the commoditie of which wee may at any time drawe the greatest part of the Armie together, to make a Head against any part that shall first breake out, and yet reserve the places onely with a Ward to put in greater Forces as occasion shall require, which I am perswaded will proove great Pledges upon this Countrey, that upon any urgent cause the Queene may safely draw the greatest part of her Armie heere out of the Kingdome, to bee employed at least for a time elsewhere, wherein I beseech your Lordships to consider, what a strength so many experienced Captaines and Souldiers would bee, to any Armie of new men erected in England, against an Invasion, or sent abroad in any offensive warre: But untill these places bee built, I cannot conceive how her Majestie (with any safetie) can make any great diminution of her Armie. Lastly, I doe humbly desire your Lordships to receive the further explanation of

1602.

my meaning, and confirmation of my reasons that doe induce mee unto these propositions: for the Lord President of Mounster, who as he hath been a very worthy Actor in the reducement and defence of this Kingdome, so doe I thinke him to be the best able to giue you through account of the present Estate, and future providence for the preservation thereof; wherein it may please your Lordships to require his opinion of the hazard this Kingdome is like to runne in, if it should by any mightie Power be invaded, and how hard it will bee for us in any measure to provide for the present defence, if any such bee intended, and withall to goe on with the suppression of these that are left in rebellion, so that wee must either adventure the kindling of this fire that is almost extinguished, or intending onely that, leaue the other to exceeding perill. And thus having remembered to your Lordships the most materiall poynts (as I conceiue) that are fittest for the present to bee considered of, I doe humbly recommend my selfe and them to your Lordships favour. From her Majesties Castle of Dublin the sixe and twentieth of *February*, 1602.

After the Lord Deputie departed, by reason of Easterly winds the President was stayed aboue three weekes in Dublin, during which time, every day Posts were employed betweene them, untill the twentieth of *March*, which was the day the Lord President set saile for England; the day following hee arrived at Bewmarris: at his coming to Chester, hee met with the lamentable newes of the decease of his good and gracious Mistresse *Queene Elizabeth*, for whom, (as he had good cause) he extreemely mourned; But two dayes following (being at Lichfield) he assisted the Major in the proclaiming of King *James*, which gaue him new life, whom I beseech God long to preferue and continue his Posteritie for ever, over his triumphant Monarchy of *Great Brittain* and *Ireland*.

Although my *VVorke* bee finished, yet according to the course I haue held in the end of the two former Bookes, I may not omit to recount to the Reader the most memorable Services, and accidents which hapned in this yeere, 1602. In the Catalogue whereof I must first begin with the forces sent into Carbery with the Earle of *Thomond*; The sending of Sir *Charles Wilmot* with his Regiment into Kerry: The Lord Presidents departure from Corke, with the Armie towards Donboy: His long abode at Carew Castle, expecting Munition and Victuals: The difficulty he had in his approaching towards Donboy: The defeat given to the Rebels: The arrivall of a Spanish Caravell in Beare, with Letters of Comfort, Money, and Munition from *Spaine*: The siege of Donboy, the winning and raising of it: The Presidents returne to Corke, and Sir *Charles Wilmots* into Kerry:
The

The flight of *Iames Archer* the Iesuite, and *Connor Odrisball* into Spaine: The relapse of *Sir Owen Mac Carties* Sonnes: The Spanish Hostages returned into Spaine: The restraint of *Cormock* Lord of Muskery: His escape and reduction: The winning of the Castle of Mocrumpe: The defeat of *Tirrell* and his Bonnogs in Muskery: The sending of *Sir Samuell Bagnall* with fiftene hundred men to the Lord Deputie: The Service done upon the Knight of Kerry: The flight of *Tirrell* with his Bonogs out of the Province: The defeat of the Rebels in Glangarne: The flight of *William Burke* with his Bonogs, *Osuleran Beare*, and *Connor Kerry* out of Mounster: The overthrow of the *Cartyes* in Carbery, And the killing of the Popes Apostolique Vicar, *Owen Mac Egan*: The sending of a Regiment with Munition and Victualls for the service in Connaght: The defeat of the Lord of Lixnaw: The finall Reduction of Mounster: The appointing of *Sir Charles Wilmot*, and *Sir George Thornton* joynt Commisisioners for the Government of Mounster: And the departure of the Lord President
into ENGLAND.

* * *

FINIS.